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MACPHAIL'S

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BOOKS OF THE SEASON.

Ashburn, a Tale. By AURA. London: Saunders & Otley.
Joseph the Jew. A Tale founded on Facts. By the Author of "Mary Mathieson." Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Sons. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.
Jessie Cameron. A Highland Story. By the Lady RACHAEL BUTLER. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London.

THREE tales from the pens of fair authors, all characterised by different kinds and degrees of excellence, and written by women who have taken the trouble *to think* before they have put pen to paper. We bid them all heartily welcome, and sincerely wish for their authors, that the new year they have helped to enliven and instruct, may prove a happy one, and bring to them the success they so well deserve. It gives us sincere pleasure to see the increasing number of thoughtful, educated women, who are now daily entering the field of literature. We have much need of them, for there are many social questions at present being discussed, which for their safe and proper solution, it is very necessary to regard from their point of view, and as it is forbidden to them to lift their voices either in the senate or the arena of public meetings of any kind, it is only through the press they can make their sentiments known, and influence public opinion in the manner in which, as members of the body politic, they have a right to do. We hail it as a healthful sign of the times, that women seem to begin to be aware both of their rights and their responsibilities in this respect, and we earnestly hope that every day will add to the number of female authors, who, like those before us, will exercise their talents, not in writing frivolous tales to amuse an

idle hour, but in works calculated to instruct the mind, elevate the sentiments, and confirm the principles of their readers.

We do not know whether it is in deference to the present passion for mere story reading, that the author of Ashburn has called to her aid something in the shape of a tale, whereby to enunciate her opinions, but if such be the fact, we think it a pity she has been so complacent to the weakness of the times, and much fear, that in consequence, she is too likely to share the proverbial fate of those who attempt to sit on two stools at once; there being in her work not enough of story to please the mere tale seeker, and too much, not to deter those of a more philosophical turn, from seeking in its pages what they would not dream of finding in a novel. To the latter class of readers, however, we would say, "read on,"—you will be surprised to find how much of true wisdom, of philosophical reflection, and of religious enlightenment those blue boards contain; never mind the story, it is poor enough, but gather together, and treasure up the gems of thought which lie scattered through its pages,—you will find yourself both wiser and better by making them your own.

To illustrate our opinion of its merits, we make a few extracts, which we believe our readers will consider as fully bearing out our judgment. We think the *woman* question has seldom been approached with more sound sense, than in the following passages:—

"As Mr Merton spoke, he searched in his portfolio for a letter, which he now produced.—'I will read you some parts of this letter, my love, which I received from Somers some months ago. I think they will help to give you an idea of the man. I had told him of my poor little sister Bessy's distress at being forced, now she is gone to stay with her aunt, to give up her delightful solitary walks and musings, and, I suspected also, secret scribblings, and go daily, and for hours daily, under the escort of a benevolent friend, to visit the poor and sick. He writes, 'I feel very much for the poor child, and lament your aunt's mistaken sense of duty in this matter. She forgets that it is the cheerful sacrifice alone that is acceptable to God, and, in the long-run, serviceable to man. If she could, with tact and tenderness, draw little Bess in some measure from her dreams into active usefulness, she would do her and the community a real service; but such over-dosings of philanthropy, like all over-dosings, defeat their object. I must say, moreover, I don't suppose your worthy aunt philosophizes much on the subject, but I think there is a good deal of nonsense in the shape of philosophy afloat respecting the duties of woman. The source of these errors is the lumping women together in a mass, and supposing these functions, which it is desirable and well should be discharged by *women*, devolve as a duty upon each individual woman. This error again springs from, or is connected with, a false habit which we men are too apt to fall into, when we think and speak of the other sex, of unduly dwelling on the difference of sex. They have, it seems to me, greatly the advantage of us in this respect. While they often think of us as *men*, they far oftener think of us as human beings. Human beings! I envy the Germans the possession of a word (*der mensch*) which is applicable alike to man or woman.

"'Now, I do not deny that there are certain duties, domestic and others, which devolve on woman as such, and I would have her by all means first discharge these; but if I am not mistaken, these, in ordinary situations, need not so engross her time but that she still might be, in a great measure, free

to follow out, as circumstances and capacity dictate, those various tastes and duties which belong to her as a human being.

"'You must not class me, dear Merton, with the party who, in the present times, so strongly advocate the "rights of women." I daresay they, too, have a great deal of truth and good feeling on their side; but I cannot but think they push matters to an extreme. I would not have woman ignore what belongs to her as woman, either in the way of feeling or duty; neither would I have her arrogate to herself, nor her advocates for her, what belongs to man as man. Each has his peculiar territory, the bounds of which, under normal circumstances, it is graceful and proper that each should observe; though, like other rules, it admits of partial exceptions, and, in emergencies, it may have been the duty of the woman, for instance, to use the lance, and of the man to betake himself to the distaff.

"'There is a territory proper to each sex; but there is also a region wider than either, and much wider than is generally supposed, which is common to both, where they may meet as human beings. And it is here that I, for my part, already delight to meet my fair sisters, and hope more frequently to find them.

"'I wish,' he adds, 'I could have some conversation with your aunt on the subject of Bessy. I should not despair of bringing her to see things somewhat differently, after my success with Mrs Crawford. These two ladies follow very opposite plans with their young charges. The one would have them always abroad visiting the poor, collecting for benevolent societies, or otherwise engaged in works of active usefulness. The other would have them devote their time almost exclusively to needlework and home accomplishments. Both have a strong sense of a peculiar department of duty and of grace, which, perhaps, in an especial manner, devolves on woman; for all these are truly feminine employments—even the collecting of money for good objects, within certain restrictions, is perfectly so. I cannot join in the outcry which some have raised against females engaging in this self-denying work of benevolence. The thing must be done; and if it is done, as it may, with simplicity and modesty, I see no objection to its being undertaken even by young ladies, who have more leisure than most other members of the community.

"'But, after all this is done, supposing it can all be done by every woman (though I see not why every female should follow every feminine, any more than every male should follow every manly employment), it would be far from comprising what should be the aim, at least, of every human being, the healthy use of *all* the powers for the glory of God.'"

The religious element is so interwoven with every thought and sentiment expressed in Ashburn, that it is difficult to select any particular passage to exhibit the author's views of that highest of all subjects; but though unable to agree with her in some of her theories regarding it, we are bound to say, that although not always in strict accordance with the dogmas of any of the reigning sects, her religious *ideas* are all deduced from Holy Scripture, her religious *sentiments* breathed from a soul deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity. Entirely free from all sectarian prejudice, there is a breadth, a freedom, a sublime charity in her treatment of all the questions she discusses, (and they are many and various), which cannot fail to impress the reader with the sense that it is no ordinary mind which evolves itself in this volume,—a mind which has tried every idea it has received by the *experimentum coucis* of the Gospel before accepting it. No better illustration of this could be given than the following passage:—

"'What are we to speak about?'

"'About religion, if you like. I am sure when you began, you meant to say more on that subject; but I cut you short by obtruding my feelings upon you. And yet it is of little use simply talking to me about religion, unless you shew me how religion can remedy and supply the wants of my heart.'

"'That is precisely what I wished to do.'

"'Then might I not be allowed first to speak to you of what my soul's wants are? It may seem strange, Mr Somers, my talking to you in this manner. But indeed there is something in you, with all your high-souled excellence, though you may not yourself be aware of it, which is peculiarly fitted to call forth confidence and trust. Oh, if you would trust yourself, and trust me, so as to suffer me to open my heart to you!'

"Frederic smiled gently, and said, 'I *can* trust myself, and *will* trust you; but first let me beg you, my dear Miss Napier, to ask your own heart, in all sincerity, what its object is, and what it ought to be, in thus confiding in me, as a preliminary to the religious conversation we spoke of. That will modify in the best manner the character of the communication. These revelations of feelings must be rested in, not for their own sake, but to lead to something higher, and for that let them not be too diffuse. I should grieve, indeed, if our interview was to end without my directing you, not to general religious considerations alone, but to the Saviour himself, the living source of strength and consolation. Let me, indeed, secure the present moment to speak a few words of him.

"'It has seemed to me, that minds of keen sensibility have sometimes turned away from a surrender of the heart to Christ, from some such thoughts as these: "Those who are called true and earnest Christians, think it wrong to feel much except in religion. To delight in human affection, to exult in human excellence, to be enraptured by the charms of physical and intellectual beauty—to all this they are either naturally dead, or mortify themselves till they are so. No wonder, then, that Christianity suffices for them. They wish for a Saviour to make them holy on earth—they wish for a Saviour to make them happy in heaven—and they have what they desire. But this is not enough for us." Now all this is founded in mistake. Some Christians may crucify these feelings from conscientious motives, but it is no necessary part of Christianity. On the contrary, though that came to man after the fall had destroyed the original harmony between him and his Maker, it more than confirmed the sentence which was at first stamped upon the works of God, that "He giveth us richly all things to enjoy." It is in the New Testament that these words are found; and these "all things" must certainly include the charms of affection and of nature, and all that the sensibilities of man can lawfully delight in. It is true that Christianity does not secure to the individual man these blessings, but it forbids him none which Providence allows. Indeed, it calls upon him as a duty to enjoy the blessings which are permitted to him, while it requires of him to relinquish those which are denied. It is for the wise but inscrutable Providence of God to determine if the affections of the heart are to be to us sources of pleasure or of pain. But if love on earth must sometimes suffer from bereavement, disappointment, and decay, religion teaches us to find, even in these evils, blessings in disguise. And this it does very much by introducing the personal element. It is not to fortune or to fate, but to God as a loving Father, that the sacrifice is to be made. It is not mere general considerations that are to give consolation, it is a relationship to Christ as a tender brother, who himself learned obedience by the things which he suffered—whose sympathy is so delicate, that it can share even that bitterness which otherwise the heart alone would know and would desire to know

alone, and that joy with which no stranger can or ought to meddle. He is a Saviour, not only from sin and hell, but from all the wants of self, by being to us a nobler, a completer, and a dearer self. Brought by him and his sacrifice into what may be in a high sense truly called a *natural* position to the Father of our spirits, we learn to accept *all* well at His hands—whether it be to suffer or to surrender, all is supportable, if it is not sweet. The soul now finds, or at least, if it avails itself of its high privilege, may find, that this supreme affection wants not, but admits in full perfection, the blessed element of magnanimity. It learns how, in its utter poverty, it may be generous; for, if it can give nothing to its God, it can with unhesitating and unrepenting devotion *give up* all to Him.'"

The acuteness and justness of the following critical remarks, will be appreciated by all:—

"'Emerson's style is peculiar,' said Elizabeth.

"'Yes; but I cannot say it seems to me unnatural. The mere style appears to have cost him less attention than it does with most writers. It is the thoughts which alone occupy him, and these he does not look on as something out of himself which he possesses. He does not so much possess his thoughts as he is possessed by them, and works them out in writing as much for his own satisfaction as that of others. His writing has always appeared to me a perpetual soliloquising. This is not the same as thinking aloud. We *think* many things which do not seem sufficiently interesting to express, even to ourselves. Hence, Emerson's style is elliptical, and at times disconnected. Some men have a delight in mere expression. This does not seem to be his case. He only takes pleasure in expressing his thought as it makes it more certain and vivid. He also appears to have, what is not unnatural in one of so much inherent originality, a distaste and impatience of the commonplace. This, while to his genuine admirers it has a certain interest and charm, unfits him from being a teacher of the many. There are few who can perceive the coherence of the new and the striking, unless they be held together by the cement of the old and familiar. Indeed, Emerson not only cares not to express what he has learned from others, he scarcely cares to utter what he has learned from his former self. He must not only *know* it all to be true; he must at this present hour feel it to be so. Hence I should not think any mind, even the most congenial with him, could at all times fully understand him. You must put yourself into Emerson's mood before you can understand Emerson."

"'Your description makes me very anxious, I must confess,' said Elizabeth, 'to become better acquainted with Emerson. It is so delightful to escape sometimes from the weary weight of the commonplace. But you would not apply to Emerson, would you, what my father said of his friend Mr Fellowes? Do you remember?—one evening which you spent, not very long ago, at our house?'

"'Yes, the first evening after my return from Edinburgh; I remember it quite well. But what is it you especially allude to just now?' Mr Somers knew quite well what it was, but he wished to make Elizabeth speak.

"'My father said he did not meet with much encouragement as an author, and such a man should write a little, but not much; and you said, perhaps his originality was not of a sufficiently high order to stand alone.'

"Frederic was highly pleased to find Elizabeth remembered the very words which he recollected having used. 'Oh, no! such a rule is by no means applicable to Emerson. *His* originality *is* of a high order; and besides, if he deals chiefly in home manufactures, he draws his raw material in the way of suggestion largely from without—from history and nature—and thus his originality could not easily be exhausted.'

"Mr Somers resumed his reading; but at another time paused to say, 'Some have thought Emerson not quite in his element in treating either of Friendship or Love, because he makes so little of the particular affections, and would merge them, as we see in this essay we have read, in a feeling of universal love and beauty.'" . . . . . .

"Her son still remaining silent, Mrs Somers was provoked into taking up the subject. 'I think, my dear Frederic, you are really called on to justify yourself. How is it that you, who have such decided religious opinions, can like a man who so positively goes against them?'

"'I never dislike a man simply for his opinions, even if he holds what seems to me great error, if it does not appear to spring from obliquity of heart; and I have no reason whatever to think it does so with Emerson.'

"'Ah,' thought Elizabeth, 'how beautiful is his candour! I know he does not agree at all with Emerson in many things; and he does not consider those things unimportant. But, indeed, it is not so much depreciation of the value of truth, as a strong and *practical* sense of the sovereignty of God in dispensing it, which tends to make a man charitable.'

"'But though you should not dislike the *man*, I don't see how you can recommend his works.'

"'I don't think I ever do exactly *recommend* them. I admire and delight in them myself, and wish to introduce him to others who are capable of appreciating them, simply to add to their enjoyment.'

"'But if these attractions are combined with what is really hurtful?—'

"'I understand you,' said he, now entering with more animation into the discussion, 'and I think your principle is perfectly correct; but in some way it does not seem to me to apply to Emerson. He does not insinuate nor bring forward plausible arguments to support these views. If he did, I should be slow indeed to recommend him. For though we ought all to be able to meet error, as well as truth, face to face, a large number of men cannot safely do so, therefore I would do nothing to bring them in contact with it, when it assumes an aggressive form. But Emerson's theological opinions are just there before you (so far as they are there at all), as his other thoughts and feelings are, and that is all. You learn what they are, and it will do you no more harm to learn this from himself than from his censors. That absence of theoretic system, which is perhaps partly the cause and partly the effect of the unconnectedness we spoke of, Miss Howard, is an advantage here. It makes it by far easier to separate in feeling, as in thought, the truth from the error.'

"'Well,' said Mrs Somers, 'let us have liberality by all means; but when you speak of *sympathy*, I must own it surprises me you can feel with one who, I understand, does not actually believe in a personal God.'

"Elizabeth looked at Mr Somers in astonishment, and her countenance became a shade paler.

"'You did not perceive it,' said he, smiling; then becoming grave, and sighing, he added, 'I much fear, however, what my mother says is too true. But perhaps— I hope he does believe in a personal God, though often when he seems to speak of one, it is only an abstraction. To me, however, as I read, forgetting the man Emerson's individual views, those beautiful passages seem to breathe of a Divine Friend.'

"'I think, too,' said Elizabeth, after a short pause, by which time she had nearly recovered from the shock which her feelings had sustained; 'it is remarkable how we can sometimes enjoy nature without a reference to God.' After she had begun the sentence, she blushed to think how it might be misunderstood. But Mr Somers' reply set her at ease.

"'I quite agree with you; there is such an exquisité harmony between our natures and Nature without—a harmony instituted by God Himself—

and which he has made so perfect and direct, that there is no need that His idea, precious and ever appropriate as that idea is, should come between, in order to unite them. Now it is because Emerson seems to me, almost more than any other man, to be able to feel and to interpret this harmony, with all its subtle relations, between the soul of man and nature, whether seen in the physical forces or in universal being, that I so much enjoy and feast on his writings.'" . . . . . .

"'I must, return, however, to my favourite Dickens,' said Mary. 'I am sure you must allow those particulars you so disliked were perfectly natural. The combinations were such as might occur any day in human life.'

"'Yes, but would a refined taste have recorded them if they did? In a pathetic situation such as that, a spectator of deep sensibility would probably have failed to *see* what was there mentioned; for sensibility, while it sometimes sees more, often sees *less*, than insensibility; and certainly one of refined taste, if he could not help seeing it, would have ignored it. It seems to me no proper justification of such descriptions that they are according to nature. Nature is majestic, *silent*, and her great whole is so harmonious, she can admit of bold incongruities in her details; but Art is restricted, and can be harmonious only by selection.'

"'But, said Mary, 'we have, as my brother said to-day, the natural faculty of wit, which takes pleasure in incongruity.'

"'Yes, but there is selection, meaning, in that very incongruity, or there is no wit. There seems to me to be no meaning, or none but a disagreeable one, in *mixing up* the offensive with the pathetic. The two tunes, if they must both be played, should be played separately, and not together.'

"'I think, my dear,' said Mrs Somers, 'you should not altogether judge others by yourself. Those in whom the feeling of the humorous is strong, may find a legitimate pleasure in what to you is only repulsive.'

"'Yes, I am quite aware of that, and I must allow others to look with gratification at what I can only turn away my eyes from—the ugly peculiarities of appearance and manners of their fellow-men. But, surely, when we wish to enlist the *sensibilities* of others in their behalf, these are not the things to which we should draw their attention. What I complain of in Dickens is not his making the offensive and the awkwardly ridiculous *succeed* the pathetic, but his often mixing them up so with it as to me entirely to mar its effect.'"

These extracts will suffice to shew that the author of "Ashburn," possesses a thoughtful and cultivated mind, a mind at once under the power of high religious principle, and the utmost refinement of taste, and we hope will induce many readers to peruse her volume to seek for instruction where it is not often to be found—in the pages of a New Year's tale. Had we followed our inclination, we should have selected many other passages for the delectation of our readers, but space forbidding, we must content ourselves with particularly recommending to their notice, the chapters entitled "Fiction Triturated," and "Ethics and Theology," in which the subjects under discussion are treated with great lucidity and sound judgment. So much to our readers. To Aura herself we would say, that her mind being one in which the logical and analytical faculties, are decidedly the most prominent, in which the imagination does not seem to be vivid, and the dramatic power altogether wanting, she is far more likely to succeed in the writing of philosophical, æsthetical, and critical essays, than in the construction and develope-

ment of a story, for which, in candour, we must say she appears to have no talent whatever. "Ashburn" *is not a tale*,—there is literally no *story* in it at all,—its proper title would have been the "Opinions and Experiences of Frederic Somers, Gentleman;" but with all its artistic errors, we regard it as a valuable addition to our feminine literature, and we take leave of its author in the hope of soon meeting her again.

"Joseph the Jew," reminds us of one of Retsch's Sketches, in which a few strokes, drawn by a skilful hand, give all the effects of a finished picture. The story being founded on facts, and the author having apparently conscientiously adhered to the realities of the case, the events it records are stretched over a long period of years, during which many gaps in the biography of the hero occur, which we may suppose in a work of pure imagination would have been filled up. Having introduced Joseph to her readers as an ill-used child of tender years, and the necessities of truth requiring that she should carry them along with her until she leaves him an aged man, full of years and wisdom, instructing his grand-children in the way of life, she has with the esthetic perception of an artist seized upon those points of his history, which are not only the most prominent in themselves, but which possess a consecutive coherence with one another, and which, in spite of the intervals of many years which frequently occur in the developement of the story, give it all the consistence and finish of a well sustained tale. To give our readers an idea of the purpose the author had in view in its publication, we cannot do better than transfer to our pages her extremely well written preface, which we believe will induce many to purchase the book for their own instruction and guidance in the matter to which it particularly refers, and we sincerely hope it may have the effect it is so well calculated to produce, of softening their prejudices, not only against the proscribed race of Israel, but against others who are as unjustly looked upon as the pariahs of society:—

"In the present day, when many carry their liberality so far as to wish to obtain for the Jews an equal enjoyment of political as well as of religious privileges, any mere advocacy of their rights, particularly in the unassuming form of a tale for young people, would be useless and ridiculous. The object of this little book, is not to prove that the Jews have equal political rights with ourselves; that is a subject for statesmen to weigh with deliberation, and which the best and wisest of our political leaders will do well to consider carefully, involving, as it does, such important results. But, while many are ready to advocate the cause of the Jews in a social point of view, unfortunately the prejudices which were formerly entertained against them as private individuals and members of the community, still exist, even among professing Christians, exercising a very baneful influence on their character, and being especially calculated to hinder their conversion to Christianity.

"That many of the faults which we attribute to them, do at present exist in the Jewish character, is not denied by observant and thoughtful men, even among themselves; but we have been rather apt to overlook the fact, that it is we who have made them what they are. The barbarous persecutions which they endured during the first sixteen centuries of the Christian era, were perhaps less prejudicial to their moral development, than the more petty persecutions of modern times; and it has been my endeavour, in the following pages, to show how these were likely to act on the mind of an

educated and sensitively-minded Jew, as a barrier to the embracing of Christianity.

"During a residence of nearly two years in Germany, I was particularly struck with the fact, that those holding rationalistic views, were almost the only persons who really treated the Jews with what I should call true toleration. Consistency with their professed view, that creeds are immaterial so that God be worshipped, be it as 'Jehovah, Jah, or Jove,' compels them to this. The consequence of their toleration has been, that thousands of Jews, both on the continent and in this country, have become rationalists.

"Like all persons doubtful of the position which they are supposed to occupy in society, and accustomed to be looked on with suspicion and contempt, the Jews are peculiarly alive to kindness; and real sympathy and forbearance would, I am convinced, go farther towards elevating their moral character, and inclining them to Christianity, than all the teaching and preaching which have hitherto been substituted in their place. Could I hope that this little story would lead any of my readers to the exercise of that sympathy and forbearance, I should feel that my labour had not been altogether in vain."

Such being the aim of the work, we can say nothing higher in its praise, than that the execution is worthy of it. With historical fidelity and statistical accuracy, the writer details many of the persecutions and iniquitous imposts to which the Jews in Germany were subjected previous to the French Revolution, and very logically deduces that these were the very causes which led their victims to harden their hearts against the faith professed by their oppressors, and led the greatest minds amongst them to embrace Rationalism as the only solution of the doubts that disturbed them in their Judaical belief. The slight sketch given of the great Jewish philosopher Mendlesöhn, is touched with such delicacy and good taste, as makes us regret we do not see more of him, while the character of the Christian philosopher Dr Richter stands in fine relief to it, proving beyond controversy the supremacy of that wisdom which is from above, "over all philosophy falsely so called." It will strike every reader of her work, that *this* not less than that avowed in her preface, is the author's aim in "Joseph the Jew," and not one of the least of its merits is the perfect fulfilment of her purpose by the very simple and natural machinery she calls in aid to effect it. It is not by long and learned polemical discussions that she vindicates the supremacy of the philosophy of the gospel, but by such natural and striking illustrations of its power in the lives of its professors, as must carry conviction to every mind,—of which the following extract is a singular proof:—

"The young man who was to be buried, was the only child of one of the professors at the University. He had given promise of great ability, was young, gay, and amiable, when he was cut off by fever after a few days illness. His father was a man of much learning, and of a most benevolent nature, but destitute of that knowledge which alone maketh wise unto salvation. He boasted of his philosophic views, and avowed that he never would believe that to which his reason could not assent.

"A large number of persons were gathered round the young man's grave; he had been much liked, and his father was also a general favourite, so that, besides the friends who had been invited, a number of students had come to pay the last tribute of respect to their departed companion. All present

were surprised and distressed at the vehemence of the father's grief, which seemed uncontrollable. He sprung forward when the coffin was about to be lowered, and, but that his friends withheld him, would have leapt into the open grave. As the earth fell upon the lid, with its dull heavy sound, he seemed like one distracted, but gradually became a little more composed, and at length, with a desperate struggle, he mastered his emotion, and spoke as follows:—

"'My Friends, you wonder, I doubt not, that I, who am called a philosopher, should have betrayed such a passion of grief. It is not only that he who has now been consigned to the grave, was my only son, and that my heart was bound up in him; others have endured like losses, and have been able to bury their dead, in sorrow it is true, but in silence. They were supported under their heavy bereavement by a hope that they should again meet their loved one, to part no more for ever. I have no such hope —bear with me then my friends in my sorrow.' He threw himself on the newly made grave in such an agony of grief, that those present shed tears at the sight.

"Slowly and sadly the mourners returned to their several homes, leaving one or two of his more intimate friends to speak what comfort they could to the broken-hearted father.

"As Joseph walked to his house, and afterwards related to his shuddering wife, the sad scene which he had witnessed, he could not help acknowledging how frail a reed for support in the time of sorrow and sickness, was that human reason, of whose powers he so much boasted. But he had yet to learn what it is that can alone give the victory over death, and throw bright and peaceful light, even over the grave."

Though it is rather a long extract, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting to our readers the following passage, as it is one of the prettiest scenes we have lately met with in our reading of fiction:—

"'You may call again,' said the man, saucily, 'you Jews are always in such a hurry for your money. The ladies are out, and when the Fraulein is to be married the day after to-morrow, you might suppose we have no time to attend to you.'

"So saying, he slammed the door in her face, and Sarah turned away with the determination of authorizing Hannah to claim the money which she would not herself again seek for.

"At that moment a handsome carriage stopped at the door, in which were two ladies and two gentlemen. One of the ladies was elderly, tall, thin, and very stately. The other might be a year or two older than Sarah, but she looked young and very beautiful, her figure being round and graceful, with a lovely complexion, dancing blue eyes, and a remarkably fine chiselled mouth, in which there was an expression of firmness, as well as of great sweetness. Sarah looked at her for a moment with delight. She thought she had never seen any one she admired so much.

"As she stood for a second, half unconsciously looking at the party getting out of the carriage, she heard the elderly lady make some remark with a tone of asperity, about a Jewess.

"Colouring up to her very temples, Sarah hastened to be gone, when the younger lady addressed her in a voice so kind and sweet, that she quite forgot the momentary annoyance she had felt.

"'You have been calling at our door,' she said; 'did you wish to speak to either of us?'

"'I did, madam,' replied Sarah; 'the lady desired that I should call again for the payment of a wreath which I left here on Christmas Eve.'

"'Ah, my lovely wreath, the glory of my trousseau, that you so kindly gave me the other night, dear aunt; I suppose you would wish the young girl to come in and receive her money.'

"'Oh, as she is here, I dare say it would be as well,' said the aunt, and they entered the house, Sarah following, and feeling very much as if she had done something wrong, in coming to ask for her own money.

"As she stood in the hall, not very well knowing what to do next, and with a consciousness that the footman was grinning at her embarrassment, the kind voice of the young lady again addressed her.

"'Come up stairs to my room,' she said, 'and the money shall be brought to you immediately.'

"She took her into an elegant apartment, which was strewed about with all sorts of bridal finery; and among other things, Sarah saw the myrtle wreath laid upon a veil of beautiful Brussels lace.

"The young lady left her here, and went through a door into a room opening out of that in which Sarah stood, who therefore was compelled to listen to the following conversation:—

"'How very ridiculous of you, my dear, to bring that Jewess up to your own room. Why did you not leave her down stairs, which would have been the proper place for her?'

"'Because, dear aunt, to tell you the truth, I don't like that man Heinrich. I told you that I thought I had heard him speaking very gruffly to the poor girl when she brought my wreath, for I happened to be coming out of a room at the time, and overheard him. Then did you not notice how the door slammed in her face when we drove up to it to-day? I am sure, from her disconcerted look, that the poor young creature had met with a very unkind reception, which was certainly hard, when she had had all the trouble of coming back to get the money to which she was entitled; so I thought I would take her out of Heinrich's way, at any rate.'

"'Such nonsense. Who ever heard of Jew or Jewess that cared how much trouble, or how much impertinence they were subjected to, if they had a chance of getting money. They charge us double, and laugh in their sleeves at the rest.'

"'Well, I do not think so evil of them. I have known one Jew who possessed noble dispositions, and a most Christianly disregard of money, if that be indeed one of our Christian virtues. I am convinced that we are much, if not entirely to blame, for the present morally degraded condition of the Jews. Had we exercised towards them that Christian love and charity which our faith teaches us should be shewn to all our fellow-creatures, they would not be the cringing, money-making, money-loving people they are.'

"'These are some of Tante Bertha's Utopian views, Sannchen; and she seems to have infected your father as well as you with her nonsense. I heard him making such a fuss, because that protegé of his, what do you call him, Jacob, Jehoshaphat, or some such Jewish name, had called three times, and had not found either of you in. He was wanting his address, and actually spoke of going to the Jews' quarter to seek him. Such folly! but in the meanwhile we are greater fools still, leaving that girl all this time alone in your room, and so many valuables lying about. Here, child —here is the money; pay the girl yourself as you are so fond of the race, and be sure and look that nothing is amissing.'

"'Oh! aunt; the door is open; I hope the poor girl has not heard.'

"'Never mind; take the money and pay her, and don't sport your phil-

anthropic notions about Jews before the Major. He takes a more sensible view of things.'

"'I shall never hide my opinions from him, though, I am sorry to say, we differ on that subject. However, I mean to make him a convert,' replied the young lady, gaily.

"Sarah had indeed overheard the whole conversation; but when the names, Tante Bertha and Sannchen, met her ear, she forgot everything else, in her pleasure at discovering, that the kindness she had just met with, had proceeded from Joseph's much-valued Christian friend.

"Sannchen was startled as she entered, at the eager expression and bright blush that had mantled on the pale face of the Jewess. For an instant her aunt's suspicions crossed her mind; but she could not look at Sarah's honest, truthful eyes, and feel any doubt of her trustworthiness. Then she recollected the conversation, which Sarah had probably overheard, and which would quite account for her heightened colour; but Sarah's expressive countenance did not seem to speak of vexation or displeasure. On the contrary, her face beamed with satisfaction. These thoughts passed in a moment through Sannchen's mind, as she advanced towards Sarah, and lifting the wreath, said, 'This is the most delicate, beautiful thing I ever saw. The flowers look real; they must have cost you a great deal of time and labour. My aunt wishes to know what she is to pay for it.'

"Sarah smiled. 'If I am right in supposing that you are the Fraulein von Hohenburg,' she said, 'I shall think myself well paid in the pleasure I feel at having unwittingly made that wreath for you.'

"'What do you mean?' said Sannchen, looking at her in astonishment. 'I am quite unacquainted with you, though I certainly am the person you name.'

"'But I am well acquainted with you,' replied Sarah. 'I have often listened to the story of the kindness shown by your family to the poor Jew orphan, whom your father befriended.'

"'Oh! you mean that you know Joseph,' said Sannchen, smiling; 'but he must be a very special friend of yours indeed, that you should take such an interest in his acquaintances.'

"'I am his betrothed bride,' replied Sarah, blushing; 'and I hope you will not refuse me this one favour for his sake. I little thought, when I made that wreath, with so many tears, how happy it was to make me. Dear young lady, if you only knew how many years I have known and loved you, and how often I have wished to see you, you would not reject my little gift.'

"'I accept it with many thanks,' said Sannchen. 'I thought it exquisitely beautiful before, now its value is enhanced tenfold in my eyes! But why was it made with tears? I understood that Ephraim was dead, and Joseph become a rich man. Why do you continue to make flowers, if the task is distasteful to you?'

"'I knew not of his change of circumstances when I made that wreath,' said Sarah. 'I only heard the good news on my return home that night, when I was feeling very miserable.'

"Sannchen drew from her the simple tale of her sorrows and sufferings, which Sarah concluded, by mentioning why she had come herself to claim the money for the wreath, though she no longer needed it.

"'You are a noble-hearted girl,' said Sannchen, wiping away the tears which had gathered in her eyes at the sad recital, 'Joseph is very fortunate in having such a sweet wife. May you both be happy, in the truest sense of the word. You know,' she added, 'I do not think any one can be truly happy who is ignorant of that faith which I believe can alone give peace to the wounded conscience, and rest to the troubled heart. Many prayers

have been offered for Joseph, that he might be brought to that knowledge, which we believe alone maketh wise unto salvation; and in future, you must let us join your name with his, when we remember him at the Throne of Grace. What is your name?'

"'Sarah. I thank you for your wishes; I know you mean them kindly; and we, too, will never forget to pray that the blessing of the God of Israel may be on you and yours.'

"They parted, with many expressions of mutual esteem. When Sannchen returned to her aunt's room, she found her sitting where she had left her, in a state of great astonishment.

"'Did you hear our conversation, dear aunt?'

"'I did, and could scarcely believe my ears. After all, I believe you are right, Sannchen. There must be some good among those people. Poor thing; what she must have suffered! and she looks so young and so delicate.'

"'My sweat wreath,' said Sannchen, who still held the flowers in her hand; 'you contain a little romance under your delicate flowers and green leaves, and you have succeeded in converting my aunt to my way of thinking. You are a wonderful little wreath.' So saying, she kissed her aunt, and retired to her own room, to think of Sarah, Joseph, and her own marriage."

This is very charming, and the whole book is such a vast advance on her former work, "Mary Mathieson," in style, thought, and artistic execution, that we confidently look forward to the author of "Joseph the Jew," attaining a high position amongst the female writers of the day. One great beauty in her, which cannot in these days be too highly extolled, is, that well acquainted as she evidently is, not only with the people of Germany, but with its language and literature, she has not allowed herself to be *Germanised*, she always writes like an accomplished English lady, not like a *Brummagem German Metaphysician*, as is too much the fashion at present with the unfortunate females who are cursed with a smattering of what is considered *par excellence* the language of transcendentalism.

"Jessie Cameron," a Highland story, is a kind of marvel in its way, being a tale told in most excellent Scotch, and graphically illustrative of Scotch character, and Scottish peasant life, by an Irish lady of quality, as from her name we conclude she is. We never on this side of Tweed speak of *Farmer* This or *Farmer* That—and there is not a peasant lad from Cromarty Frith to the Solway, who would ever dream of saying "he was going to the *village*," as they dignify every "biggin" though it were but a hind's cottage and byre with the name of "*a toun*;" but save for one or two slight inaccuracies of this sort, we could have sworn the author of "Jessie Cameron" had been born and brought up in some rural district of Scotland, and been intimately associated with its rustic population. The tale is a stirring one, embracing in its incidents a serious midnight poaching affray, an unsuccessful hunt of Excise officers after smugglers in the fastnesses of the Highland hills, the effects of a Highland snow-drift, the ravages made by *a spate* in a Highland river, and the interesting vicissitudes of two love tales, all of which are related with so much graphic power, such humour, pathos, and above all *truth*, as makes us desire to see some more ambitious effort of the writer. The

principal error she has committed in her present work is, that though the scene is laid in the Highlands, excepting in the instances of the rash self-willed boy Donald, the vain and vacillating Allister Stuart, and the giddy girl Bell, the characters she introduces in it are not Highlanders, but the steady, thoughtful, high-principled, and independent peasants of the Lowlands of Scotland, who are a very different people, from the fiery, boastful, servile, and not over conscientious Celt. This is an error, however, which it is natural for any but a native Scot to have fallen into, and which may be very readily pardoned in a work that has so many excellencies to recommend it otherwise. As a specimen of the wonderful fidelity of Scottish portraiture exhibited in this little volume, we select for extraction, the interview between Jessie and her faithless lover, after he has sealed his perfidy by becoming the husband of another. Sir Walter Scott would have contemplated the picture with pleasure, and Jeanie Deans would have been proud to call its heroine sister:—

"She was in her garden one sunny afternoon, training her favourite honeysuckle over the cottage, when a shadow darkened the path, and she turned hastily to see Allister gazing at her as though his soul were in his eyes, but irresolute whether he should address her.

"She became deadly pale, and caught at the window-sill for support; but in a few seconds recovered herself, and said calmly, 'Are ye wantin' my brither, Maister Stuart?'

"'*Mr* Stuart! Oh, Jessie, if ye've ony mercy, do not call me that, an' do not look sae cauldly, if ye would hae me keep my reason!'

"Jessie drew up her tall figure to its full height as she replied: 'What ye mean by that way of speakin' I dinna ken. Ance mair, sir, what's your wull? Can I be of ony service to you? If no, I see nae need ye hae to bide here.'

"'Jessie, Jessie! I have focht and warstled against it for nichts an' days, but a' to nae purpose. I maun tell you, I'm a miserable man that has destroyed his ain happiness. I wad fain have your pardon and your pity; but oh, lassie! dinna look sae stern and cauld at me.'

"Jessie shuddered as she said, 'My pardon ye hae had langsyne, an' my prayers for your happiness ana; and noo ye'll be best awa hame, for I've nae wish to haud converse wi' ye.'

"'Oh, but ye're hard an' cruel, Jessie! I see now, ye never loved me, or ye wadna use me that gate—me that never ceases regrettin' and lamentin'; me that you are aye dearer to than ony. When I see my house, and the taupie I hae, for my punishment, brocht to be its mistress, it is you my thochts flee to. And oh! to see you as you are, and to feel it's a' my ain doing.' Allister spoke hurriedly, and seized Jessie's cold hand imploringly, but she wrenched it from him, and answered indignantly—

"Love ye, Allister! God abune us a' kens how truly I did love ye. I wad hae starved wi' you, an' ca'd it happiness; an' what reward gat I, but ill requital an' cruel neglect? Thankfu' am I that ye *are* naething to me noo. When ye daur to speak o' love to me, an' you the husband o' anither, I despise ye! Gang your ways hame, an' dinna ye come here again, or I'll steek the door against your insults. The Allister I loved is as different to you as the sunshine is to the mirk nicht;' and Jessie pushed by him and ran into the cottage, where her outraged feelings and strong womanly indignation found vent in a flood of bitter tears."

DRUIDISM.[1]

HEATHENISM as embodied in the different systems which the ingenuity of man has invented, and which have obtained more or less credence in the world's history, is entitled to patient and persevering study. There never was any nation upon earth, which even in the darkest period of its history, did not profess some form of religion. Nor was religion ever regarded by its votaries merely as an abstract subject of pursuit. On the contrary, its precepts were ceremoniously reduced to practice and exercised a powerful influence upon their minds and manners. Hence it is impossible to form a correct conception of the character and transactions of any people, without some knowledge of their religion. Further, it is only this knowledge that can supply us with a clue to man's inner being and the natural desires and aspirations of the soul. The perpetual strugglings of the mind in a state of nature to raise itself from the abyss of darkness into which it is sunk, and the tenacity with which it clings to religion as a means of recovery, show us how strong and indestructable is the belief of man in his fallen and degraded condition, and that he was a being created for a nobler destiny; while the false and corrupt faiths in which he was willing to confide, as an efficacious remedy for his wants, convince us how utterly impotent are his attempts to regain the light, and to elevate himself to that state of purity and happiness which was lost by transgression. A knowledge too of this important branch of historical study is highly useful to the missionary. To engage successfully in the important work of evangelizing the heathen, a simple acquaintance with the truths and doctrines of the gospel, and the utility to explain and illustrate them, are not sufficient qualifications. In addition to these, the missionary should possess an accurate acquaintance with the nature and influences of that particular form of heathenism, against which his efforts are to be directed. In assailing the citadel of error, he must not rush blind-fold into the work, but on the contrary must proceed with caution and deliberation. He must mark the strength and position of the fortress, select the weakest points, and arrange his plans and adapt his weapons for the assault. But herein he is not left to depend entirely on his own resources, for he can avail himself of the testimony of experience. By a study of these primitive faiths, which, though existing in remote ages, are similar to those against which he is combating, and by a knowledge of the means by which they were uprooted, he is possessed of materials which will enable him to wield successfully the weapons of his warfare. Thus furnished, he resembles the traveller, who journeying over untenanted wilds, trusts to the charts and recorded experience of former adventurers.

Among those primitive systems of religion, the Druidical holds a prominent place. In addition to the claims which it has upon our attention, resulting from the considerations to which we have referred, it has besides a peculiar importance from its high antiquity. For its

[1] The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon. By Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.S.L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France.

original it carries us back to the plains of Shinar, where the different branches of the Noachian family were dispersed to search for a residence in the plains of Europe and Asia. The Britons as well as the Gauls, derived their origin from Gomer the son of Japhet, and formed a part of the great wave of population that inundated the plains of Western Europe. In their migrations there can be little doubt that they carried with them the pure principles of the Patriarchal faith; for it cannot be imagined that the grandson of Noah could be unacquainted with the knowledge of the true God, and of the essential principles of religion, or that he neglected to communicate this knowledge to his immediate descendants. But the method by which the faith of Gomer was handed down from age to age was ill-adapted for preserving it free from coruptions. Tradition, however pure and limpid it may be at its fountain head, like other streams becomes turbid in its progress. Accordingly the pure religion of the Patriarch in process of time disappeared, and Druidism supplied its place. This system struck its roots deep in Britain, and from thence found its way to Gaul. In the latter country, however, owing to the intercourse which its inhabitants held with their Teutonic neighbours,[1] it was subject to foreign admixture. Hence it was customary at the period of the Roman invasion, for the youth of Gaul, designed for the priesthood, to come over to Britain with the view of being better instructed in the principles of their faith.[2]

The name Druid is generally derived from the Greek word δρυς, signifying an oak,[3] but as the order it represented was in existence before the Greek word was formed, and there is no evidence that the Druids were acquainted with the Greek tongue, it is safer to derive it from *dru* or *deru*, an old Celtic word. But on either supposition the signification of the name is equal, as relating to the oak, under the shadow of which the Druids performed their solemn religious ceremonies.

By some writers the Druids have been represented as having a great variety of ranks and orders, but they are generally supposed to have been

[1] It is now assumed that the Germans are a distinct race from the Celts, and that they did not profess the Druidical religion. Dr Gilbert Stuart, in his "Historical Dissertation" (p. 187) maintains quite the opposite of this, but we conceive on no valid grounds. Caesar expressly affirms that the Germans had "no Druids to preside in religious affairs." (B. vi. c. 19). The fact also stated by Caesar, that the Belgae who inhabited the country interjacent to the Celts and Germans, differed from the Celts in their "language, institutions, and laws," can only be accounted for on the supposition that they were Germans, and that the latter were a race *sui generis*. Though compelled to dissent from Dr Stuart's views upon this point, we cannot help expressing our regret that his works should be so little known and read. As a man of letters, he is one of the most distinguished that our country has produced. "It is with justice," Dr Irving remarks, (Elements of Composition, p. 208) "that Mr Hayley distinguishes Dr Stuart as an author possessed of all the energy of genius." His style, though certainly deficient in fluency and in variety, is bold, vigorous, and upon some occasions he even rises to uncommon eloquence. The English language can boast of few more striking works than his views of society in Europe. The life of this wayward and eccentric genius, as given by Chambers, is deeply interesting.

[2] Caesar, lib. 6, c. 14.

[3] It was Pliny who first suggested this derivation of the term, and succeeding writers have blindly followed him. Vide His. Nat. lib. xvi. c. 95.

divided into three classes, the Bards, the Vates or Vaids, and the Druids,[1] though the latter name was frequently given to the whole order. The first class, viz., the Bards, were heroic, historical, and genealogical poets. They did not belong to the priesthood, and had no immediate concern in the offices of religion. Their chief employment was to celebrate in verse the history of their country, the martial exploits of heroes, and the charms of the fair. We are informed by Ossian that "beneath his own tree at intervals *the Bard sat* down with his harp. They raised the song and touched the string each to the chief he loved." When brave and good princes fell in battle, the Bards bewailed their fate in the most mournful and sympathetic dirges, but such offices were refused when the fallen during their lives had been guilty of any thing unbecoming heroes. In the poems of Ossian, we have, if not the identical compositions of the Druidical Bards, very close resemblances to their epinician songs. Of these ethical and historical poems, specimens are preserved in the Triads or chaunts of the Welsh harpers. The bards were also well acquainted with the principles of music. Their songs were martial aad heart-stirring, and had the power of assisting armies when on the very point of engaging in battle. This class was held in high esteem in the British Isles, and even the nobles esteemed it an honour to be enrolled in their order.[2] Such, indeed, was the veneration which the princes of these times entertained for their persons, that they sometimes pardoned even their capital crimes for a song.

The second class of Druids, the Vates or Vaids, belonged still more properly to the priesthood. They were physicians and diviners, and familiar with the elements of nature. In the practice of medicine, they thought that diseases could be removed by charms and amulets. The mistletoe[3] and a stone called the *adder-stone*, were used for this purpose. But their principal reliance seems to have been placed on temperance, cheerfulness and exercise. These they prescribed to their patients as the sure means of preserving or restoring health. It should also be mentioned that they taught the people that no medicine could be efficacious without the blessing of the gods. Even the mystic virtues of the mistletoe were regarded as ineffectual without this, and hence in cutting it they prayed to God that he would bless his own gift to those on whom he bestowed it.[4]

The *Druids*, who composed the third class, were by far the most numerous, and therefore, as we have said, the whole order was commonly called by that name. Among the Celtic tribes, they discharged the offices of judges, magistrates, and lawgivers, and they had the supreme control of every thing relating to religion. No sacred rite was ever performed without their assistance.[5] By them, as being the favourites of the gods and depositaries of their councils, the people offered all their sacrifices, thanksgivings, and prayers, and they yielded the most implicit obedience to their judgments. This class enjoyed the highest honours

[1] Strab., B. iv. c. 6, § 4. [2] Caesar, lib. 6, c. 14.
[3] The misletoe is still used for cases of epilepsy. See Dissertation on the misletoe, by Sir John Cobbett, 1729.
[4] Plin. His. Nat., lib. 16, c. 44. [5] Caesar, lib. 6, c. 13.—Diod. Sic. lib 5. c. 31.

and the greatest privileges. They were called "most noble"[1] and accounted superior in honour and dignity to all other magnates of the kingdom. Even princes were ambitious of being admitted to their society.

In the arrangements of their religion, these three orders were subordinate to one who filled the office of arch-Druid, and whose ordinary residence was in the Isle of Anglesey, where vestiges of his palace are still visible. Upon the death of this *pontifex maximus*, the next in dignity was appointed to succeed him, and if there were two whose merits were equal, the election was made by the votes of the whole body. In such cases many candidates came forward, and the sword was frequently appealed to to decide the election.[2]

The appearance of the Druids is represented as venerable and commanding. They wore flowing beards and were clothed in a white surplice. On their head, the hair of which was kept very short, was placed a diadem, and round their necks they wore a kind of garment enchased with gold, called the *Druid's egg*. Their necks were likewise decorated with gold chains, and their hands and arms with bracelets.[3] They carried a scrip by their side, and in their hand the magic wand, regarded as oracular, and without which they seldom attempted to deliver their predictions. Their countenances assumed an aspect of severity and moroseness, and, with their eyes directed towards the ground as indications of their studious and contemplative habits, they claimed and received the admiration and homage of the people. They were great lovers of science, and cultivated an acquaintance with physiology, astronomy, botany, and natural philosophy.[4] From the huge *cairns* and *cromleachs* which are still found in various parts of the country, we may infer that their knowledge of mechanical principles must have been considerable. Their power was great and their privileges numerous. No favour it was thought could repay their services. They were exempt from taxation and from the service of war.[5] Kings, as well as the meanest of the people, submitted to their rule. So great was the respect paid to their character, that when two hostile armies, inflamed with rage, were on the point of engaging in battle, if the Druids interfered, the belligerent parties became instantly calm and peaceful.[6] There is reason to believe that their means of support were most munificent for the times in which they lived. Having the administration of justice, the practice of medicine, and the mysteries of religion in their own hand, their emoluments must have been considerable. The priests exacted from every family certain annual dues, and to ensure the regular payment of these, each householder was obliged, on pain of interdiction, to extinguish his fire on the last day of October, to attend at the altar with his dues, and to take a portion of consecrated fire home on the subsequent day, for his use in the ensuing year. But if any man had not paid his last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the cairns, nor could any of his neighbours let him have the benefit of his. If he would

[1] Mela, lib. iv. 2. [2] Caesar, lib. 6, c. 14. [3] Strabo, lib. 4, c. 4, § 5.
[4] Lucan Phars. lib. iii.—Mela, lib. 3, c. 11. [5] Caesar, lib. vi, c. 13.
[6] Diod. Sic. lib. 5, c. 31.

brew, therefore, or bake, or roast, or boil, and if he would warm himself and his family, in short, if he would survive the winter, the Druid's dues must be paid by the end of October.[1] Nothing has been affirmed with certainty as to the precise number of the Druids, but it is generally believed that it was great. . . . Among a superstitious people there is always an abundance of priests. But in Britain this was especially the case, for the inhabitants entertained an opinion favourable to their encrease. They imagined that the greater the number of Druids they had in their country, their harvests would be more plentiful.[2] Many also allured by the honours and privileges which they enjoyed, cordially embraced their discipline.

Of the religious doctrines held by the Druids, there were two distinct systems. The one of these they communicated only to the initiated, who at their admission into their order were solemnly sworn to keep it secret. For greater privacy they taught the principles of this system in the most sequestered places, such as caves of the earth and the recesses of forests.[3] They were never, like their other doctrines, recorded in verse, lest they should be made public.[4] The other system was taught to the public or uninitiated. It was adapted to the capacities and superstitious humours of the people, and was well calculated to promote the honour and opulence of the priesthood. The secret doctrines were more in accordance with primitive tradition and reason than the other, since the Druids were under no temptation, in their private schools, to conceal or disguise the truth. They maintained in secret the doctrine of one God, the creator and governor of the universe. They believed in the creation of the world, the formation of man, his primitive innocence and felicity, and his fall into guilt and misery, the creation of angels, their rebellion and expulsion from heaven, the universal deluge and the final destruction of the world by fire. Their doctrines on these subjects coincided with those of Scripture, but as they were communicated only to the initiated, they were of no benefit to the people. The priests for mercenary ends had embraced the maxim that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." They imagined that the common people were unable to comprehend rational principles, and could not be influenced by reason, and that their religious cravings were most likely to be best satisfied by the devices of superstition. Accordingly their popular theology consisted of a great number of mythological fables concerning the genealogy, attributes, offices, and actions of their gods, the various superstitious methods of appeasing their anger, gaining their favour and discovering their will. These fables were couched in verse, abounding in figures and metaphors, and were delivered by the priests from little eminences to crowds of eager listeners. This code of fabulous divinity was interspersed with ethical precepts for the regulation of life and manners. The people were exhorted to abstain from doing injury to one another, to cultivate the warlike virtues, and to fight valiantly in defence of their country. These pathetic declarations made a deep impression upon their minds, inspiring them with a supreme veneration

[1] Zoland's History of the Druids, p. 71.
[2] Mela, lib. 3, c. 2.
[3] Strabo, lib. 4, c. 4, § 4.
[4] Caesar, lib. 6, c. 13.

for the gods, an ardent love of their country, an undaunted courage, and a sovereign contempt of death.

The Druids firmly believed in a future state,[1] and their doctrines on this subject were made known to the people. Their heaven was called *Flath-innis*, or Isle of the brave, and to their place of woe they gave the name *Ifuria* or Isle of the cold clime. The former of these abodes rivalled in magnificence the halls of the Scandinavian Odin, or the voluptuous paradise of the Islam faith. It was inhabited by the departed spirits of all the good and the brave, who walked in its hallowed gardens, robed in shining apparel, and it abounded in all sorts of delights. In the words of the songs of their minstrels—"The trees were open and free to the ocean, trees loaded with leaves which scarce moved to the light breeze, were scattered on the green slopes and rising grounds. The rude winds walked not on the mountains. No storm took its course there, the sky all was calm and bright. The pure sun of autumn shone from his blue sky on the fields. He hastened not to the west for repose, nor was he seen to rise from the east. He sits on his mid-day height and looks on the noble Isle. On the rising hills are the halls of the departed, the high-roofed dwellings of the heavens of old."[2]

On the other hand the Isle of Ifuria was a cold and gloomy region, often covered with snows and peopled with all sorts of terrors. Its chillness and gloom were relieved by the warmth and radiance of no sunbeams. Stormy winds haunted its valleys and stripped the flowers of their buds and the trees of their foliage. The water of its lakes was turbid and bitter, and whoever tasted it was tormented with perpetual thirst. Birds of prey hovered in the air, venemous serpents and ferocious animals tormented without destroying the hopeless beings who were doomed to its dark abodes. These doctrines concerning a future state were not regarded by the people as the extravagent imaginations of a lively mind, but believed in as solemn realities. They operated powerfully upon their minds and superinduced a feeling of dissatisfaction with their lot. The comforts and enjoyments of this life were nothing to the delights of paradise, and death itself was no calamity, but rather a blessing, as it was the gateway to a higher and nobler sphere of existence. This belief made them courageous and prodigal of life. The warrior in battle was stimulated to fresh acts of intrepidity and valour, from the consciousness that he would meet with the approving smiles of the gods, who looked down with interest upon the scene. If he fell amid the carnage, visions of the cup of bliss that awaited him in another world soothed his mind in the agonies of death. This belief in immortality, and that death was only the commencement of a second life, manifested its influence in the commonest transactions, and historians assert that the Celts freely borrowed sums of money to be repaid when they reached the Island of the Brave.

As to the gods whom the Druids worshipped, for many ages they retained in secret the doctrine of one supreme being who was worshipped under the name of Dia or Beal. This divinity was regarded as "the life of everything," the source of activity, and as the formation or "quick-

[1] Mela, lib. 3. c. 11.

[2] Macpherson's "Introduction to the History of Britain," p. 183.

ening principle in nature."[1] But as this doctrine was unsuited to the gross minds of the vulgar, who could not be brought to believe that one being was capable of superintending the whole creation, by degrees *Polytheism* was introduced. Accordingly their Theogony contains a large array of gods and goddesses, to each of whom particular attributes were assigned.[2] The most conspicuous of these divinites were Heseus and Teutates. Heseus presided over war and armies, and was the same with Mars. Teutates (who was likewise the chief of the minor deities of the Scandinavians) had the attribute of eternal intelligence ascribed to him, and was regarded as exercising an over-ruling providence in the affairs of the world. His fêtes were kept at midnight, in the recesses of forests, by the rays of the moon or the flashing of torches, and the place, when the ceremonies were over, was sown with stones, and doomed to perpetual barrenness. Under particular circumstances sacrifices were offered to this god, which were accompanied by wild cries and fierce gestures. Like other nations of polytheists, the Celts were addicted to hero-worship. Great princes, wise legislators, inventors of useful arts, magnanimous chiefs who had been the objects of universal admiration during their lives, became the objects of adoration after death. These deified heroes were regarded as taking a peculiar interest in human affairs. They were appealed to in cases of feudal discord and family contentions, and their will was ascertained by augury. In addition to hero-worship the Celts deified the most striking objects of nature. The sun, moon, and stars, which were at first regarded merely as lively emblems of the deity, came eventually to be mistaken for and adored as particular divinities. The sun was regarded as the fountain of light. To this illustrious object of their worship, the cairns were chiefly dedicated, from which, owing to their elevation, they had a full view of the heavenly bodies. The moon (likewise the object of idolatrous veneration among the Germans) was a favourite divinity. They worshipped this luminary out of gratitude, it is probable, for the favours which they received from her in their predatory expeditions. So important were her favour and countenance regarded, that they never engaged in battle or in any important enterprise, while she remained in a state of obscurity. Another feature in the worship of the Druids, was the veneration in which the oak tree was held. They performed no religious ceremony without being adorned with garlands of its leaves, and the mistletoe, that vegetated from it, was esteemed sacred.[3]

The great object which the Celts had in view in the worship of these divinities, seems to have been to express admiration of their persons and

[1] Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, p. 16.

[2] Cæsar says that Mercury was their chief deity, and that next to him came Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. The Celts, like the Germans, may have had deities resembling these, whose names answer to our modern days of the week; but they could hardly have been called by the same Roman titles. "There is reason to suppose," says Dr Ledwick, "that when the names of the deities accord with those of the Romans, Cæsar indulged a propensity which many others have done, of representing the religion of foreign people as similar to their own."—*Antiq. of Ireland*, p. 39.

[3] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 16. c. 44.

gratitude for their favours, to appease their anger and engage their love, and to discover their designs with regard to future events. Accordingly their acts of worship consisted of songs of praise and thanksgiving, prayers and supplications, offerings and sacrifices, and the rites of augury and divination. Much importance was attached to offerings. These differed in degree and nature, according to the circumstances of the offerers. They generally consisted of the most useful and excellent things which could be procured, and which they imagined would be most agreeable to the gods. Their sacred places were crowded with these pious gifts, expressive of gratitude for favours received. They were sometimes given in fulfilment of vows which had been made in times of trouble. When armies returned from a successful campaign, the most precious of their spoils were offered to the god to whom they conceived they were indebted for success. These spoils were piled up in their consecrated groves, and by the side of some hallowed lake. They were esteemed sacred, and were seldom or never violated.[1]

The purposes which the rite of sacrifice was designed by the Druids to subserve, seem to have been to make atonement for guilt and to avert the dreaded punishment. Their sacrifices generally consisted of such animals as were used for food. They imagined that as these were very palatable and nourishing to themselves, they would be no less so to the gods. The victims were carefully examined by the Druids, after which they were sacrificed with various ceremonies. Sometimes they were consumed by fire upon the altar, but generally they were divided into parts, one of which was offered in sacrifice, another fell to the share of the priest who officiated at the ceremony, and upon the remainder the person who brought the sacrifice feasted with his friends.[2] There is evidence that the Druids did not confine themselves to these offerings, but proceeded to greater lengths of cruelty, by the sacrifice of human beings. "It was an article in their creed," says Cæsar,[3] "that nothing but the life of man can atone for the life of man, in so much that they have established even public sacrifices of this kind. Some prepare huge images of wicker-work, which they fill with men, who are thus burned alive in offerings to their deities. These victims are generally selected from among those who have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes, in whose punishment they think the immortal gods take the greatest pleasure; but if there be a scarcity of such victims, they do not hesitate to sacrifice innocent men in their place." It also appears that "cattle of all kinds were sometimes burned in this colossus together with men," and that "human victims were sometimes crucified, sometimes pierced with arrows, and sometimes pierced in the back with a sword, in which last case, they divine from their convulsive throes."[4] The mere mention of such barbarities is enough to excite within us feelings of the utmost disgust and detestation. The Druids, however, in this particular were no worse than some other nations of antiquity. The same charge could be brought against the Carthaginians and Phœnicians. It is also alleged against the Druids that they feasted on their victims.

[1] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 15. c. 14.
[2] Chuver, Antiq. lib. 1. c. 35.
[3] Lib. 6. c. 15.
[4] Adv. Jormi. lib. 2.

St Jerome, in the fifth century, writes thus: "In my youth I saw in Gaul, the Scots, a Pictish people, feeding upon human bodies."[1] And we know for certain that the Gauls, conducted by Brennius into Greece, were anthropophagi.[2] It is difficult to contravene the testimony of Jerome; but as the fact which he mentions is not confirmed by any other historian, we must, in charity, suppose that if the practice of feasting upon human victims prevailed in Gaul at all, it was confined to this particular tribe, which was distinguished above others for fierceness and barbarity. Human sacrifice is bad enough, but from the idea of cannibalism, the mind recoils with unspeakable horror.

In respect to the rites and ceremonies of their worship, but little is known. "There is reason to believe," says Dr Lindsay Alexander in his interesting little work on Iona, "that they attached much importance to the ceremony of going thrice round their sacred circle from east to west, following the course of the sun, by which it is supposed that they intended to express their entire conformity to the will and order of the Supreme Being, and their desire that all might go well with them according to that order. It may be noticed as an illustration of the tendency of popular usages and religious rites, how they abide with a people, generation after generation, in spite of changes of the most important kind, nay after the very opinions out of which they have arisen have been repudiated,—that even to the present day certain movements are considered of good omen only when they follow the course of the sun.[3]—and that in some of the remote parts of the country the practice is still retained of seeking good fortune by going thrice round some supposed sacred object from east to west." Particular hours of the day were set apart for their acts of worship. These were during mid-day and noon, when they supposed the gods visited the groves; at noon they probably worshipped the sun, and at midnight the moon. They had also their festivals or high days, when the Druids assembled in solemn conclave and performed all the various rites of their religion. Two were deemed of special importance. The one was held in the beginning of the month of May, and was called Be' el-tin, or fire of God. On this occasion a large fire was kindled, on some eminence, in honour of the sun, whose genial light and warmth they thus welcomed after the gloomy chillness of winter. Of this custom a trace remains in the name given to Whitsunday in many parts of Scotland, where it is still called Beltin-day.[4] The other was called Samh'in, or fire of peace. It was held on Hallow-eve, which still retains this designation in some parts of the country. On this occasion the Druids met in the most central parts of the country to perform the judicial functions of their order. At this

[1] Adv. Jormi. lib. 2. [2] Pausa. in Phocis.

[3] The practice at one time religiously observed of circulating the bottle at table according to the sun's course, is an instance of this. To do otherwise was unbecoming.

[4] Our readers will remember the lines in Motherwell's "Jeanie Morrison:"—

"The fire that's blawn on Beltane e'en,
May weel be black gin Yule;
But blacker fa' awaits the heart
When first fond love grows cule."

court they assigned both rewards and punishments, and whoever refused to abide by their sentence was subjected to a curse far more terrible than that of bell, book, and candle. They were held as impious and profane. Their presence was spurned as contagious. Every species of civil and ecclesiastical honour was withheld from them, and if they were plaintiff in a lawsuit, justice was denied them.[1] With the discharge of these judicial functions were combined certain superstitious usages; the chief of which was the kindling of the sacred fire, from which all the fires in the district, which before hand had been extinguished, might be rekindled. This custom of kindling fires on Hallow-eve lingered in the country long after Druidism was abolished, and so attached were the people to it, that the Gaelic councils had to prohibit it on pain of death.[2] In many parts of the country, the practice prevailed within the memory of persons still living, but like many other follies it has fallen into disuetude.

It has been generally supposed that the *cromleachs*, (called by the peasantry in France "devils' tatetes") which are to be found in various parts of Britain and France, had some connection with the Druidical worship. "A circle of stones," says Dr Alexander, "generally of vast size, and surrounding an area of from 20 feet to 30 yards in diameter, constituted their sacred place, and in the centre of this stood the cromleach or altar, which was an obelisk of immense size, or a large oblong flat stone supported by pillars." We are inclined, however, to think that these conjectures of antiquarians are incorrect, and that the cromleach was not used in the Druidical worship at all. If they were, it seems strange that they are almost always found on eminences, when we know that the Druids worshipped in forests, and by the side of oak-trees and streams. It is more than probable that they were sepulchral chambers, denuded of their mounds. We are confirmed in this opinion by a discovery made in the year 1800 near Penzance in Cornwall, where, beneath one of these cromleachs, were found a heap of broken urns and human bones.[3]

The Druidical system, when contrasted with those of other idolatrous nations, presents many striking similarities. The method employed by the Druids for instructing the people in their religious doctrines, resembles the Esoteric and Exoteric systems pursued by the Gymnosophists and Brahmins of India and the Persian Magi. Their doctrines concerning the immortality of the soul and a future state, are similar to those of other nations. Their Flukuniis', or Island of the Brave, corresponds with the Elysium of the Greeks and Romans, and the paradise of the Mahomedans, though they differed in their conceptions of a state of torment, inasmuch as their Isle of Ifurin was regarded as a cold clime. The names of many of their gods and goddesses, as well as the attributes assigned to them, are similar to those of the Greeks and Romans, and it

[1] It is not improbable that outlawries took their rise from this Druidical interdiction. Vide Braston, lib. 3, c. 13.

[2] Bortase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 171.

[3] See on this point "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," by Mr Smith, which we have placed at the head of our article. Differing, as we do with Mr Smith, on some ethnological questions, his work is learned, judicious, and interesting, and much in advance of previous writers on the same subject.

is a question of dispute whether the Druids borrowed them from these nations, or the contrary, which perhaps is most probable. In the sacrifice of human victims, they resembled the Egyptians, Carthaginians, and Phœnicians, who were guilty of the same superstitious barbarities. In short, so many and striking are the similarities in the rites and ceremonies of their worship to the religion of the Phœnicians, that some have endeavoured to establish an identity, or to show that the former, in its general characteristics, was borrowed exclusively from the latter. But Druidism, abstracted from the consideration of doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, and regarded as a potent principle operating in the mind of its votary, guiding him in his determinations, and governing his will, assumes a peculiar feature. Contrasted in this respect with the religion of the Greeks, which is perhaps the most beautiful of all mythologies, it presents a striking difference. The Greek, in the multiplicity of his images and the consciousness of the ubiquity of superior beings, had his mind withdrawn, as if by elfin enchantment, from the stern realities of life. The ideal world, in which he revelled, had a greater place in his mind than the real. The elements and the visible parts of nature he conceived to be the residence of divinities, who claimed his reverence and adoration. To his eye, every forest and every fountain had its genius, and every stream its nymph, who was thanked for her draught of water. In the words of a modern minstrel:—

"Every power that zones the sphere
With forms of beauty and of fear,
In starry sky, or grassy ground,
And in the fishy brine profound,
Were to the hoar Pelasgic men
That peopled erst each Grecian glen,
  Gods, or the action of a god.
Gods were in every sight and sound
And every spot was hallowed ground
  Where these far-wandering patriarchs trode;
In the old oak a Dryad dwelt,
The fingers of a nymph were felt
  In the fine rippled flood;
At drowsy noon, when all is still,
Furies lay sleeping on the hill,
And strange and bright-eyed gruesome creatures
With hairy limbs, and goat-like features,
  Peered from the prickly wood."[1]

The belief that nature was thus peopled with these superior intelligences, ever ready to administer comfort, and to relieve his wants, imparted a tinge of imagination to the conceptions of the Greek, while it made him secure and happy, soothing his mind amid the cares and sorrows of life. Very different, however, was it with the Druid, the inhabitant of the fabled Isle of the Hyperboreans. He had, it is true, his cairn altars and delectable groves and streams over which the mysterious shadow of the deity hovered, but it was more in the aspect of a superhuman object of terror, ever ready to exercise relentless vengeance upon

[1] Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece, by Professor Blackie, p. 6.

his unoffending victims, than as the tutelary genius of human life. Such a deity—"top full of direst cruelty," the votary of Druidism worshipped in abjectness and terror. In all his actions his will was regarded, ever fearful of incurring his displeasure. His mind was governed by superstitious terrors, and his passions moved as if by supernatural impulses. He did not look upon nature as a majestic fabric fitted up for his temporary sojourn, and in which he was to exercise an intelligent dominion, but as a Pantheon in which he was to figure as an abject worshipper. If, in a season of levity, some act had been performed inconsistent with the rites of his religion, in the muttered thunder he heard the voice of deity, chiding him for his misconduct. To conciliate his resentment, and soften the austerity of remorse, no mortification was reckoned intolerable, and in the prospect of the horrors of Ifurin, death itself lost its terrors. Such influences operating upon the mind of the votary of Druidism,—awed by superstitious terrors on the one hand, and excited by etherial hopes on the other,—must have deadened the finer feelings of nature in his breast, and rendered life to his experience a scene of perpetual disquietude. The gloomy light in which religion was thus regarded, became a settled feature in the Pictish character, which required the transforming influences of time and circumstances to efface. Many centuries after Druidism had yielded to the benign influences of Christianity, it found an expression in the sepulchral form of the Gothic edifices which were erected in connection with the church throughout the country.

Such is a brief outline of Druidism. For many centuries this system prevailed in Britain, but gradually it yielded to the benign influence of Christianity. The Druid with his hut, his cromleach, and his grove, have long since disappeared, and the cairn which meets the eye of the passing traveller, is almost the only vestige to remind him of what his rude forefathers were. Could an ancient Caledonian revisit the country he once inhabited, what wonders would present themselves to his enchanted vision. He might recognise the same sun in the firmament, and the same moon and stars which once lighted him to his shady retreat, when returning from the sports of the day, but they shine upon a renovated earth. The ocean to whose hoarse murmurs he was wont to listen with tremulous awe and wonder, and over whose dark bosom his frail bark seldom ventured to glide, is now whitened with the canvas of innumerable sails. Cattle graze upon hills and mountains, once the home of wild birds and beasts. The barren heath, over which the painted savage once roamed, "with bended bow and quiver full of arrows," and in the pursuits of the chase, is now converted into verdant meadows and fruitful fields. No dark divinities now haunt, in imagination, the recesses of our forests and groves. The elements of nature, in their dread manifestations, are no longer regarded as the symbols of the divine displeasure. The stately oak-tree which once marked the scene of the performance of the barbarous rites of Druidism, and under whose sacred and tutelary branches the weary savage crouched for shelter from the drifting snow-flakes and pelting rains, still flourishes in the same woodlands, but it no longer claims our homage. The en-

sanguined altars on which the votary of superstition was wont to offer his oblations to the gods, have given place to so many Bethels, and the air once darkened with the smoke of human sacrifices is vocal with the praises of the now "not unknown God." Instead of being a race of barbarians wandering in benighted ignorance, and strangers to the humanising influences of social order and government, we are now a civilized and enlightened people. Intercourse with other nations has brought wealth to our shores, and given origin to new customs and manners of life. By the cultivation of the fine arts, our cities are decorated with majestic works of architecture. The steady advancement made in science has opened up new wonders in the fields of intellectual inquiry. The arts continue to flourish in undecaying youth, and over all our glory religion sheds her pure and hallowing light. Such changes are not to be regarded as the results of chance, but as the workings of a gracious providence, and while we cannot prove too grateful to the Giver of all good for the mercies with which, as a nation, He has crowned our lot, we must ever bear in mind that they entail upon us solemn and weighty responsibilities. Distinguished for the possession of an inexhaustible fulness, it is our duty to communicate of our abundance to others. We are verily as a city set upon an hill, and from our elevation we can take a survey of the world around us, and discern the wants of less favoured nations who look to us with the entreaty of the Macedonian, "Come over and help us." In whatever direction we turn our eyes, the appalling spectacle of human misery presents itself, for over many lands, idolatry, like a deadly Upas-tree, casts its poisonous shade. In the gorgeous climes of the East, where nature has assumed the fairest aspect, where the sun shines with beauty upon a soil which yields in rich exuberance the choicest fruits, the great God of nature is dishonoured and unadored. Day succeeds day and night succeeds night, bearing renewed tokens of divine mercy, yet no incense of prayer and praise ascends to heaven. The Indian, in his blindness bows down to stocks and stones. The warlike Scandinavian sacrifices in honour of his sensual deity Teutates, and freely parts with life and its enjoyments to obtain from Odin the gift of immortality. In Africa, Polynesia, and many other nations, systems of religion are professed differing in form, but possessing the same debasing influences. Is this state of things to continue, and to be be regarded with cold indifference? Are these nations to remain for ever under the iron thraldom of error, or are the fetters of their bondage to be broken off? Are they to remain for ever dead, in the profession of a soul destroying idolatry—mouldering like the dry bones in the valley of vision,—or is the spirit of life to be breathed into their souls, so that, shaken from the slumbers of death, they may awake and live? These are questions which are borne to the heart of every professing Christian in this highly favoured land, and the interest which all classes of people take in the cause of heathen conversion, sufficiently shows that the spirit of the apostolic age has not altogether departed. Already, by the philanthropic efforts of the Christian people of this country, a great deal has been done to ameliorate the condition of the poor heathen. Missionaries have been sent to proclaim to them the truths of the gospel. Churches have been built, schools established, and even in

the burning plains of Africa, and the frozen regions of the North, the work of evangelization has been begun. Yet, it must be confessed, that the progress made already, when contrasted with what still remains to be done, is very small. Christianity has made advances into the wide spread dominion of Satan, but it has not overthrown its strongholds. It has engaged in conflict with the powers of superstition, but it has achieved only partial successes. Irreligion and idolatry still stretch their ghastly shadow over many lands, and amid the prevailing gloom and darkness, Christianity has planted only a few scattered lights. More than this, indeed, could not reasonably be expected. The age of miracles is past, and experience and analogy teach us that great changes are the results of time. It is not by sudden transitions that the seasons follow in succession, but gradually Spring gives place to Summer, and Summer to Autumn, and Autumn in its turn to the sterility and desolation of Winter. So too, the dissolution of mighty empires, the convulsions which shake the nations, are the results of causes which have been long in silent operation. In like manner, the overthrow of Heathenism is a work which can be effected only by gradual means. One point after another of the citadel of error must be assailed, and fort after fort stormed, before the flag of victory can wave from its towers. Yet there is no cause that we should give way to despondency. Though temporary obstacles may impede the progress of the gospel, "yet truth is strong and will prevail." The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual. The might is not of man, but of God, and what can resist the silent soul-subduing energy of the cross of Christianity. In the cross there is a magnetism to draw, a magic to change, and a mystery to save. Archimedes is said to have exclaimed, "Give me a fulcrum, and I will move the world." But Archimedes never got this fulcrum, and with all his genius he was unable to find it. We live, however, in a more famous *era* than the Grecian sage. What man's wisdom could not invent, heaven has supplied. With the cross as a fulcrum of adamantine strength, we *may* move the world. Only let us use it aright, and the strongholds of superstition will fall. Temple after temple will go down, and barbarism disappear from the earth.

INDIA :—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

India! "*As It Is!*" and how many interesting and endearing associations! India, "*As It Was!*" and how much of the grand and the glorious gather around the name! India! "*As It Will Be!*" and touch we not a chord that will vibrate in the heart of many a British patriot and Christian philanthropist! Is such the thesis which we would now open up? and shall we not pause on its very threshold, as carrying us back to a *time* when the world itself was in its infancy, and to a *stage*, when man stood forth in all the power and pride of intellect, which mark him out as "the image of his Maker;" while in those regions of the west, that now boast of their superior civilization and enlightenment, there

was little to distinguish him from the animal creation around him? Few there can be, who have not heard and read of ANCIENT INDIA; but many may not apprehend all that this epithet ought to convey, when applied to that country, until perhaps reminded, that when the earliest historians of Greece turn to India and its annals, they speak of it, as holding towards themselves that place in antiquity, which in these modern days we assign to those, who lived and flourished in the age of *Homer* and *Herodotus* themselves. In the earliest ages, and from the remotest quarters, of the then world of civilization, attention was directed to India, as the great storehouse and mart of those commodities, which mankind had learned even by this time to covet; a proof, without doubt, that its natural productions must have surpassed in value and excellence those of any other country on the face of the globe; but not less demonstrative of the superior improvement in the arts and sciences, to which its inhabitants must have attained, and by which alone they could have developed the natural riches and resources of their country.

Diving, therefore, into the records of India's "past," which the researches of Oriental scholars are more and more opening up, might we not promise our readers much to be culled from these early times and primitive stages of the world, that will interest, instruct, and, we doubt not, astonish them? And were we, with the imperfect clue which we can command, now to hazard the entangling of ourselves in the tempting labyrinths which they present, or were we stopping at this time to revel amongst the rich treasures, which the great storehouse of Indian annals is more and more unfolding, we know not that we could ourselves escape from the fascinating employment; we doubt if our readers would willingly permit us to do so. Let us in the mean time linger for a little on the many, and we may well say, the golden links, that bind the little island, on which we live, to the great and mighty continent, stretching from the Himalaya Mountains to Cape Comorin—from the Indus to the Irawaddy. Every day is more and more knitting these far distant countries together in the bonds of a mutual amity and dependence; and more and more strengthening the now-on-all-hands-felt conviction, that in the prosperity of the one are bound up the welfare and power of the other. The astonishing progress of science is every day bringing England and India nearer and nearer together, as the distance that once physically divided them—while the tempests of the angry Cape raged between them—is now virtually annihilated by the rapidities and facilities of the priceless "Overland Route." A few years have only elapsed, since the timorous adventurer, who embarked from the coasts of the English Channel for the far distant climes of the East, looked forward with something like a feeling of dismay and dread to his weary voyage, which, stretching peradventure to many months of his meditated pilgrimage from home, promised but little to relieve its dull monotony beyond the teasing variety of scenes, alternating between the scorching heats and lingering calms of the equator—the gales and tempests of the stormy Cape—or the still more formidable typhoons of the Indian Ocean. If indeed he turned for an intellectual refuge to an intercourse

of mind with his fellow-prisoners in the ark in which he floated, how often was he doomed to find, that nothing more exhilirating could circulate around the cuddy-table of an Indiaman, than the oracular demonstrations of the "doctor;"—the stale and stereotyped stories of the "purser" and the "chief;"—or the tiger-hunting exploits of the "old Bengalee," returning to his cutchery or his regiment? How changed the scene, since the "Peninsular" has converted Egypt into the high-road to India; and opened up its wonders to the traveller, as he wends his way to, if possible, still more rich and interesting scenes beyond the Straits of Babel-mandel! At length can the fond mother part with her darling boy, as he embarks for the "far East," with scarcely a bitterer pang of separation, than she would have felt in former days, when the "Stage Coach" or the "Smack" received from her the precious consignment on his long and perilous journey to the great metropolis of England! and when the promise at parting, that he will write to her every fortnight, is no longer the mere solace of the moment. A few steps more in the gigantic "march of science," and to the "bi-monthly mail" will be added the daily conversation of the TELEGRAPH between the mother country and the colony!

But if India is at this moment looking to England,—and looking not in vain,—for all that is to restore her to the place, which she once held among flourishing and civilized nations, it would not certainly be easy to estimate, how much of the power and splendour of England herself depends on the peace and prosperity of her Eastern possessions; and it is surely a subject of the most legitimate gratulation within every patriotic breast, that while the black and angry clouds of war may from time to time be darkening the horizon of the West, and England, as she may receive one despatch after another from the scene of doubtful conflict, may be almost trembling that the proud prestige of her name in Europe may be passing away, India is every day more and more ceasing to send us the news that agitate and alarm, and is every day becoming more and more the fountain of that intelligence, which is at once of the most interesting and the most cheering character, as promising the stability and permanence of her power and place in the world. Are we reminded —as casting a shade over this pleasing picture of peace which we have drawn—that the news has but yesterdey reached us that we are again engaged in war in the East?—the weak and effeminate Shah of Persia having compelled the Indian Government to maintain its honour and good faith with its Allies? The scene of warlike operations does not at least lie within the banks of the Indus; and the din of hostile preparation is scarcely heard beyond the harbour of Bombay. A wise policy is strengthening the "walls of England's garden in India," from Peshewar to Kurrachee; and the tranquillity of our Eastern Empire will not be greatly disturbed by the intrigues of the Shah or the Czar. The changes, that are at this hour coming over India's dream, cannot fail to attract the notice of all, who can stretch their views beyond the coasts of England, the banks of the Danube, or the shores of the Bosphorus; and—thanks to such statesmen, as our distinguished countryman, who has just retired from ruling over her destinies!—the reproach once cast upon us,

that were we driven from our Indian territories to-morrow, we should leave behind us no other reminiscences of our power and possession, than would the tiger or the ourang-outang, has become a tale too boldly fabulous to be hazarded. The Steam-boat, the Railway, and the Telegraph, have found their way to India; and are, each in its proper place, taking possession of its noble rivers, or bringing together, by the silken cords of science, fertile and far divided provinces, which until now have acknowledged no other bond of brotherhood, beyond the chain of a common subjection to a foreign yoke. The far-famed Ganges is no longer standing forth the only channel by which England is to pour into India the resources, that are to secure and consolidate her Eastern Empire, or to draw from it the rich returns, that are to reward her own paternal care. The muddy stream of the Hooghly, whose sickly swamps have so long mounted melancholy guard over the portals of our Indian metropolis, is ceasing to be the only artery, through which the heart of England is to send the current of life and vigour to India; and the "Paddle" and the "Screw" are at length coming forward the instruments in the hands of a heaven-directed power, through which the noble rivers of the *Indus*, the *Irawaddy*, and the *Godavery*, are to take the place, which they deserve, as the distributors of England's civilization, liberty, and religion,—the high roads by which peradventure these blessings are to travel, to renew and to cheer the dreary steppes of Tartary, and the once rich and populous, but now almost deserted plains of Central Asia. Wonderful, indeed, are the prospects, that are now opening up in Providence! The scene of the earliest transactions to which history carries us back,—the countries that were once the centre of that civilization which, spreading to the East and to the West, gave their language and their literature alike to India and to Greece, are about being penetrated by a Christian power; and "the very path by which the most sanguinary invaders of India once entered its rich provinces, to lay in ruins all that in ancient times distinguished it as the seat of intellectual superiority, is peradventure, becoming the road, by which the blessings of Christianity are to travel back to the countries of Central Asia; and in the true spirit of the Gospel of Peace to repay them 'good for evil.'" [1] And last, although not least, among the wonderful revolutions which we seem destined to witness, these great and magnificent inlets to a world's renovation, are at length to be opened up by English Companies, altogether independent of the good "Old Lady," who, from her dark and dingy den in Leadenhall Street, has so long ruled over the East with a mild and motherly—certainly with a paramount sway; and English capital is to be invested in restoring India to her pristine prosperity,—hitherto only robbed—so goes the tale!—to enrich her haughty conquerors. The far-seeing men of Manchester are already casting their eyes to an exhaustless supply of the "raw material," to be furnished from the cotton-growing plains of our own Berar; and now that the British power has supplanted that of Nagpore and Hydrabad; and the "transit duties" have been extinguished—those fiscal "snags" and "rapids" that

[1] "Bryce's Native Education in India," p. 271.

intercepted the produce of Central India on its way to the great emporia of the western world—the spinners of Salford and Glasgow are learning to laugh at the vaunting and greedy growers of Georgia and Carolina, when they threaten to "stop their mills!" But let us not, as we pass along this part of our path, confine our views within limits so selfish and narrow as regards the great movements of which India is now the theatre. Their effects are destined to re-act on the fortunes and the future of a far wider world, than that of the cotton-spinners of Manchester and Glasgow. Let us recognize in events that are now opening up, the march of arts, sciences, and civilization in the *East*, the death-blow in the *West* to the demon, who lords it over so vast and fertile a portion of the youngest, and until now the most boasted of the off-shoots of English freedom,—the demon of slavery, as he appears in the States of America, in all his most unmitigated and revolting features. Between him and the bait, which he offers to a race,—how unworthy of their ancestors! how greedy become of their dollars and their cents! how dead to their fame, as the children of the Puritans and martyrs, who first settled on their shores!—the Hindoos may yet come with a power not to be resisted; and through the peaceable pursuits of an industry which nature and habit have so eminently fitted them to follow, may, under British rule and Christian enlightenment, repay their obligations to England in the returns, on which she sets the highest value,—the liberty, civil and religious of the human race. Such are the blessings that may await the West, when India vindicates her right and recovers her place as the great mart of the world for those commodities, which, as they reach us from the Western world, now smell so rank of slavery and its attendant horrors.

But if the Engineer and his working subordinates are about to bridge the rivers, and to level the Ghauts of the great Peninsula, that the producing industry of India may feed and foster the manufacturing life and activity of England:—if the stately steamer is opening a proud and easy path for our arts, our armies, and our commerce through the noble and ramifying streams of Hindustan:—if the miracle-working wire, putting to shame the "express" of the Government, and the still swifter "dawk" of the native banker, is carrying the commercial tidings from the Liverpool Exchange to the most distant bazaar in India, in a shorter time than in other days they would have travelled from Sagor to Calcutta: if, we say, all these astounding events in the natural and material worlds of India are advancing to a consummation, on which, measured by their already almost miraculous magnitude and speed, no one can ponder without an overwhelming sense of the great and mighty revolution that awaits our Eastern Empire,—cheering, indeed, is the conviction brought at length not less strongly home to us, that in the intellectual, the moral, and the religious, "the Schoolmaster is abroad;" or rather more correctly speaking,—when it is of India, not New Zealand or Caffre-land that we treat,—is about to be "at home" again.

The Education movement, as now seizing on the age in which we live, as *par eminence* its own, is at length finding its way to India, under circumstances that give promise of a rapid advancement in the right

direction, and we are setting ourselves right bravely and right earnestly to illuminate those regions in metaphysics, logic, and philosophy, "where the lessons of *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, and *Aristotle* had been furnished centuries before these sages flourished; and where they, who became the teachers of others and the founders of sects, on which the gratitude of their countrymen has affixed their names, were themselves but scholars, —indebted for all they knew, or ever gave, to Greece."[1] Do we hesitate to stamp so venerable an antiquity on India, as the nursery of learning and science to Greece and Rome? or are we loath to strip from the brows of these classic countries, the venerable laurels that have so long adorned them? Let no one wonder at our reluctance; but let all respect the attachment, with which we cling to all we learned at the High School, the Academy, and the University. But should we even adopt the ill-supported theory, which has doubtless found its advocates, that the Hindoos only reached the zenith of their reputation in literature and philosophy, under the reign of a prince, who flourished but half a century before the Christian era, we must still allow, that "the Schoolmaster," when he again sets out on his travels eastward, will not, at least, be a "stranger" in India. Let us, moreover, bear in mind, that we shall betray as little knowledge of the field, which he once occupied in India, as of the period on which he first entered on the stage, if we imagine, as do some, that the "Schoolmaster" in India never wielded the birch over any save the Brahmins alone; and that the school received no pupils within its walls, except from the ranks of the priesthood." True it is, that the Sanscrit *sloga* teaches, that of all knowledge religious knowledge is the most important; and *school* and *temple*, *schoolmaster* and *priest*, could not have stood very far asunder, where it came to be taught and believed, that even the alphabet had its proper and protecting deity. But the picture that would confine education and its blessings, as once at least enjoyed in India, within such narrow limits, has been furnished by rivals that are jealous of India's pre-eminence, once so proud in the race. However restricted the name of *Brahmin* afterwards became, we are now speaking of days, when the crafty and ambitious priesthood had not appropriated to themselves exclusively, the place and title that were then given to all, without exception, who "achieved freedom from intemperance and egotism; had acquired the command over the organs of sense; and abounded in truth and mercy." The schoolmaster must have occupied a popular platform, and addressed a popular audience, when he taught, that these qualities, being found in the vilest Sudra, he is held by the gods to be a Brahmin; and when he was surrounded by scholars, who could listen to, and profit by such lessons, as that "goodness and purity are the best of all things; that lineage is not alone deserving of respect; that if the race be royal, and virtue awanting to it, it is contemptible and useless;"[2] he must doubtless have been greeted by the cheers of others than those of his own order, seeking solely its own aggrandizement and power. The time did at length arrive, when the honour and reverence due to the possession of virtue and integrity come to be demanded by, and yielded, as of birth-right, to a particular

[1] Native Education in India. [2] Ibid.

class; and, strange as it may appear, under the rise of an aristocracy of knowledge and learning, which in India sprang up, in place of that, which in the western world divided communities into nobles and serfs, barons and burgesses, the road was inevitably opened to ignorance and degradation the most lamentable among the masses; and ultimately conducted tot he grosse stsuperstition and idolatry, when everything like that self-respect, which can alone resist the inroads of tyranny and oppression, was buried among the lower classes under a faith, that elevated the higher to a heaven-assigned platform.

The celebrated division of the Hindus into CASTES, existing in the age of Herodotus, and at this hour, the most distinguishing feature in their social economy, was not, as has been so often contended, so much of a *religious* as of a *civil* character in its origin. It arose out of a state of things, which forbid our regarding it as the foundation of any political system; and was in truth the *effect*, not the *cause* of the prosperity, which it has been held to indicate and explain. This celebrated institution did, doubtless, in the lapse of ages act as a drag and a drawback on Hindu prosperity; and by banishing everything like sturdy intellect, honourable ambition, self-reliance, and self-respect from among the masses, paved the way for the Hindus becoming an easy prey to every succeeding invader of their country. The sanctions of religion had been early called to the support of CASTE; and circumstances combined in India to give to it the hold, which it appears soon to have attained, and the astonishing permanence which at this day it exhibits. Fastening on the strongest of all the feelings of the human heart, the priests of the vulgar superstition established a supremacy for their own order, which, while perhaps it has been over-rated, more than any other cause arrested the march of Hindu intellect, liberty, and manly progress; and conspired to foster that imbecility, subserviency, and slavish submissiveness, which were at least found among them, when Europeans first visited their shores.

Do we wonder that the Hindus should have been so easily seduced by the arts of an ambitious priesthood? Let us look a little nearer home, and ask what has been the fate of other nations, living under a colder and less enervating climate, and less exposed to be prostrated by the feverish and deadly *Siroccos* of superstition; and regarding, on the one hand, the degrading spiritual slavery to which these nations were once subjected, and on the other, the success that has attended *their* efforts to cast off the galling chains, let us not despair of the Hindu rising, and that rapidly, under British rule and Christian enlightenment, above the bondage of Caste. Nor let it be esteemed a divergence if we should be here arrested by the temptation we feel to pick up such instruction as may be scattered along our path, and should remark that, while thus indulging in fond hopes as to India's *Future*, we ought not to forget that India's *Past* may furnish beacons not to be overlooked by the Christian State itself, under whose fostering care she is now rising to light and liberty, when that State comes to have to deal with the all-momentous element of *religion*, in framing, or in re-adjusting its own social and civil polity. If, as we are now teaching, there was a period

in Indian annals, when the religious sceptre, in the hands of an honest priesthood, was, as it ought to be, the best and only-to-be-depended-on bulwark of social order and good government, it was, doubtless, but too speedily succeeded by an age, when this sceptre degenerated into the symbol of all that is tyrannical and oppressive, and degrading to human nature;—when from being the *servants*, the priesthood that wielded it found themselves raised to be "the masters of the situation." Reasoning backwards from the analogy furnished by the events, which at a later period of the world's history, marked the decline and fall of the great empire of Rome, we may infer a period in Hindu history, when the luxury and licentiousness of the State having unnerved its energies, and exposed it, in this condition of weakness, to all the evils of internal anarchy, and all the dangers of external aggression, the *church*, as we would have called it, stepped into the empty seat of authority; and seizing the reins of government, built up her own fabric of spiritual power on the ruins of a civil rule, that had ceased to regard faith in the great truths of religion, and in the virtue and obligation of its services, as the only fulcrum on which it could rest the lever of its own authority. Looking again forward to analogies yet perhaps to be furnished, may we not ourselves be entering on that stage in our career as a nation, when the religious feeling, again escaping from the assaults of an atheistical philosophy, and vindicating its supremacy over human actions, may rear up a *Brahminical Order* in our own happy country,—whether out of the *ultramontanism* of Popery, the *Puseyism* of Episcopacy, or the *spiritual independency* of Free Presbytery; and when that spiritual despotism which appears to be the heritage of humanity,—whose progress CONSTANTINE himself could not arrest as it was borne along on the voluntary wave;—to which Theodosius so tamely and so shamelessly submitted at Milan, when the Priest dictated to the Emperor a penance the most humiliating, and exacted it with a rigour the most unrelenting;—and which LUTHER may have only scotched in the overthrow of the Papacy,—may be found again to subjugate the free and enlightened mind of Christendom itself.

To the priests was India indebted for the lamp of literature being kept alive within it; fed, indeed, at the expense of a higher and safer guide to human happiness, the lamp of faith; and to the Brahmins is doubtless to be traced the finished structure of a language in which all learning, religious and secular, was sedulously hidden from the masses. That language has long ceased to be one of the spoken tongues of India; but, though dead, the Sanscrit yet lives in its varied vernaculars, and it is not unworthy of notice, that while the policy of our Indian government abroad has been of late to discountenance rather than promote the cultivation of this language, its study has found a refuge within the walls of the proudest of England's universities. Testimony somewhat tardy has been borne by the authorities at home to its value, as a key to anything like an accurate acquaintance with those dialects, in which they demand a knowledge from their servants, civil and military; while among the *Literati* of Europe it is taking its place beside the classic tongues of Greece and Rome, in the full equipment of the scholar and man of

learning. Among the most powerful weapons in the hands of the missionary of the Cross will be found a knowledge of the Sanscrit; for assuredly, without this, he will be but ill prepared to meet the subtle and cunning Brahmin in such controversies, as the very advancement of the natives in the knowledge now bestowing on them cannot fail to engender. He will only indeed, be fully equipped—doubly armed for the combat,—when to the knowledge of the Sanscrit, through which he can expose the errors and overthrow all faith in the vulgar creed, he adds that of the vernaculars, the truly "sacred languages," in which the champion of the Gospel is to make known the truths of Christianity; and through which alone he can achieve the conversion of the Hindus to our faith.

Of all the theories that have been broached to elucidate the phenomena presented by the dead and living languages of the world, none, perhaps, is more preposterous than that, which would trace the venerable Sanscrit —the root of so many of the vernaculars of India, if not indeed of a far wider world of tongues—to the Greeks who accompanied Alexander of Macedon in his raid into the Punjaub; except, indeed, the still more strange attempt to account for the origin of this rich and flowing language, by describing it as the gift of the Romans to the Hindus, during their long commercial intercourse with the East. Had the invaders of their country remained long enough among them to have introduced the knowledge and study of sciences hitherto uncultivated by the Hindus, they might have enriched the Sanscrit vocabulary with some of the foreign and unknown terms of the conquerors; as the engineer of the steamboat is now finding a place in the vernaculars for "*ease her*," "*stop her*," "*back her*." But driven, as we are, by the acknowledged fact of resemblances so nearly approaching the identical as are found between these tongues, to admit a common origin to both the Sanscrit and the Greek, the claims of the former to at least a place as near as the latter to the fountain-head of both, appears to us to be indisputable. In the history of the human race, as given to us by *Moses*, we may find and accept the first school and the first schoolmaster in the plains of Shinar; and the diversity of tongues which we discover, as we descend the stream of time, may not in reason or in truth erect any barriers to a belief in a common origin to our race. It may please some to demand belief in distinct families of tongues,—each independent of the other,—as proving and upholding the distinct families of *man*, for which they contend; but paradoxical as it may appear, the further we carry back our researches into the distance and darkness of antiquity, the more clear it becomes, even without the help of the Jewish historians, that the whole human race at one time spoke *Sanscrit, Greek, Celtic*, or *Sclavonic*, as we may please to call the language in which they first conveyed their thoughts and communicated their wants to one another; satisfying us, who are orthodox believers in the Shorter Catechism, that whatever M. Agassiz may teach to the contrary, we have all sprung from a common *Father*, as all our various and harlequin-garbed dialects are traceable to a common *mother* tongue.

Having found a language in which to clothe their thoughts, whether

taught them by the Schoolmaster of Shinar and his Papal teachers—by the troopers of *Alexander*, pillaging and plundering as they passed along; or by the commercial *gents* of Rome, travelling with their saddle-bags, and selling and buying over all India. Let us next enquire into the use which was made of it among the Hindus; and of which the proofs and the monuments yet remain to enlighten reward, and almost satisfy our researches. And scarcely do we enter on this field of investigation, until we find the people, whom we are now going forth to educate and enlighten, so far advanced in the "march of intellect," as to be able to boast of as many, and as different and discordant schools and systems of "mind" and "matter," as ever adorned the schools, or perplexed the sages of Greece herself.

The religion which had been revealed at their birth to the race of beings who had been formed "after the image of God," had held but a brief dominion over mankind, when in India the march of reason, the wisdom of the world, invaded and violated its domains. The branch of the Noahic family that had wandered to the plains of Hindustan, sought to be wise above what had been made known to their fathers, and seeking the food that was to satisfy their religious craving, not from the Tree of Life to which Noah had doubtless taught them to go, but from the Tree of Knowledge against the fascinations of which he had as certainly warned them to beware, the Hindus were found plunging deeper and deeper at every step, into all the grossness of superstition and idolatry. When indeed, "*wisdom*" had thus invaded the realms of "*faith*," under the pretence of doing homage to the "religious feeling," it was received by its too willing ally in the East, with an ardour unknown to the children of Noah, who had wandered to the west of Shinar, and the fruits of the unhappy conjunction were speedily embodied in works redolent of the wildest fantasies; works moreover, which, while they throw volumes of light upon the wanderings of the human mind in these early days of a fall-entailed activity of error and wandering from God, may furnish at the same time a key to the mine from which the theology, not less than the philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome drew its materials;—may peradventure introduce us to the original store-house from whence the infidelity and rationalism of modern France and Germany have been stolen! Nor is this so much matter of wonderment. *Theology* is, in truth, a science, to which the term "*progress*" can with but little propriety be applied. Doubtless, changes without number may take place in the language employed to work out its problems; but they all radiate from the same centre and conduct to the same terminus. The relation between the *Infinite Spirit*, and the *finite spirits*, formed after the image of the Great Eternal and Self-existent Being, and which constitutes the theme of theology, is subject to no such manipulations as that to which the world of *matter* may be made to submit at the bidding of *intellect*; and to the goal, from which we start in our attempts to remodel or reconstruct the world of *mind*, we invariably return after all our wanderings—to FAITH.

But if Greece borrowed from India and Egypt her literature and philosophy, Christendom is debtor to the same storehouse for the heresies,

that before three centuries of the blessed era of the Gospel of Peace had passed away, had arisen to disturb and darken the reign of the "glad tidings of salvation."[1] As light is thrown upon Hindu Metaphysics and Mythology, the coincidence between the speculations that had been pursued on the banks of the Ganges, centuries before Origen arose, and those which in his day were prosecuted by the stream of the far famed Nile, becomes too striking to be accounted for by any other supposition than that which we have assumed. Nor were the doctrines of the primitive church less contaminated than were its worship and devotional practices by the impure contact. The ascetic of the Buddha faith was but the prototype of the "monk of the desert;" and there was truly nothing new in the vagaries of St Anthony. In after times when the missionaries of Rome encountered the Lamas of Thibet, great was their mutual surprize, and doubtless warm and angry were their disputations, as to their claims of priority to the honours of the tonsure and the rosary. If CONSTANTINE, stepping into the place of the Pontifex maximus in the new temple of Christianity, attempted to arrest the flood of heresy that was flowing in from the East, and stemmed for a time the tide of spiritual despotism by erecting the State *Establishment* barrier against the *Voluntary* flood, on which it had until then been borne on, with an increasing and uncontrollable weight, it was only when the "Infallibility of the Church," under the triple crown, at length trampled on the imperial diadem itself, that anything like a harbour was found from the ever changing creeds that were from time to time starting up and dividing and disturbing Christendom. But alas! unity of faith and worship was then purchased at the sacrifice of all that constitutes the true dignity and freedom of human intellect; of all, which among the Hindus themselves had been grieviously perverted and debased, but had never perhaps been more tamely surrendered. From the spiritual usurpation which ripened at last into the sole supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and in so far simplifying the faith and worship, humbled and prostrated the reason and liberty of mankind, Protestantism arose at length under *Martin Luther* to rescue Christendom—to save it from the second—a greater error shall we call it, than the first, into which it had fallen. And what already within three short centuries have been some of the fruits flowing from the happy change, as indeed, if rightly directed, it ought to be esteemed? Protestantism appears at this day ready to re-open Christendom to the entertaining of the same questions that once distracted the religious world of India, and we are threatened with being again exposed to the risk of witnessing the pure and simple truths of religion, buried under the vain imaginations of men, calling themselves wise; disdaining humbly to receive, and in all its plenitude the authoritative will of God, as revealed in the BIBLE—yet without the honesty to tell us—perhaps ignorant themselves—from whom they are stealing *their* own wisdom. The deist, the rationalist, and the pantheist now striving for the mastery in the theology of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, are but counterparts and copyists of the Vedanta and Siddhanta divines of the Kali-Yug; and our *Hegels, Parkers,*

[1] Native Education in India.

Newmans, and *Strausses*, but deceive themselves, when they imagine that they have stumbled on a path leading to new discoveries. The Sankhya philosophers of India revelled, centuries before the Christian era, in all the luxuriance of "Consciousness," as the rule and guide in Metaphysics and Theology; and its results as the clue to lead us through the intricacies of the path of knowledge, were traced with wonderful patience, minuteness, and ingenuity. The manner in which the organs of sense and action combine and co-operate with the two principles of *consciousness* and *intelligence*, cannot at least be called obscure by any of our modern schools. Says the Sankhya philosopher, "an external sense perceives—the internal one examines; consciousness reaches the selfish application; and intellect resolves. An external organ executes."—But we must pause in our "pilgrimage." Its further "progress" will, as we proceed, open up a field, on which a steadier and a brighter light may shine, than has hitherto accompanied us: and as we approach the subject, as it will present to us the Future of India, our interest in it will not at least diminish, as the problems which we shall have to solve will embrace the gravest questions, to which the attention of the Christian patriot can be directed.

INDIA GRANTS, AND DR VEITCH'S REASONS.[1]

It is now nearly a year since we first devoted the attention of our readers to the subject of grants in aid in connection with our Indian mission. We then looked forward with deep anxiety to the decision of the venerable Assembly. The untoward results of the previous Assembly was, at that time, under discussion by our ecclesiastical courts, and it was to be seen, whether the church would have the courage and candour to confess its error, and, braving the taunt of inconsistency, pronounce for the truth. We did, certainly, believe that the Church of Scotland would, with her characteristic fearlessness, obey the finger of God, wherever it might point, but the most sanguine could hardly anticipate the triumphant majority of 195 to 65, seeing that in the previous year Dr Bryce stood alone in support of the grants. The Assembly had no doubt a feeling of indignation as well as conviction. There was a suspicion that, in the previous Assembly, the church was entrapped by a dexterous manoeuvre, into a wrong position; though we are bound to say, that the former Convener has, most convincingly shewn that all the requisite forms of the house were complied with. If there was then any manoeuvre it was executed in a perfectly technical manner. The fact, about which there is no dispute, is that the church in entire ignorance of the question, committed herself to a line of policy, which would undo all our missionary work, and roll back the tide of evangelisation which is now sweeping over India.

We rejoice in the impulse given to missionary zeal by the discussion

[1] Reasons against affiliating our Christian Mission to the Secular system of Government Education in India. By James Veitch, D.D.
The Schoolmaster and the Missionary in India. By James Bryce, D.D. Edinburgh: Paton & Ritchie. 1856.

which this question has raised in our church courts. Our work was going on but drowsily in India, and this, not from a want of zeal or ability on the part of the missionaries, but the apathy and somnolency of the church at home. We needed something to arouse us, and, in God's providence, one of the most momentous questions in the history of the church of Christ, was forced upon our attention for discussion. We would fain quash it, give it the go-by, allot to it only a few minutes under-current talk at the assembly table. It is in human nature, and particularly offical human nature, to pooh! pooh! every new opening for action that would in any way disturb official routine and repose. But the spiritual welfare of India, the interests of her hundred millions of unconverted souls could not be thus shelved. The church was eventually aroused, the question was discussed in almost all our church courts, and an amount of attention has been bestowed upon it, which has not been equalled since the first establishment of the mission. The result of this attention was that our mission was saved, and a resolution formed to take advantage to the utmost of this new and marvellous opening for the gospel amidst the masses of India.

It was not, however, merely as the question affected India, that we regarded the movement as a momentous one. We saw in it the solution of the home question that was pressing on the mind of every earnest Christian. We refer to the problem of a national education in which religion forms an essential element. The complication of the problem arises from the divided state of the religious community. How are the interests of the various influential bodies to be reconciled while a definite form of religious truth is endowed by the state. Many minds, dismayed by the complexity and difficulty of the problem, were making up their minds to the curse of a secular education as inevitable. Light, however, suddenly shone out of darkness and from an unexpected quarter. Without asking any legislative measure, the Privy Council tried what could be done by bestowing grants on religious denominations separately, leaving each denomination the free unfettered control of their schools. This system rapidly spread, so as to make the thought rise in many minds that this was God's way of solving the difficulty. One cannot but acknowledge the hand of an overruling Providence, when he reflects on the history of this system. The Duke of Argyll, who is at last forced into the conviction that this is the solution of the difficulty, was led to state, at the last meeting of the Original Ragged Schools, that the Privy Council system of grants would never have been sanctioned by Parliament, if its sanction was asked; and we know that even the author of the system, Mr Kay Shuttleworth, was unconscious of the momentous bearings of the system. Now, it was when the denominational system was flashing upon the minds of earnest Christians, as the solution of our educational difficulties, that the Indian system of national education was propounded. In the innumerable complications of the old country, the mind could hardly realise the conception of a national scheme being so simply brought about by the Privy Council system. It was only when the dispatch of the Court of Directors appeared, that the complete idea flashed upon us. While painfully labouring to form the conception of a

national system at home, here was a completed system born in a day. The absolute power of the Government of India enabled it, at once, to mould into form, what required many long years in this constitutional country. The Indian system is quite after the model of the Privy Council plan in this country, the differences are only such as the peculiar circumstances of the country and the government demand. England is far before Scotland as to the appreciation of the true state of affairs. The Bishop of Lincoln, a few weeks ago, at a public meeting, declared that the church had so largely adopted the Privy Council system, that in two years more, if she was alive to her interests, a religious system would be permanently secured to England. Lord Robert Cecil, the hope of the conservative party, also made a like declaration to the same effect, only he would protract the period to five years. The Church of England is perfectly alive to the true state of things; she well knows that the religious education of this country altogether hinges on the speedy adoption of the denominational system as marked by the Privy Council. Would that we could say as much for the Church of Scotland. However, the triumphant decision on the question of grants in aid in India, is to us the best augury that Scotland may yet retain her most cherished birth-right—a religious education. In tracing the hand of an over-ruling Providence, we cannot overlook the startling coincidence between the circumstances of our mission in India and our parish schools at home. No sooner have we decided on the former than we are urgently called to decide on the latter, in reference to this very same point. The dispatch of the Directors made the grants in aid at once applicable to our schools in India, and the fall of the salaries of our schoolmasters at home made the Privy Council grants applicable to our parish schools. The very calamity that was so dreaded, is now the very means of extricating our parish schools from all their difficulties, the small fall of salary securing a large augmentation from the Privy Council.

One would think that such manifest indications of the finger of God would at once impel every Christian to hail with joy this system, which guarantees, in the most perfect and scriptural manner, a religious education. But so it was, that the Church both at home and in India, agreed to accept grants in aid only after a severe struggle. But the Church of Christ is not to expect any new vantage ground without passing through much tribulation. In her struggle for the advancement of the kingdom of God, she must expect opposition from two quarters. She must expect to be opposed by the open enemies of the truth, but she must also look for opposition, and often in the bitterest form, from professed and sometimes real friends. Look to the first propagation of the gospel—to the period of the reformation—to every period of religious awaking in the Church of Christ, and you will find that the bitterest opposition has come from within the Church. And this is not difficult to be accounted for. Alas! do we not sometimes find, even in Christian hearts, a spirit of self-sufficiency overlaying the interests of truth and righteousness. We find men of this type do wonderfully well as long as they are allowed to carry out their own preconceived notions, and to assume that their own peculiar modes of action are not mere accidents, but of the essence

of religion. When, however, new life awakens in the church, and new modes of action are demanded, the interests of true piety are sacrificed on the altar of conceit and dogmatism. The good work is maligned, the genuineness of the zeal of God's servants is called in question, and Scripture is even dragged in to retard the advance of Christ's kingdom. Such fiery trials are perhaps needful for the church. They try her earnestness and perseverance; and the position at last gained is all the more valued for the struggle which it has cost.

The Privy Council system was not adopted by the church without a struggle, and it was the recollection of this struggle that, no doubt, impelled the same party to oppose the grants in India. We bear no grudge against them. They have, under God, served a useful purpose. They have, by their retarding influence, arrested the attention of the church upon the momentous principles involved, and made her sift them well before adopting the indicated line of action.

The pamphlet before us, we would gladly pass over in silence, were it not intended to be the prelude to a new agitation. We believe that no one can read it without deep sorrow, whatever his opinion may be on the subject in dispute. It is sad to see the holy cause of missions marred by such an ebullition of temper as this pamphlet manifests. No doubt Scripture says, be "angry and sin not," and, we are willing to make any allowance for a generous burst of indignation, in the heat of controversy, or a little manifestation of chagrin in the hour of defeat, but then we have the Scriptural admonition, "let not the sun go down upon your wrath." Unfortunately the author has nursed his wrath for many months, and here we have it in the most concentrated form; and the saddest part of all is that he employs Scripture language as the vehicle of his bitterness. The pamphlet has no novelty in the way of argument, but the old arguments have acquired a new pungency—not indeed the pungency of wit and logic, but of gall and wormwood. We put it to the author whether the following insinuations and charges ought not to be matter of deep sorrow and recantation. We have sufficient faith in his Christian generosity and manliness to hope that he will seek an opportunity of acknowledging that he has transgressed the bounds of fair controversy. Speaking of those who advocated the acceptance of the grants, he says, "In quarters where hitherto in times of greatest exigency, the missions had failed to receive support, there were manifestations of zeal and eloquence, which might seem to imply that it had been always regarded as of vital interest." The following is a comparison between last Assembly and the previous one. "In numbers, and in the time devoted to the discussion, last Assembly must be admitted to have the advantage, but it may well be questioned whether it had so in the character of the speakers, and in the love and temper manifested in conducting the debate. Whilst on the one hand, the propriety of accepting the grants was urged by appeals to authority, while these in any way depended on the favour of the India Board, might have difficulty in resisting, on the other hand, the rejection of the grants," &c. The following is the travesty he gives us of the position of the majority:—"Let us inaugurate," it was virtually said, "a new and more enlightened policy,

let men no longer speak of the secular as a godless system of education, let us not be suspicious of our rulers, but respond to their proposals with generous confidence, let us not lag behind, but as men of progress commit ourselves to the spirit of the age, let us cultivate flexibility." Could there be a railing accusation brought against the brethren more rancorous than this. Can the author be really ignorant of the fact that the position of the majority was that the grants in aid furnished the highest possible guarantee for a religious education, and that the policy of the minority necessarily handed over the millions of India to the care of a mere secular system. They did not accuse the minority of desiring to withdraw the blessings of religion from India, but they held that their policy would necessarily eventuate in this. The following are the terms in which he consigns the rulers of India to divine vengeance: "Miserable policy! can it be believed that men, calling themselves Christians, would reckon it the indispensable condition of their Indian rule, the bulwark of their empire, the perpetuating of its tranquillity, that they should respect the spiritual dominion of Satan, and avoid offending him, by violating religious neutrality, and confessing Christ; 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision; then shall he speak to them in his wrath and vex them in his sore displeasure.'" The author knows that he can with impunity abuse the rulers of India to his heart's content, but he is more cautious in his invectives against the Church's India committee,—the acerbity is, however, not a whit less. The following is the manner in which he speaks of these zealous servants of Christ, who, braving all obloquy and misrepresentation, were resolved to carry on the evangelization of India, and to avail themselves of the open door, to which the hand of the Lord was beckoning them: "We have missionaries sent forth to exercise the Christian ministry among the heathens, who must henceforth, as secular teachers, seek to please not Christ but rather the government inspector; we have at home a newly assorted committee, whose statements betray some want of confidence in their position, and for some of whose members there is the apology, that if they would not have supported the deliverance of the last Assembly, 'they yet feel bound to receive it as the deliberate decision of the church, to which they hold that they have promised to yield submission.'" "This is in sad seriousness, all the rejoicings of the committee. 'They would rejoice to see the preaching of the gospel largely combined, so far as that can be successfully done, with the education of the young;' another necessity it would appear constrains them than that which made the apostle exclaim, 'necessity is laid upon me: yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel.' The effect of missions was beginning to be felt in India; the rod of the Almighty's strength was beginning to smite the idols and manifest his great wonders in the land; but, as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, and as Elymas the sorcerer sought to turn away the deputy from the faith, so now the spirit of antichrist, with plausible pretence, with great shew of enlightened policy and generous philanthropy, would substitute secular education for the gospel, and undertake to do for India that which can be done only by the word and spirit of the living God. Will you listen to the

deceiver, and, grasping at the semblance, part with the substance, and allow him to beguile you of your great reward." We trust that the respected and devoted convener who enjoys so fully the confidence of the church, will be able to bear calmly this ungenerous attack upon himself and his brethren associated with him. It was a piece of moral heroism in him, to undertake the duty of convener, with his hands already full, and with the certainty of encountering the most unworthy misrepresentation. But, constrained by his allegiance to his Divine Master and the church, he threw himself into the gap, and we trust that by the grace of God, he will be able to maintain his position through evil and through good report. May he have the promised blessing of his Master, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven."

We could have wished that the author, instead of culling texts of Scripture to barb his darts of irony and spleen, had gone "to the law and to the testimony," to settle the principles of the disputed question. Scripture is given us to be a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our path, and not as an armoury of poisoned weapons to launch at the servants of God when faithfully and zealously engaged in his service. If the author had gone calmly and prayerfully to the study of the Word of God, we are convinced that he would find much in it to decide the question in dispute. When God in his providence opens up a new path for the church, he at the same time gives in his Word the requisite light to guide her along that path. Instead, however, of searching Scripture for deciding the point in dispute, he assumes the question, and quotes texts merely in the way of accommodation to his own biased judgment. Scripture can never be of the slightest use in settling questions, if we first follow the bias of our own understandings, and then accommodate Scripture to this bias. Take for example the quotation about Jannes and Jambres. We do not very clearly see the application of it, but we are probably to understand by these Scriptural personages, the present convener of the scheme, and his talented friend in the west, who first raised the note of alarm. By Elymas the sorcerer, is likely meant Dr Bryce, this being a playful allusion to his feat in conjuring the majority of 195 out of the minority of 1. Now we are willing to admit the ingenuity of this, but is there any argument here. If we were allowed to assume the opposite side of the question, we could get much more apposite texts to tell in the contrary direction. For example, if we make the author stand for Tobiah, his leader, the former convener, for Sanballat, and the India committee, for the Jews rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, would not the following passage far more truly represent the real state of things, than the allusions to Jannes and Jambres, and Elymas the sorcerer? "But it came to pass that when Sanballat and Tobiah heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth and conspired all of them together to come and to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder it; nevertheless we made our prayers unto our God, and set a watch against them day and night because of them." Assuming

that the church is in India building up the walls of the spiritual Zion, this passage is most graphically descriptive of the attempts to hinder the work,—but, in controversy we are not to assume but to prove, and, as independent proof, such a quotation is entirely worthless. But the use of Scripture, in the pamphlet before us, is all of a piece with this.

In the above passages we have given the gist of the pamphlet. It indeed gives all the usual arguments rather loosely put, but the point of it lies in its temper, and it owes its distinctive character altogether to such passages as we have quoted. There are, therefore, very few points that call for special notice.

It ought to be kept distinctly in view that there were two distinct questions before the Assembly last year, one of principle, the other of policy. The author assumes that the majority did not view the thing at all as a question of principle, and that it was therefore unwise for them to push the matter, seeing that the minority held that there was a principle involved. Now nothing can be farther from the fact than this. The importance of the question altogether arose from the circumstance that the Assembly was called to decide upon one of the most momentous principles ever presented to the Church of Christ for consideration. Since the time of Constantine, no question affecting the relation between the church and the civil magistrate has arisen of so much moment. The Church of Scotland dared not shrink from a decision on a principle which was to tell upon Christendom in all future time. Above all, she was bound, as an established church, to pronounce on a question bearing on the relation of the civil power to the present divided state of the Christian community. We refer to the denominational principle, as the scriptural and legitimate development of the establishment principle in reference to education. On the denominational principle, the civil power says to the various Christian denominations, We are willing to endow your schools on this condition, that while you have the exclusive and unfettered superintendence of the religious element, we will be allowed to satisfy ourselves that the secular element is attended to. We do not presume to control the religious element; this is a function of the Church of Christ, and we will not intrude into the sacred office. We claim the right of appointing inspectors; we do not presume to give them an ecclesiastical status, or clothe them with religious functions. We can claim no right to report on the religious education given, —this belongs to the church's functionaries. The school is as sacred as the church, and as exempt from secular scrutiny. The teacher, while freely presenting the secular branches for inspection, can peremptorily deny the inspector all access to the religious department of the institution. Could any scheme give more unfettered power to the church? Could the civil power, in a more emphatic way, do homage to the ecclesiastical? Compare this state of matters with the case of our parish schools, which, on the whole, form the best model of a national system of education. Do our schools in India, under the grants in aid, come short of the parish schools in regard to religious guarantee? So far from this, the parish school guarantee is not for a moment to be compared to that of the Indian scheme. At home, the schoolmaster may be immoral

to the very verge of libel. While going through the routine of the catechism, his religious teaching may be a farce, and the whole tone of the school may be at the lowest ebb, and yet the church can do nothing. The master still continues in the charge, a curse instead of a blessing to the parish. But what is the state of things in India? The church has the sole power of appointment and dismissal. The civil power does not in the least interfere. The church can thus secure not merely a religious teaching but a religious teacher, and, should the tone of the school at any time sink, the remedy is in the hands of the church. She can at once appoint a man imbued with religious principle, and fitted to raise the whole character of the school. This is the practical working of the great principle which the church was called on to homologate, and would it be right for her to shrink from her duty in this respect, even though it should not be in her power to carry out the principle into practice.

The other question before the Assembly was one of policy. While the church unequivocally declared her approbation of the principle of the grants, circumstances might still render it imprudent actually to avail herself of them. Now we hold that this is still an open question, —open so far that it is left for the committee to decide upon it. The Assembly merely affirmed the general question,—the principle of the grants: it depends on enquiry, to what extent, if at all, we avail ourselves of the grants. It is important that this should be kept in view, lest it should be supposed that the 65 who voted in the minority were all opposed to the principle of the grants. We know that some of the most influential men in the church sympathise with the minority as to the practical question, while they altogether repudiate the inference, that they are opposed to the principle of the grants in aid. This position is perfectly intelligible, and we are disposed to listen to arguments for and against the grants. The real question, in a practical point of view, is this. We have a certain sum at our command. How can this sum best tell on the evangelisation of India? Will it be best spent in direct missionary work, or in the cause of education? If the school be still retained, will our object be best secured by accepting the grants in aid, with the machinery of an education of a high order; or by trusting entirely to our own resources, and giving the education a wholly missionary aspect? This is quite a legitimate ground to take up, even while we, in the most unequivocal manner, homologate the principle of the grants in aid. Were our resources inexhaustible there could be no difficulty in the matter. We could occupy every available position in India, and give the elements of a sound religious education to the masses in India as we do at home. The church is now engaged in a movement to make Privy Council grants available throughout the whole of Scotland, and, had we the same resources in India, we would undoubtedly be under a similar obligation to take advantage of the grants in aid offered by the rulers of India. Our policy must however be decided very much by the resources at our command. We doubt not that the indefatigable convener will collect all possible information, and weigh well the whole aspect of things before the church is committed to an actual acceptance of the grants in aid.

One element in the decision will be the actual character of our schools

in India at the present moment. If the branches of education, and the organisation be such, at the present moment, that little or no change need be made, then there can be no scruple to accept the grants. If the schools, on the other hand, are of so purely a missionary and special character, that the grants could not be acceptable without destroying that character, then there would be good ground for pausing before availing ourselves of the grants. We have before us a programme of the studies, both at Calcutta and Madras, and looking over the gradation of classes and the subjects taught in each, we would say that they are such as would, if well taught, necessarily secure grants,—supposing that in India the grants are administered on the same principle as those in this country. The operation of the grants in aid would necessarily be to give the church a greater assurance that the work she has herself prescribed is properly executed by her missionaries. We would recommend those who wish clearly to understand the nature of our schools, as at present constituted, to consult Dr Bryce's excellent work on "Native Education in India," published in 1838. Want of space alone prevents us from largely quoting from its pages, in order to shew the real character of the work done by our institutions. We would strongly urge the Rev. Doctor, now that the first edition is exhausted, to publish another, with the information brought up to the present time. His invaluable experience ought not to be lost to the church in the present educational crisis.

Since the decision of the General Assembly, two facts have been brought clearly to light, which ought to have much weight in determining the policy of the church. The first has reference to the subject of affiliation. We do not refer to the *principle* involved; for nothing but the greatest obtuseness or perversity could lead any one to object to it on principle. Is there any compromise of principle in two students, one from a Roman Catholic, and the other from a Protestant, institution, going to a neutral and secular examining board or university, to pass an examination for the army or navy, the civil service or the medical profession. Do the two religious institutions compromise their religious position, merely because their alumni, after being emancipated from their jurisdiction, pass through the same door, to occupy similar positions in the various professions of life. Why, we have our educational institutions, in this country, virtually affiliated by the East India Company; for the candidates for the civil service may come from any of these institutions whatever their religious character may be. The Indian University could, at this moment, affiliate our missionary institutions without our consent. They might say to our students, When you have passed through your course of study, we are willing to take you upon examination, and bestow academic honours, or secular situations, as the case may require. We could not possibly prevent this, and yet this is all that is meant by affiliation. This is not, however, the point to which we mean, on the present occasion, to advert. The point is this, that schools may receive grants without affiliation. This is apparent from the dispatch itself; but the understanding of the matter in India removes all doubt. The affiliation is a privilege, conferred only on certain institutions that come up to a certain standard, and lead the pupils over a wide

enough field for the examinations of the university. The great mass of elementary schools, of course, cannot aspire to the honour of affiliation, and consequently they can obtain grants on a lower ground of qualification than the affiliated schools. Those who were staggered by the term *affiliation*, will now find the ground of opposition removed.

The other important fact is, that grants may be received by our institutions at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, on fulfilling certain conditions. It was at first rumoured, that these institutions were cut off from all aid. This turns out not to be the case. The Government of India were naturally averse merely to substitute their own grants for the voluntary contributions already made. Their object was to stimulate, rather than dry up, voluntary contributions. And they, therefore, scrupled at aiding institutions which were already in good working condition, if there was no exclusion in the system of education in these institutions. They, however, offer to give the requisite aid, if the curriculum of our institutions be raised so as to supersede, to some extent, the maintenance of their own colleges. Government, at present, maintains colleges at their own expense, for the purpose of raising young men for the various situations in which a good education is requisite. In these colleges there is no religion taught; but they are willing to assign the work to our institutions, in which religion forms an essential element. Nothing can be more important than this. It shews the perfect willingness of the Government to contract their own religionless system so as to give way to the Christian colleges that may be fostered by the various Christian churches. The position of the Court of Directors is this:—We have, as a Court, no religious constitution. Our members may be infidels, Mahometans, Hindoos, and, if Christians, we may have every diversity of Christian creed. We cannot undertake the work of religious instruction directly. If we fix upon a religion, what is it to be? Is it to be the religion of the majority of the people, the religion of the majority of the directors, or a compromise of all religions? In England the supreme civil magistrate is bound, by the constitution of the country, to maintain the Christian religion; but, as directors, we have no religious constitution, and it is only through the church that religion can be communicated in a natural form to the people. We are willing to hand over to you the duty of training religiously this vast empire. We are willing to aid your institutions, with only this civil guarantee, that you give, along with religion, such a secular training as is necessary for carrying on the machinery of government. Our religionless colleges we are willing to let down the moment you are ready to undertake, with our aid, the religious and secular education of India. This is the position of things in India. And can we in the face of Christendom, and with such an opening, refuse to stretch forth the hand to the millions of our fellow subjects perishing for the lack of knowledge.

The great fallacy that runs through Dr Veitch's pamphlet, and indeed through every speech on the same side, is, that which ignores the difference between two antagonistic systems laid down in the dispatch. Although this has been so often exposed, such is the poverty of invention on the part of our opponents, that this is the only fallacy in which

they can find refuge; all their other arguments can be reduced to this fundamental and palpable fallacy. If we were offered an apple, sound on one side and rotten on the other, Dr Veitch would maintain that we must swallow it as whole, that it is utterly impossible to separate the good from the bad, and were we, before his eyes, to slice off the good, and throw away the bad, he would still hold the thing impossible. He would still hold that his logic was far more to be depended on than the fact. Now, what the Assembly declared was, that the one half of the dispatch is perfectly sound; that it exhibits a system of education affording a far higher guarantee for the religious element, than any schools aided by the civil magistrate have possessed since the promulgation of Christianity itself. The other half, the church has condemned and cast away as unsound, as totally wanting the grand element of vitality, viz., the religious element. Could the church have more emphatically declared against a mere secular education. Is she not about to engage, with other missionary churches, in the mightiest crusade against secularism the world has ever witnessed. And, while occupying this lofty position in the face of Christendom, she is covered with opprobrium and reproach by some of her own children. But churches, like individual Christians, must be prepared in every great work to have their good evil spoken of.

Dr Veitch frequently quotes Dr Duff in support of his views, and seems very triumphant in finding such an excellent ally. Now in matters of Christian policy it is quite legitimate to quote such authority, and certainly there is no one more entitled to be heard, on the question before us, than Dr Duff. On the question of principle *we* decline the authority even of Dr Duff—our only appeal in such a case is "To the law and to the testimony." But after all does Dr Duff really help him; can the author be ignorant of the fact that Dr Duff is the warmest supporter of the system, and that he may be regarded as one of its originators. In proof of our position let us refer to Dr Duff's examination before the committee of enquiry. In answer to a question (6249) from Lord Stanley of Alderley, he says, "The time is come when the government ought to extend its aid to all other institutions by whomsoever originated and supported where a sound general education is communicated." "Does not consider grants in aid as abstractedly the best, but only the best that seems practicable." He argues that as the object of government is to diffuse improved education, "They ought to bring the principle of the Home Government measure (the Privy Council principle) to bear on the state of things in India." Question 6250. "Are the Committee to understand that the principle you would wish to see advocated amongst the natives of India is, that grants should be indiscriminately in aid of all schools of whatever religion or however they might conduct their education?" Answer. "What I have suggested is this, that the government should adopt the measure of aiding all schools and colleges where sound approved knowledge is communicated by their several supporters and conductors in the proportion of their respective efforts on the principle of helping all who help themselves, on condition that the government must be allowed to take cognizance, through its own inspectors, of that depart-

ment, with which the government, as such, can fairly grapple, that is to say the department of a sound general education, leaving the matter of religious instruction as a thing to be determined by the parties themselves, while the government maintains towards them the attitude of a strict neutrality." Question 6252. Lord Stanley. "You would not wish to see any religious element introduced into any of these schools? Answer. Not as enforced or directly controlled by the government." This opinion of Dr Duff entirely coincides with the strongly expressed views of Dr Inglis, the founder of the mission. There was nothing that he dreaded more than the idea that the government of India should undertake directly the teaching of religion, and consequently held that if they give any encouragement to a religion at all, it must be in the way indicated by Dr Duff. The language of Dr Chalmers shortly before his death, in reference to the home education question, was almost identical with that of Dr Duff. We know however that there is an important difference between our home Government and the Court of Directors, the former having by the constitution of the country a distinct corporate religious status while the latter has not. All the great Christian minded thinkers of our day have been forced to the conclusion that it is only in the denominational principle, that we can find a sure guarantee for the religious element.

Before closing our remarks, we cannot but acknowledge, amidst all our censure, that the pamphlet displays a commendable earnestness and intensity of character, which only makes us regret the more that the author's talents are not enlisted in a better cause. We trust that after this ebullition has passed over, he will ponder the question over deeply, seeking light from on high,—that he will yet see eye to eye with his brethren, and that at last he may be led to help and not hinder the glorious work of building up the walls of Zion in the waste places of heathenism.

LAYS AND LEGENDS OF ANCIENT GREECE.[1]

Greece, old classic Greece, dearly do we love thee. We love thee for thy sunny clime, thy fertile fields, thy vine clad slopes, thy valleys of surpassing loveliness, thy hills whose summits kiss the sky. We love thee for thy sparkling fountains, and thy glassy lakes, in whose pellucid waters, as ancient fables tell, the nymphs were wont to bathe their well-formed limbs. We love thee for thy blue meandering streams, upon whose grassy banks the shepherds sat and piped sweet melody, while safely grazed their peaceful flocks. More, aye more, do we love thee for that noble race of men which from thy bosom sprung, that race of warriors, historians, philosophers, and poets,—warriors whose deeds have made thee hallowed ground, a consecrated land—historians who have recorded in imperishable pages, deeds of never-dying renown—philosophers whose very names are as familiar to us as they were to their own countrymen in the age in which they lived, and whose

[1] Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece. By John S. Blackie, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh.

writings have moulded the philosophic thinking of the world in every succeeding stage of its history—poets who have earned for themselves and for the land of their nativity, a name and a fame that can only perish in the wreck of universal nature. Yes, Hellas, ancient Hellas, it is not in our disposition to refrain from admiring thee. We envy not the man who can think of that land

"Where not a mountain rears its head unsung,"

without emotion, without having stirred within him feelings akin to love: nor do we envy that man who can review in his own mind that history of thine—that long eventful and glorious history,—without being filled, in his utmost soul, with admiration at the noble deeds therein displayed. Everything connected with Greece has a charm for us. Its hills and valleys, its mountains and lakes, its springs and its rivers, its authentic history, its mythical and traditionary lore, are all associated with our earliest recollections and enjoyments. We have not yet forgotten our school-boy and our college days. We still remember with what infinite delight we used to dwell on every incident connected with that classic country. And now, as in our peaceful retreat we sit and muse alone, while the wind howls loud without and the fire burns bright within, all the recollections of the past come rushing on our souls, those hills and valleys, those lakes and streams, those glorious fields of battle, of which in other days we used to read—all find a place in the secret chambers of our memory. And there are passing now before our mental vision in a long and noble train, those warrior men, those famed recorders of their deeds, those heaven illumined thinkers, those singers of immortal verse.

There towers Olympus, where the gods in solemn conclave sat: Ossa there and Pelion too, by impious hands upreared, to scale the battlements of heaven and force the throne of Jove.

"From their foundations, loosening to and fro
They plucked the seated hills with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops
Uplifting, bore them in their hands."

There too Cyllene rises, the fabled birth-place of the winged Mercury, —his stepping stone, when, as the messenger of the immortal gods, the "Deorum nuncius," he started from or "lighted on the heaven kissing hill,"—and there too were the haunts of Pan,—"Pan ovium custos"—

"Where the shepherds told their tales of old
By the blue Arcadian streams."

On the slopes of Citheron and Helicon the Muses dwelt: here the Aoniae puellae had their favourite haunts. Nor must we omit to name Parnassus—"mons Phoebo Bromioque sacer"—whose mystic height many a hapless youth has striven, but striven in vain, to climb:—nor

"Flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur."

All these names are sacred to the student of the classics. Nor are these all. Who has not heard of

"Sandy Ladon's lilied banks?"

Of Alpheus "that renowned flood?" of "Helicon's harmonious spring?" of fons Castalius? of Perine? and of the famous waters of the fountain Clitor? Who would envy him whose breast these names do not inspire? who has no fond recollections that endear them to his memory? To us they are doubly dear—for the associations with which they themselves are encompassed, for the glorious thoughts with which the very mention of their names inspires us, and for the recollections of other days with which they fill our breast. Let the statesman drag his life along, and spend his days and nights in laying plans and devising measures to gain or to retain a sovereign's or a nation's favour—let the merchant continue to derive his sole pleasure and delight "in counting his sure gains and hurrying back for more"—let the man of business labour at his desk, and continue to have his life bound up within his ledger and his day-book, nay, further, let the man of science—ennobling science—pursue his researches through the pathless wastes of starry realms, or on the hills and in the quarries of our mother earth,—we envy none of them. Be it ours to dwell amidst the silent ages of the past, and to hold converse with the "mighty dead," to revel amidst the delights of Grecian lore and literature, and we are content. To come down to the region of prose therefore, and to use a modern phrase, our readers will perceive that we are "intensely Greek"—we say intensely. But it is not of Greece so much as of the Greeks that we would speak. We love thee Hellas, but those old Greek men we love them more: and we can well remember with what thrilling and heartfelt emotion, we traced the fortunes of those illustrious, and often ill-requited warriors, whose names stand out so prominently on the pages of history. We shall come to their mythical or traditionary history before we close, meanwhile the subject prompts us to recall, as far as they can be recalled, the feelings which in early youth arose within our breast, when for the first time, and all ignorant of the results, we watched the fortune and traced the career of those Grecian states, and of those old Greek men.

The first thing that strikes even the most casual reader in reference to them, is their noble self-sacrificing disinterestedness, their deep-rooted patriotism—that intense love of country which even the grossest injustice on the part of their countrymen could not quench. Who has read without intense interest, and without the desire of reading again and again, those glorious fights in which the Greeks asserted and maintained their independence against the power and might of Persia? Yes, 'tis well. Memory has not proved false to us. Dim through the vista of years rise the feelings and emotions, with which, all trembling with anxiety, far more keen and intense than that which the most ardent of novel readers ever felt for a favourite hero, we watched the movements and the battle order of that little but devoted band of Athenians, who on the plains of Marathon withstood, and nobly overcame the invading hosts of Persia. We cannot convey to our readers those youthful feelings, nor would we if we could. And in that second and more threatening invasion, we cannot tell the detestation we felt for the traitor Shepherd,

whose baseness was the means of calling forth the noblest tribute that patriotism could demand, and the noblest sacrifice that a patriot could offer. And passing over much that is interesting, and more that is noble and generous in the conduct of those old Greek warriors, we yet can remember how, with a map of the country before us, we traced the journey of the illustrious ten thousand, sympathized with them in all the difficulties they had to encounter during their famous retreat through a hostile country, and with them exclaimed, θαλαττη, θαλαττη; when from the heights of Teches they first beheld the sea. There is not within the whole range of history a country that can boast of so many illustrious patriots as old Hellas. Scotland has her Wallace and her Bruce, Switzerland has her Tell, England has her—nobody in particular that we remember of at present—but as for Greece, we could mention a score without drawing breath. There is something peculiar too about those old Greek heroes. They fought and bled, not because they were indifferent to life and to its pleasures; no, no, they loved life, but they loved their country and its freedom better. In everything they behaved like men, and he who conducted himself like a hero in the presence of his enemies, was not ashamed, when occasion called, to yield to those passions and emotions which nature has implanted in every bosom. What a contrast is presented to us between the Roman and the Greek in this respect. We cannot but admire the severe virtue of a Cato and a Brutus, and their devoted self-denial, still we cannot but condemn that reckless disregard of life, and that affected contempt of its rational pleasures and enjoyments which they invariably displayed. We hate their stiff aristocratic haughtiness—their cool indifferentism, which led them it is true to despise danger and death, but which deprived them of all those feelings and emotions which are the natural birthright of every human being. In attempting to be more than men, their stoicism made them less. Their own doctrine of living conformably to nature—reason as they defined it—ought to have taught them that it is natural for man, and consequently reasonable, to give outward expression to inward emotions, to laugh when he feels merry, to look grave when he is sad, and to shed the bitter tear when sorrow presses heavily upon him. Far different from the Romans were those old Greek men. Was their country's independence at stake? then they faced danger and death, not because they despised life and its pleasures, but because they preferred to die free men than to live as slaves. And when the fight was over and their freedom won, then they mingled with the rest of their countrymen, and performed the duties of ordinary citizens. They fought and bled, that thus they might enjoy life more fully, that thus in their hearths and their homes they might enjoy those blessings which the gods had sent them. Nor did the greatest warriors consider it beneath them to unbend within their own domestic circle—as the story of Agesilaus most fully testifies. In a word, the Greeks were men in every sense of the term. Were they wounded in battle? then they are represented as howling in their course over the plain; were they insulted? then they had their revenge; were they angry? then they stormed and raved; were they merry? they indulged in laughter; were they sad? they went sor-

rowing with their faces to the earth; nor were they ashamed to express the overflowings either of joy or sorrow in a manner in which the stoical and unnatural Roman would have considered a shameless weakness.

In everything, even in war, the Greeks were superior to the Romans. In literature there can no comparison be instituted. Here old Hellas stands alone. The Roman orators, philosophers, and poets, we could count upon our fingers. As for the Grecian, 'twould be a task even to mention their names. We hope we do not express an unchristian sentiment, when we say that we could have listened to the "Son of Euphosion," as he rehearsed his own deep dark gloomy tragedies, or to the gentle Sophocles, while he warbled forth his charming melodies in strains of surpassing loveliness and beauty. Yes, we could willingly have sat at the feet of Socrates or Plato, and heard their discourses on the "Immortality of the Soul," uttered with that earnestness which we cannot but suppose that in their heart of hearts they felt, or have listened to those impassioned torrents of eloquence which were poured forth by the noblest of orators, in the noblest of all languages. But to pass from what is authentic in Greek history, to what is traditionary, we cannot fail to observe how much the mythical, the poetical, and the religious were blended together. During that long age, which goes by the name of the heroic, the wondrous deeds that are said to have been done, are so mixed up with that which is evidently fabulous—the true and the false comingle so closely, that it is almost impossible to say what is fact and what is fiction. Of necessity then those myths are poetical, for poetry delights in that which is fabulous and but imperfectly known. Nay, more, not only are they poetical—this is saying too little,—they contain within them the very highest elements of poetry. Critics may say what they will, we place narrative poetry—in which category we rank the Epic—in the very foremost rank. We, in fact, consider it the very highest species of poetry. These Grecian myths then, we hold, contain the very essence of poetry, and to the existence of these myths the Greeks are in great part indebted for the exalted position which they unquestionably attained, both in literature, in philosophy, and in art. Strip Greece of her mythological lore, and you deprive her of the brightest jewel in her diadem. We speak, of course, in regard to the poetical, not in reference to the religious element. The Christian lover of Greek mythology can realize to the full, and comprehend in its length and breadth, the immensity of the blessing which Christianity has conferred upon mankind, and can fully understand the depths of that depravity from which it has raised him. We must not therefore be misunderstood. We are instituting no comparison between the religion of the Greeks and the religion of Christians—it is of the poetic element alone we speak. We are not heathens, but sincere Christians; and it is because we are so, that we have said what we have said.

Holding therefore, as we do, that those myths contain the very essence of poetry—that they are in fact so many poems—and being moreover lovers of Grecian literature, it was with a very considerable degree of interest, indeed, that we took up "Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece," by Professor Blackie. Aware as we are of the Professor's genius and en-

thusiasm, we were prepared for something that would be instructing at least to the lovers of Grecian literature; and certainly we have not been disappointed. Professor Blackie, we dare say, is equally careless of our praise as of our blame, while we are free, as far as intrinsic merit is concerned, to accord him either the one or the other. In all sincerity then, we thank him for these "Lays and Legends," for it is difficult to say whether he deserves more commendation for the subjects he has chosen, than for the manner in which he has treated those subjects. As Lays, they are not inferior to any we have seen. We are prepared to try them by the very highest standard. In the combination of smoothness and strength, they are perhaps inferior to the "Lays of Rome;" but in that which constitutes the heart and soul of genuine poetry, they are—we know we are treading on delicate ground—they are not inferior. The reason of this, however, is perhaps due to the theme chosen by the Professor, for the mythological lore of Greece gives far more scope for the exercise of the genuine poetic faculty, than anything that Rome or her warrior sons could supply. If, however, we try them by a different standard, the "Lays of the Cavaliers," we shall find that they are equal to them, often in vigour, and always in poetic feeling. This it must be allowed is very high praise, still it is not higher than they deserve, as we are prepared to show by copious quotations.

The "Lays and Legends" may be divided into two parts, viz., the mythological and the historical. The first begins with "Pandora," and ends with the "Judgment of Paris;" the second begins with "Æschylus," and ends with "Polemo." According to the ancient myth, Pandora was the first of mortal females, made with clay by Vulcan, at the request of Jove, to punish the impiety and artifice of Prometheus, or perhaps to divert him from his purpose of moulding from the senseless clay the human form. All the gods gave her a gift, and Vulcan framed for her a curious box, which, when opened by the over inquisitive Epimetheus, was found to contain all manner of diseases. Hermes was deputed to present Pandora to the "famous moulder." The following beautiful passage describes the "gentle fair one" thus offered to the unyielding Titan:—

"Lo! he comes the nimble sandled
  Airy-footed god,
And with softly soothing motion
  Waves his golden rod.
Nor comes alone: behind him breathing
  Rosy beauty warm,
Veiled with glory iridescent,
  Floats a gentle form.
O she is fair beyond compare!
  Her the Thunderer high,
With all beauty's bravery pranked,
  To trick the Titan's eye.
Her thy forging wit Hephaestus
  Cunningly did frame,
Every god his virtue gave
  To make a perfect dame.

With soft-swelling smoothness Venus
  Rounded every limb,
And her full deep eye cerulean
  Dashed with wanton whim.
Round her chiselled mouth the Graces
  Wove their wreathings rare,
All his sunny radiance Phœbus
  Showered upon her hair.
Juno gave the lofty stature
  That beseems the queen,
Dian the light-footed grace
  That trips the springy green;
Tuned her throat the grace of muses
  To the perfect bird;
Hermes from her tongue sweet, suasive
  Winged the witching word.
With a various-pictured vesture,
  Woven thin and fine,
From her loom celestial Pallas
  Clad the shape divine."

Nothwithstanding the beauty of the "well-dowered female,

"Wise Prometheus
Turns his face away;"

and then the winged messenger commands the Muses to charm the strong willed Titan.

"Charm his ear attendant muses;
  With quick rapture thrill
Every life-string! mighty music
  Tames the stoutest will.
Spake the god, and like bright wavelets
  Of the sounding sea,
Filled the Titan's ear a gentle
  Rush of melody.
Sounds as when the quire of Phœbus
  Trip with tinkling feet,
Round thy fair fount Aganippe,
  Singing clear and sweet.
Sounds as when goat-footed Faunus
  In a mossy nook,
Pipes his drowsy reed at noon-day
  To the murmering brook;
Sounds so rare as Jove Olympian
  Drinks with ravished ears,
When he hears the beat clamorous
  Of the travelling spheres.
Every sound that voiceful April
  Lends the floating breeze,
Laden with the fragrant burden
  From the fresh-tipt trees:
With such sweet assailing voices
  Cunning Hermes plied
Wise Prometheus; but the Titan
  The strong spell defied."

We give these quotations without remark. If they do not commend themselves to the reader as beautiful, we are sorry for him. Nothing that we could say would have the least effect in convincing him of their merit. As it is impossible for us to take up every one of the "Lays," we pass over the next four,—to wit, "Prometheus," "The Naming of Athens," "Bellerophon," and "Iphiginia," all of which are admirable in themselves, and display throughout great vigour of style and depth of feeling. As lays they are all beautiful, and we might with all safety have made extracts from them at random, but such is not our plan. We select, therefore, the three following for particular quotation and comment, viz., "The Wail of an Idol," "Ariadne," and "Galatea;" convinced as we are that these will be found to be the best in every respect.

As a lay, and as a just representation of that which it is intended to represent, the "Wail of an Idol" is perhaps the best we ever read. There is something so sad, so cheerless, so pitiful, so dolorous, in the very flow of the verses,—not to speak of the sense at all,—that one cannot help getting sad out of sympathy with the weary-wailing ghost, that

"Sings his own sad knell."

In order to satisfy ourselves that we do not estimate this lyric too highly, we have again looked into the "Lays of Rome;" but we can find nothing that pleases us so well as this. We have read it, aye twenty times, and each time with greater pleasure. We are only sorry that we cannot quote the whole of this sad, dolorous lay. We are sorry, chiefly because it is difficult to make a selection when every stanza is equal to every other; and when one sometimes inclines to the one, sometimes to the other. We have consumed a full quarter of an hour in trying to select the finest passage; and now we quote at random:—

"O dreary dreary shades!
O sad and sunless glades!
O yellow, yellow meads
Of asphodel!
Where the dream-like idol strays,
On lone and haunted ways,
Through Hades' weary maze,
And sings his own sad knell.

"O sullen, sullen sky!
Where the brown bat wings,
And the lone bird sings
A chant like the chant of death;
While sad souls wake
The stagnant lake
With a sobbing, struggling breath.
O sad, O sad is the wail of the stream,
Mingling its sighs with the dead man's dream;
Winding, winding, nine times round,
Weary wandering; 'scapeless bound!
And the black, black kine,
In lazy ranks,
Are cropping the sickly herb
From the reedy Stygian banks;

And hissing things
With poisoned blood,
Are crawling through the slimy mud.

. . . . . .

"O sad is the throne,
Dark, drear, alone,
Of the stern, relentless pair!
O dreary, dreary shades!
O sad and sunless glades!
O yellow, yellow meads
Of asphodel!
O loveless, joyless homes!
O weary, starless domes!
Where the wind-swept idol roams,
And sighs his own sad knell.

"O sullen, solemn, silent clime!
O lazy pace of noiseless time!
O where are the many-coloured joys of earth?
O where is the loud strong voice of mirth?
O where is the change
Of joy and woe?
The love of friend,
The hate of foe?
O where is the bustle of many-winged life?
And of man with man the many-mingling strife?

"O Hermes! leader of the dead,—
Thou winged god
Of the golden rod,—
O lead me, lead me further still!
Lead me to Lethe's silent stream,
That I may drink, deep drink my fill,
And wash from my soul this long life dream
O lead me, lead me to Lethe's shore,
Where memory lives no more."

The beautiful legend of Ariadne embodies, as the Professor tells us in his notes, a principle more Christian than Hellenic; the principle, to wit, which may be called *the consecration of sorrow.* The legend itself is soon told. Theseus, the son of Aegeus, King of Athens, went to Crete among the seven chosen youths whom the Athenians sent yearly to be devoured by the Minotaur. When there, Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, became enamoured of him, and by her means he was enabled to kill the Minotaur, and to escape from the labryinth. Theseus sailed from Crete, carrying his deliverer with him; but being driven by contrary winds to take refuge in the island of Naxos, he left the too-confiding Ariadne there to perish. The Lay before us represents her alone in her "living tomb."

"Ariadne, Ariadne,
Thou art left alone, alone;
And the son of Attic Aegeus,
Faithless Theseus, he is flown."

Such is the legend into which the Professor seems to have thrown his

whole soul. We should be astonished, indeed, if the reader did not admire the following hymn :—

"Wake, Ariadne!
Wake from thy slumbers;
Wake with new heart,
Which no sorrow encumbers!
Black night is away now,
And glorious day now
  Reddens apace.
The white mists are fleeing,
And o'er the Ægean,
His shining steeds follow
The call of Apollo,
And snort for the race.
Hark! through thy slumbers,
Undulant numbers
  Quicken the air!
O'er the Ægean
Swells the loud pœan
  With melody rare;
The clear-throated flute,
And the sweet-sounding lute,
The cymbals' shrill jangle,
And tinkling triangle,
  And tambour, are there.
Wake, Ariadne!
Look through thy slumbers!
The Mænads to meet thee,
Marshal their numbers.
Down from the sky
Dionysus has sent them;
Rosiest beauty
Venus has lent them.
Hovering nigh,
Their thin robes floating;
With balm in their eye,
Thy wounds they are noting.
  O Ariadne!
Blest be the bride
(So echoes their song)
That shall sleep by the side
Of the wine-god strong.
Fair Ariadne!
Daughter of Minos,
Though earth may reject thee,
Great Dionysus
Above shall expect thee.
Like a gem thou shalt shine
'Mid the bright starry glory;
A name shall be thine
With the famous in story.
Wake, Ariadne,
From earth's heavy slumbers;
Wake to new life,
Which no sorrow encumbers."

Having occupied so much space already, and given so many long quotations, we shall take leave of the myths by presenting the reader with one of the finest passages in "Galatea."

"It was an hour of stillness,
In the leafy month of June,
Midway between the cool eve
And the sultry ray of noon.
Thin clouds were floating idly,
And with his changing rays
The playful sun bedappled
The green and ferny braes.
The birds were chirping faintly,
It scarcely was a song;
But the breath of green creation
And fragrant life was strong.
The lazy trees were nodding,
The flowers were half awake,
And toilsome men were basking
Like the serpent in the brake,
The Borean winds were sleeping,
Asleep was ocean's roar,
And ripple was chasing ripple
On the silver-sounding shore:
The countless ocean daughters,
Were weaving from the waves
Bright webs of scattered sunlight
To deck their sparry caves;
And in her sapphire chamber
Of lucent beauty rare,
The sea-green Amphitrite
Was plaiting her sea-green hair.

. . . . .

The lovely Galatea
Within a silent bay,
With her dear shepherd Acis
In blest seclusion lay.
High craggy rocks steep-rising
The bosomed beach enclose;
And at the feet of the goddess
The rippling ocean flows,
The shepherd sang to please her:
He piped a simple air,
And as he sang gazed alway
Into that face so fair;
He drank the dew of heaven,
Deep draughts of beauty rare,
And he never could weary gazing
On the face of the sea nymph fair.
He sang the shepherd of Latmos,
Endymion the blest,
He sang his sweet day labour
And his sweeter night of rest.
His labours sweet and easy
Beneath the sunny cope
To watch the fleecy wanderers

That cropped the Carian slope:
His rest more sweet when Dian
Fleet huntress of the woods;
Came bounding over the mountains,
Came leaping over the floods,
Came dancing over the rivers,
That with her beauty shone,
To see in mellow moonlight
The sleep of Endymion.
She looked on the lovely sleeper,
The soul that knew no strife;
He look'd like some spotless marble
God-wakened into life.
She bended gently o'er him;
Beneath his breast of snow,
She heard the pure blood flowing
So musical below.
She smooth'd the mossy pillow
Beneath him as he slept,
And a fragrant flower sprang near him,
Each tear the goddess wept.
She kiss'd his cheeks so downy,
So beautiful so brown,
And amidst his locks so golden
She wove a silver crown.
Her breath was music round him,
And her presence fancies fair,
That cradled the happy dreamer
In a winged and rosy lair.
She look'd on the sleeping shepherd,
And her love with gazing grew,
And the limbs of the lovely mortal
She bathed in immortal dew."

We have thus, we trust, by the quotations we have made, convinced the reader that the "Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece" contain much that is vigorous in style, and poetic in feeling. If the quotations we have made do not contain the genuine spirit of poetry, then we do not know what poetry is; and certainly will not be at the pains to seek for it in the unintelligible jargon of abstract thought,—the mystico-metaphysical nonsense which obtains the name of poetry now-a-days,—and which critics delight to bespatter with their praise. Such critics as maintain that there is no poetry in these Lays, had better come forward at once, and proclaim their ignorance and self-conceit by declaring that Hesiod and Homer, and a host of others, were no poets at all; and that in reference to such the world has been, and is, in a sad and most absurd mistake. There are, of course, many passages in the Lays before us, to which we could take exception. But what we contend for is, that the myths are in themselves poetical; and that they have not lost any of their poetry by being presented to the world in an English garb. We say there are many passages to which we could take exception; but there are none which demands severe criticism, and we hate that species of critique so much indulged in, which conveys no other impression to the reader than that the book, whatever it be, is neither

good, bad, nor indifferent, but a mixture of all three. If the work is good, let it be praised; if it is bad, let it be condemned. We assert then,—and in this we think the quotations we have given will fully justify us,—that the "Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece" are not inferior to any in the language; and we have no hesitation in saying that they are equal, in all that constitutes true poetry, either to the "Lays of Rome" or to the "Lays of the Cavaliers."

We would have the reader bear in mind, however, that it is only of the "Lays and Legends" we speak—only to them that we accord such high praise. Were we to enter upon the Miscellaneous Poems, which fill the larger half of the volume, we doubt very much if our criticism would be of so laudatory a kind as the foregoing. The Professor, we think, would have done well if he had published the "Lays and Legends" by themselves. Of the other subjects, many are so hacknied that their very name repells; while others of them are not very fit themes for the Muse. We think the Professor was rash in staking his reputation upon poems so unequal among themselves as these Miscellaneous Poems are. Let the reader but compare some of those fine passages in the "Lays," which he has now read, with the following, and he will at once perceive our meaning:—

"Name the leaves on all the trees,
Name the waves on all the seas,
Name the notes of all the groves,
Thus thou namest all my loves.

"I do love the dark, the fair;
Golden ringlets, raven hair,
Eye that swims in sunny light,
Glance that shoots like lightning bright.

"I do love the young, the old,
Maiden modest, virgin bold,
Tiny beauties, and the tall,
Earth has room enough for all.

"Paris was a pedant fool,
Meting beauty by a rule;
Pallas? Juno? Venus?—he
Should have chosen all the three.

"I am wise, life's every bliss
Thankful tasting; and a kiss
Is a sweet thing, I declare,
From a dark maid or a fair."

Verily the Professor is a universal lover, and he expresses his loves in "mortal verse." He *nearly* equals in his capacity for loving some one of whom the author of the "Life Drama" somewhere speaks, who—

"Loved all things from God to foam."

With the feeling that dictated the "Braemar Ballads" we disagree in toto; and should have preferred in place of them, "Lays and Legends of the Highlands." Poets should eschew politics. Their mission is quite different from that of the politician. But this is neither the time

nor the place to give our reasons for disagreeing with the Professor on this subject, and therefore we do not enter into it at all. Should the agitation continue, we shall return to the subject at another time and in another form.

And now, reader, we have finished our—we were about to say task, but the interest we have felt, and the pleasure we have experienced in the perusal of those "Lays and Legends" have far more than compensated us for the few hours of sleep we lost in the writing of this criticism. We have done no more than justice to Professor Blackie; and if we have interested you in these "Lays and Legends," and have excited within you a desire to read them for yourselves, we have accomplished our object, and have not lost our labour. We have given no quotation from the Historical part of the "Lays," and therefore, with one from the opening of the Battle of Marathon, we close the volume and our critique.

"From Pentelicus' pine-clad height
A voice of warning came,
That shook the silent autumn night
With fear to Media's name,
Pan from his Marathonian cave
Sent screams of midnight terror,
And darkling horror curled the wave
On the broad sea's moonlit mirror.
Woe, Persia, woe! thou liest low, low!
Let the golden palaces groan,
Ye mothers weep for sons that shall sleep
In gore on Marathon."

LITERARY NOTICE.

Painless Tooth-Extraction without Chloroform. With observations on Local Anæsthesia by Congelation in General Surgery. By WALTER BLUNDELL, Surgeon-Dentist to the Metropolitan Free Hospital. Second Edition. London: John Churchill, New Burlington Street. 1856.

THOUGH far from being within the special objects of our Magazine, we cannot refrain from noticing the above work as embodying a novel and somewhat startling application of cold in preventing pain in surgical operations, especially in tooth-extraction. Indeed, we have just learned that a talented young man has become sole patentee of the method for Edinburgh, and in proffering him our best wishes in his endeavours to alleviate suffering, we trust he will meet with the reward which all benevolent and well-intended actions merit. The following is the preface to the work:—

"The very encouraging sale of the first edition of this pamphlet has induced me, in the present instance, to spare no expense to render a second issue still more worthy of professional and public notice. To effect this, the subject-matter has been in many parts rewritten, as well as arranged in separate chapters, in order to facilitate reference to the chief points of argument in favour of the *benumbing process*, and as superseding the future employment of *chloroform* in dental operations.

"The following pages are in advocacy of an agent which may faithfully and effectually serve mankind as a rational anæsthetic. It is one, moreover, which, to render the body insensible to pain, does not require (as all others

hitherto have done) *the surrender of consciousness.* Thus it will appear that, though chloroform has failed in one great essential point—*safety*, the hopes of the human race are not thereby annihilated; and that for the prevention of pain other effective means are open to us all. Etherization, to annul the pain of surgical operations, is an agent which for some time bade fair to realize the dreams and hopes of the afflicted; but of late it has too plainly manifested an inglorious subserviency to a power whose resistless hand no surgeon's art can stay. This feature of its character is rapidly developing itself in the form of *frequent* fatal accidents. Such misfortunes are, we find, publicly chronicled, to the dismay of its staunchest advocates; and, as an inevitable consequence, the former unalloyed delight of the public mind is giving place to increasing anxiety and fear. It will therefore appear that I have not appealed against the use of chloroform in surgery *beyond* the wide circle of *minor* operations; nor have I exaggerated its dangers.

"It is now nearly five years since I commenced a series of experiments to overcome the obvious disadvantages attending the direct application of *cold* to such sensitive parts as the mouth and teeth, and have at length succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. I early found that the means used by my predecessors in the cause of local anæsthetics, as elsewhere described, served only to maintain those disadvantages, and that some method should be found to produce insensibility or numbness in the part without 'shock' or inconvenience of any kind. This was the object steadily pursued—*and this I have attained.*

"I have much pleasure in acknowledging the assistance of Mr Bagg,—whose talent and truthfulness as an illustrator are too well known to require further notice."

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Downing Street, Jan. 16.—The Queen has been pleased to appoint the Rev. George Irvine, to be minister of the Church of Scotland, in the Island of Mauritius.

Clerical Presentation.—The Rev. Wm. Gordon has been presented to the second charge, on the 21st inst., of Magnus's Church, Kirkwall, Orkney.

Honarary Degree.—The Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh, have conferred the Degree of LL.D., upon Professor James Stephen, of King's College, London.

Died, at the manse of Whitekirk, on the 16th inst. the Rev. James Lang, minister of the United Parishes of Whitekirk and Tynninghame.

Died, at 7 Queen Street, Edinburgh, on the 11th instant, the Rev. Thomas Clark, D.D., one of the Ministers of St Andrew's Church.

MACPHAIL'S

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INDIA:—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

(*Continued from page* 39.)

PROCEED we now in our pilgrimage over India, as the earliest stage, if not, indeed, the very birth-place of the Arts and Sciences, that distinguish and embellish civilized life; and leaving to the Hindus of an age, when Greece was young, the undisputed possession, as we have seen, of the field of metaphysical philosophy, let us see how they disported themselves in that of Poetry, and its kindred pursuits. Many of our readers, we doubt not, have associated with the poetry of the Hindus, all that is wild and fantastic in imagination—all that is absurd and grotesque in conception—all that is unnatural and hyperbolical in description; but never perhaps was there, on the whole, a more erroneous estimate formed of their progress in this particular department of literature;—and the higher we ascend into past times, the less does this progress deserve the condemnation which it has experienced. Doubtless, as measured by the standards, which the colder critics of the west may think fit to apply to it, there is much in Hindu Poetry, that may appear justly to incur the charges that have been brought against it. But how much of what we account blemishes might be converted into beauties, if, as we are bound to do before we judge, we could enter into the spirit that inspired the bard of India, as he strung his harp, whether to celebrate the praises of his god, or his mistress;—to paint the prowess of his hero in the sanguinary fields of battle, or within the more bloodless arena of the metaphysical and theological contest? In truth almost the whole literature of the Hindus, whether religious or secular—if, indeed, a distinction can be drawn between them,—appeared under the garb of poetry; and the very first lessons taught within the school, and before the child

had yet learned to read or write, were clothed in metre. But making every allowance for the disadvantages, under which we have hitherto approached the due appreciation of Hindu poetry, the labours of our modern Orientalists have at length enabled us to do it greater justice; and are every day bearing a more honourable testimony to the beautiful imagery, animated description, and tender and natural feeling, with which it abounds. Let us select a "muster" from the *Ramayanam* of Vilmikhy —a poem, which commemorates the conquest of Ceylon by *Rama*, the then reigning monarch of Oude; a prince, we need scarcely say, of a more virtuous and exalted character, than the King, who has been so recently placed among the pensioners of the East India Company. *Sita*, the Queen of Rama—for the sable Lady now figuring in the wide world of London, is not the first heroine in her way, that has occupied the throne of Oude—is carried off in the air to Celyon by the giant *Ravannah;* who, smitten by the charms of his sleeping captive, is arrested in his criminal purpose by an old and hoary anchorite, who had fortunately taken up his residence in the forest where *Ravannah* had descended with his prize; and where, from being invisible to his fair captive, he appears to her in a form, which, says the Poet, "might have allured *Rati* from the arms of *Marmadanah*, or *Radha* from the embraces of *Krishnu;*— a form, in which was united manly dignity and strength, with feminine grace and elegance." *Sita*, however, true in her love to *Rama*, withstood all the advances of *Ravannah*, who, maddened by desire and about to employ force to accomplish his ends, is arrested by a voice calling out "Spoiler pause!"—when, says the poet,—

"Quick turned the king; his blood enchafed by wrath,
And sternly cast his anger gleaming eyes
To whence the sudden voice proceeding seemed.
Hoary and white a reverend sire appeared,
Coarse in an ank'rite's homely vesture clad,
A staff of cane his time bent limbs sustained,
And bore the burden of an age of years.
Spread o'er his breast, pure as the cotton down,
Below the cincture fell, in curls distinct,
The aged honours of his ample beard;
While few and scattered o'er his head,
Palsied and shaking thro' extreme decay
Flourished the silver blossoms of the grave.
On him angelic charity had stamped
Her truest image; and kind nature seemed
Him to have nourished with her sweetest milk."

The remonstrances and arguments of the holy man were, however, powerless in every thing, except in rousing the wrath of the giant; who, no longer able to restrain his fury at the unmannerly intrusion on his designs, assailed the humble *Muni*, and

"Hurled the unhallowed weapon at his heart.
As from the scaly monster of the flood,
Though thrown with force gigantic, bounds inert
The pond'rous fragment: from the Muni's breast
So glanced the missile steel; and wond'rous now

A sudden change o'er all his form took place.
The hermit's vestment shone with plates of gold
And clasped his manly breast: his time worn brow
Nodded with clustering plumes: the staff of cane
Which erst could scarcely prop his tottering frame
Glared in the sunbeams now a threat'ning brand.
On his broad shoulders rose his ample shield,
And at his side the sable buffaloe roared:
Raised to the sky his mighty form appeared;
And at the terrors of his lightening eyes
The sky-touched mountains sank beneath the vales.
Confessed he shone the potent King of Hell!"

For seven days the battle raged without intermission; the stars disappeared from fright, terrifying the gods who rushed to the portals of heaven to discover the cause of the uproar. At length *Yamah* is doomed to fall under the arrow, presented by *Sita* to *Ravannah*, and which no power divine, demoniac, or human, could resist. Brahma himself at length flies to the rescue: and

"reached the Isle,
Where stood the power men tremble to behold:
Glancing red lightening from his angry eyes.
Grasped by each hand the fatal mace was raised
High o'er his head; and for the deadly blow
Each muscle of his mighty form was strained—
Where now confessed the Lord of Nature shone;
His triple count'nance darting beams of light,
As if three suns had risen t' illume the world;
The Lord of serpents reined his rage awhile—"

And at length persuaded by the entreaties of *Brahma*, *Ravannah* agrees to spare the life of *Yamah*; but refuses to restore *Sita* to Rama; but under a pledge given to *Brahma* that he would respect female purity and innocence, he returns to the forest, where he had left *Sita* asleep unconscious of the fearful combat that had been going on.

So much in illustration of the poem and the poets of the *Ramyanam:* and who can refuse his assent to the remark, made by an eminent oriental scholar, that had *Bodhayanah* the poet written in Greek, he would have long ago been considered and set down, as the prototype of Milton, when he describes the conflict of Satan with Death at the gates of Hell?

But we must not take leave of the Hindu muses without some notice of the *Mahabharat*, the great epic of the Hindus, composed at least two centuries before the Christian era; and painting creeds and manners, and warlike strifes, that were then the stories of a thousand years. Few, indeed, if any, are the subjects of human faith or knowledge which this poem does not embrace within its 100,000 stanzas; and which the poet, if he often encumbers and overlays, does not sometimes clothe and embellish after the most pleasing and life-like fashion. We must content ourselves, however, with a short extract from the first book, in which we have an account of the education of the *Kuru* and *Pandu* Princes, at the court of ancient Delhi; for the *Mahabharat*, which sings of the wars that arose between these princes, begins at the beginning, and devotes a goodly portion of its strains to the early training of the royal race;—a proof of the

importance attached in these early days to this department of public policy. In *Drona*, the son of a holy sage, a suitable preceptor is found—

> "Who to meet skill in war and arms, should join
> Intelligence and learning, lofty aims,
> Religious earnestness, and love of truth."

Drona enters with zeal and ardour on his important charge,—

> "The pleasing task absorbing all the thoughts,
> That holy rites and pious duties spared."

Having at length conducted his royal pupils,—(for *Drona* it appears kept an academy at Delhi, and had many scholars besides the princes of the blood,)—through their juvenile studies and more advanced and manly exercises, he was naturally enough anxious to display their progress at a public examination of the school; and that in a manner becoming their rank; and with this view proposed a Tournament, before which the Eglinton Castle affairs of the present day must hide their diminished heads; for in every thing—"tournaments" not excepted—there were "giants in those days." Addressing the good old king, *Drona* reminds him—

> "'Thy princes have acquired due skill in arms.
> Command, and let their prowess be approved
> By public trial.' Pleased, the monarch cried,
> 'Thy task, illustrious son of *Baradhwaya*,
> Is worthily accomplished: speak the time,
> The place; and all thy judgment shall esteem,
> Essential to the honourable proof.
> The Sage went forth, and chose the field of arms:
> Within the circle pious *Drona* reared
> An altar for an offering to the gods—
> With gorgeous seats provided for the King,
> The peers—the Queen and beauty of the palace:
> Then soon around, the busy artists reared,
> In numerous galleries, and tents and booths
> To shade the throngs, that from the city poured
> In countless concourse to behold the scene."

During a short repose in the manly exercises which followed, and which are most graphically described by the poet, a rival knight appears and challenges the brave *Arjuna*—

> "And thus defied the Prince: 'Whate'er thine arm
> This day has wrought, I pledge me to surpass,
> The holy Sage permitting—
> Then *Drona* gave assent: and every feat
> By *Arjuna* achieved was wrought by *Kerna*."

Victory still hanging doubtful in the balance, the rival knight invites *Arjuna* to single combat; and the challenge is given and accepted in language of undaunted courage, and proud disdain:—

> "Thus far our skill is equal; let it now
> Be seen in single fight, wherein the vantage lies.
> The Prince replied, 'Quick be it mine to send thee
> To learn what regions tenant those, who come
> Unbidden guests, or vaunt uncalled their prowess.'

'The field of conflict,' *Kerna* cried, 'is free
To all the brave; and to the princely mind
The proof of valour is the proof of virtue:—
Why should these idle pastimes swell your pride?
To strike with shafts innocuous; toys like these!
Mine seek a nobler mark; my arrows fly
Here in thy teachers' presence, at thy head."

The scene becomes intensely interesting—

"When from the seat,
Where sat the royal dames, a cry of grief
Broke wild upon their purpose. By his arms
And voice and bold demeanour, *Pritha* knew
Her first born son in *Kerna;* and appalled
To see the brothers each to each unknown,
On hostile thoughts intent, she strove to stay
The horrid strife.—In vain; oblivion sealed
Her every sense; *Vidura* conveyed
The dame unconscious to the regal dome."

There arises, however, a difficulty on a point of etiquette, of which the Hindus appear to have been very tenacious; and until *Kerna* can prove his royal lineage or state, the conflict must be suspended. But help is at hand for the disappointed *Kerna*.

"Him thus abashed Duryodhana beheld;
And then he cried,—'awhile the sport suspend;
And then no plea be wanting to the trial:
The State of *Anga* of its lord bereft
Upon our will depends: this valiant chief
Be crowned its sovereign; then with equal pride
He calls this *Arjuna* to equal arms;
Away! this sees the Hero-King.'—
Impetuous thus the prince: and none presumed
To question his resolve: so ceased the sports;
And *Kerna* was installed as *Anga's* King."

But before we pass from the Poetry of ancient India, we are strongly tempted to remind the reading world at home, now so eager for all, that may promise to satisfy their growing appetite for song, that while one learned Professor within our Metropolitan University is charming them with such reminiscences, as are roused by "the Lays of the Cavaliers;" and another, launching his venturous bark in the classic seas of Greece; and, steering amidst its "Lays and Legends," is drawing no less deeply on their gratitude, there lies beyond these limits a region rich in poetical treasures but little known, but not the less worthy of their poetical prowess to explore.

When we find the Epic muses to have been so much honoured as we have seen among the Hindus, we may expect the Dramatic to have found among them a no less worthy place of honour and distinction. Laying our hand on one of the many plays, that constitute the "Hindu theatre" as translated by Professor Wilson, we have in the "*Mrichkhakati*" or "Toy Cart," a cruel and sensual tyrant of a master instigating one of his attendants to the murder of an innocent and beautiful female: and cer-

tainly he sets about it in a manner, that betrays little of bombast or extravagance of passion; and is resisted in his demands by the parties, whom he would have bribed to the cruel deed, in language that would do honour to the taste and humanity, if not in all points to the creed, of the Christian himself.

> "*Samsthanaka.* Put Vantasena to death.
> "*Vitia.* Murder a young and unoffending female!
> Of courteous manners, and unrivalled beauty,
> The pride of all Oujain! Where shall I find,
> Believe you, a fit raft, to waft my soul
> Safe o'er the river of futurity?
> "*Samsth.* I will have one made for you;
> Come! what have you to fear
> In this lonely place? who will see you?
> "*Vit.* All nature; the surrounding realms of space;
> The genii of these groves; the moon; the sun;
> The winds; the vault of heaven; the firm-set earth.
> These all bear witness to the good or ill
> That man performs; and these will see the deed."

The attempt of the master to gain over another slave to do the deed is equally fruitless; and the reason assigned by him for withholding his hand gives us an insight into the Hindu doctrine of transmigration :—

> "*Samsth.* Kill this Vantasena.
> "*Stavaraka.* I dare not obey you.
> "*Samsth.* Of whom are you afraid?
> "*Stavar.* Futurity.
> "*Vitia.* Stavaraka is right. Revolving fate
> Has doomed him to a low and servile station,
> From which he wisely hopes, a life of virtue
> Hereafter sets him free. Do you think,
> Though degradation wait not now on crime,
> And many, obstinately foes to virtue,
> Suffer not here the punishment they merit,
> Yet destiny still blindly works. Though now
> Her will gives servitude to him,—to you
> A master's sway; yet in a future being
> Your affluence may his fortune be assigned,—
> And yours, to do submissively his bidding."

Among the Hindu poets, women appear to be treated with the greatest courtesy,—often, almost with idolatrous respect. But occasionally, as in the case of *Servillaka*, a dissipated Brahmin, in the "Toy Cart," the poet breaks out into strong abuse and reproach of he sex :—

> "Ah! what a fool is man, to place his trust
> In woman or in fortune! slippery both!
> Oh! love her never, Youth! The ocean waves
> Are less unsteady; and the dying glow
> Of eve less fleeting than a woman's fondness.
> Wealth is her aim; as soon as man is drained
> Of all his goods, like a squeezed colour-bag
> She casts him off.

But why expect what nature has withheld?
The Lotus blooms not on the mountain brow;
Nor bears the mule the burden of the horse;
The growing barley buds not into rice;
Nor dwells one virtue in the breast of woman."

This estimate of woman's worth by the profligate Brahmin is not, however, entitled to much attention; for, on finding favour with *Madanika*, another of the ladies of the *Mrichkhakati*, he can eulogize the sex, and defend them from themselves:—

"*Ser.* Nay, say not so,
Nature is woman's teacher, and she learns
More sense than man, the pedant, gleans from books."

In that department of a national literature, in which FABLE and FICTION take their place, there is at least no meagreness of material among the Hindus; and as painting their manners, while they existed as an independent nation, undisturbed by foreign foes, and uncontaminated by foreign vices, these materials, unworthy as by some they may be esteemed, ought to be accounted of very great value by the regenerators, who are now striving to enlighten them. India,—as it happily was once the cradle of a creed, that acknowledged but one God, —was a stranger to idolatry and all its grossness and enormities; and resolved all human happiness into the due performance of the more truly spiritual acts of devotion, and the discharge of the passing and active duties of life,—so did it establish for itself at a future and more degenerate period, the strongest claims to be the nursery of the fabulous and fictitious narrative; and the celebrated HITOPADESA, or "Fables of Pelpay," claimed as their own by *Persian* and *Arab*, *Turk* and *Tartar*, *Saracen* and *Spaniard*, are traceable to a Hindu origin; boasting, indeed, of no meaner a parentage, than that of VISHNU himself. The researches of Professor Wilson of Oxford in this singularly pleasing province of Hindu literature, have confirmed and enlarged the discoveries, and rectified many of the errors of Sir William Jones; and, if not in England, have at least in Germany, and over the continent, attracted the attention they deserve, as throwing light on the "march of mind," from one of the first seats of its development, to the regions that are now affecting to enlighten the people in the elegant and imaginative branches of knowledge, to whom they are themselves more indebted than they are willing to allow.

In the *Oriental Magazine*, published at Calcutta in the years 1823–27, there is a collection of Hindu legends and fables, translated from the Sanscrit, upon which—did our limits permit—we should be strongly tempted to draw for illustrations of this part of our rambles. They bear the title of *Hindu Fiction;* but they sometimes descend to the realities of common life among men, and these not always of the most attractive or engaging character,—savouring more of Bow Street and the Police Office, than of the higher and more virtuous walks of society; but on this very account the more valuable, as affording veritable pictures of social life and manners in these bygone days of India.

That the Hindus prosecuted the sciences of Surgery and Medicine with the same ardour as Metaphysics and Poetry, and, it may be believed, with greater practical good fruits, there is abundant evidence to prove. Their treatises yet extant, (and, of course, under the religious garb of a *Ved,*) on the *Diagnosis* and the *Materia Medica* are sufficiently numerous; and their works on *Diet* in health, and general treatment in disease, containing, as they doubtless do, much that is absurd, are not to be lightly thrown aside as possessing nothing of any value. It is remarkable, that in these works we have a most minute enumeration of the cases to be surgically dealt with, and of the instruments to be employed,—large in their number, and most minutely described;—the teacher giving very elaborate directions to his pupils, how to use them, but above all, to trust more to the *hand*, than to any other means, and to keep the *sastras*, or surgical instruments,—of which twenty different sorts are enumerated by *Susruta*, and twenty-six by *Bhagbhatta*, —the Astley Coopers and Listons of these days,—"bright, handsome, and sharp enough to divide a hair longitudinally." Under such a superstitious belief, as had at length fettered all their faculties, and paralyzed all their energies, it is not to be supposed, that Anatomy could find a very prominent place in the *Ars Medendi* as cultivated by the Hindus; and, in ignorance of the structure of the human body, their knowledge was of course very imperfect. The *Ayur Veda*—the title, under which the collection of medical writings of the greatest antiquity is known, and which was dictated by *Brahma* himself, directs attention more to Surgery than to Medicine. The gods among whom his pupils were to practise, enjoyed, of course, eternal youth and good health; and stood in no need of pills and potions; but they were engaged occasionally in fierce and fiery wars with the demons; and the wounds which they received in these terrible conflicts required to be looked after. Of course many of the most wonderful operations were performed,—such as restoring the fifth head of *Brahma*, which had been cut off by *Rudra*;—a feat, surpassing any within the reach of our modern practitioners. To these legendary absurdities, there is, however, a key to be found in the fact, to which medical history among the Greeks themselves bears testimony, that as external injuries were plain and palpable, necessity compelled the application of immediate remedies; while internal maladies, occurring in hidden regions, remained, if not unnoticed, without at least any treatment except the most fanciful; and hence surgical science came to be cultivated long before the study of medical was prosecuted. The *Ayur Veda*,—consisting of its hundred thousand stanzas,—contains the Institutes of Hindu Surgery, as known in these days, and is divided into eight sections;—the first being devoted to the art of extracting foreign substances from the human body: And here it is worthy of remark in passing, that as the term Ιατρος, or physician, among the Greeks was derived from Ιος, an arrow,—then a very general cause of external injuries,—so is the Sanscrit term *Salya*, the name given to the art, that of the same offensive weapon. The second section treats of organic affections of the eyes, ears, nose, &c., and is termed *Salakya*, from the the needles or sharp instruments employed;—instruments with which the

cataract was depressed within the eye,—the stone extracted from the bladder, and the fœtus from the womb. Puerpural diseases in all their variety are treated in another section; and antidotes against the possession by demoniacs,—meaning, no doubt, the disorders that should have come properly under medical treatment,—and poisons of the ordinary kind and character, also find their proper place. The Chemistry of the Hindus, while it resolves in a great measure into the search for the universal medicine or elixir of life, known to all the ancients, exhibits at the same time a very extensive and remarkable acquaintance with the preparation of the most powerful medicines, both metallic and vegetable, that can be brought to act on the human body.

Taking, at once, a professional and philosophical view of Hindu progress in this interesting branch of the Arts, a writer in the *Oriental Magazine*[1] —evidently deeply read in its mysteries,—remarks, that "it would be an enquiry of some interest to trace the period and causes of the disappearance of Surgery from amongst the Hindus." "It is evidently," he says, "of comparatively modern occurrence, as operative and instrumental practice forms so principal a part of these writings, which are undeniably ancient; and which, being regarded as the composition of inspired writers, are held of the highest authority. It is," as he adds, "an enquiry connected with the progress of manners; for the persons, whoever they were, who wrote in the character of *Munis*, or deified sages, would not have compromised that character, by imparting precepts utterly contrary to the laws, or at variance with the principles and prejudices of their countrymen."[2] We are now, however, reaching a stage in the annals of this singular people, when it is as curious, as it may prove instructive, to turn from the surgical and medical attainments of these early days, to their growing advancement in these sciences under the *Raj* of the Honourable Company. Nearly half a century ago, means were first adopted for the improvement of a class of Native Doctors, who had come to hold a somewhat higher position than mere apothecaries and dressers, and compounders attached to the native army; and the names of Breton, Tytler, and Grant, are worthily known, in the attempt to accomplish what, after all, was not so great or arduous a resolution as many had imagined. It was to the exertions of the last of these learned gentlemen, carrried out by Drs Bramley, Goodeve, and O'Shaughnessey, that we are indebted for the Medical College of Calcutta. The introduction of *dissection* was, of course, the great event of the occasion; and we are indebted to the very able work of Mr Kerr, on "Public Instruction in Bengal," for the following interesting and graphic account of the scene, when the native

[1] The "Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Review, and Register,"— a periodical carried on at Calcutta, from 1823 to 1827, under the joint editorship of the Rev. Dr Bryce, then Senior Chaplain of the Scotch Church, and Mr Wilson, at that time in the Company's Medical Service, and now Professor of Sanscrit in the University of Oxford—is a mine rich in Oriental Literature, alike original and interesting; and, we may add, is far from being exhausted. We observe that Mrs Spier, in her recently published volume, entitled, "Life in Ancient India," has availed herself of this mine—as has also Mr Elphinstone, in his "History of India," published in 1841.—We also acknowledge ourselves greatly indebted to it.—Ed.

[2] Oriental Magazine, March 1823, p. 356.

student, *Modusuden*,—whose portrait, as the first native dissector, now graces the Hall of the College,—first plunged the scalpel into a human subject :—

"It had needed some time, some exercise of the persuasive art, before *Modusuden* could bend up his mind to the attempt; but having once taken the resolution, he never flinched or swerved from it. At the appointed hour, scalpel in hand, he followed Dr Goodeve into the go-down, where the body lay ready. The other students, deeply interested in what was going forward, but strangely agitated with mingled feelings of curiosity and alarm, crowded after them, but durst not enter the building where this fearful deed was to be perpetrated. They clustered around the door; they peeped through the jilmils; resolved, at least, to have ocular proof of its accomplishment. And when *Modusuden's* knife, held with a strong and steady hand, made a long and deep incision in the breast, the lookers-on drew a long gasping breath, like men relieved from the weight of an intolerable suspense." The progress of the students in this Medical College has been truly astonishing; and bears testimony to the fact, that there is no branch of knowledge of which the Hindus may not soon make themselves masters. Since the College was opened, the number of subjects annually under the knife of the dissector has increased from 50 to 750! and from among the alumni, a small number of the more promising youths have been sent to England, to attend the colleges and walk the hospitals of its metropolis, where some of them have gained medals for extraordinary proficiency, and other certificates of high merit, and several have taken a degree of M.D.

Without exactly awarding to the Astronomy of the Hindus such an antiquity as has been claimed for it, we may safely set them down as the earliest star-gazers in the world. Le Gentil, Playfair, and Bailly claim for their knowledge of the science as remote a date as 3000 years B. C.; and Bentley, who withholds from them such a very huge antiquity, appears inclined to concede that Abraham himself, the Father of the Faithful, and the reputed founder of the Chaldean astronomy derived his knowledge from Indian Brahmans. The genealogies of the Hindu kings commence 800 years B. C.; and confusion worse confounded is introduced into their Astronomy, when it is called in as a chronological element by the priest to adorn and deify the lineage of the prince. With Religion, thus interposing its protecting shield against all doubt or disputation, even where millions of years pass in rapid review, all attempts to substitute the rational for the mythological are lost sight of. A scholar, profoundly read in Mathematics, writes a Treatise on Algebra, Trigonometry, and Arithmetic, in the fifth century after Christ; and presto! the work which is yet extant, becomes a *Veda*,—a divine revelation! and faith in it as such is exacted and easily obtained; and happily, scepticism in its very sublime birth and parentage noways affects its value as a work of science. And at length, as ages elapse, and, reversing the old process, as the light of the West is let in upon the East, the intellectual gems buried under a mass of superstitious rubbish,—and in a language, unknown to all but the highest of the "twice born,"—are beginning again to be laid bare in all their original beauty.

It is now being discovered, that in spite of all these disadvantages, the advances of the Hindus in Algebra, Mathematics, Geometry, and Trigonometry, were most remarkable, while the world was yet in its infancy. In Geometry, the discovery of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of the circle was undeniably theirs, and until later ages was not known out of India. In Algebra, their claims to the decimal notation are no less strong; and discoveries, which the twelfth and succeeding centuries of the Christian æra were boasting of, as the result of European science, are clearly shown to have been made by a Hindu mathematician of the *Brahma Gupta* school in the sixth. If, indeed, the Brahmins borrowed their mathematical knowledge from other countries, as other countries did from them, it may be difficult to fix on the fountain-head of the science. They have, no doubt, been regarded by some as borrowing their knowledge from the Greeks; but it was only to amend what, on becoming acquainted with the *Yavanas* in the age of Alexander, they discovered to be errors in their own philosophy. And, in the opinion of Mr Colebrook,—without all question an authority entitled to the greatest attention,—the Hindus may have profited by their intercourse with the Greeks, before the exact sciences were known to the Arabs, for whom the honour of priority has also been claimed. It may surprize some of our readers to learn, that before the close of the fifth century of our æra the Brahmins of India, as appears from researches now made, had discussed the diurnal revolution of the earth,—a doctrine which, if once dreamt of by the Greeks, had slept even among them until its revival by Copernicus. The upshot of the matter is, that although on these recondite subjects, and the comparative priority of the Hindus, Greeks, and Arabs, we are scarcely yet in a position to pronounce with certainty, there seems little doubt, that as light is more and more let in, the palm will be yielded to that country, on which the "Despatch" of the Court of Directors of the East India Company is now about to bestow the blessings of a sound intellectual and scientific instruction.

The Mythology of the Hindus,—that source of all the darkness and errors among them,—has committed still greater havoc on their Geography and Geology, than on their Mathematics and Geometry; and mountains of precious stones, and seas of milk, and wine, and sugar-cane juice, have only to be mentioned to stamp its fabulous character. Any thing like an accurate idea of the earth's surface was confined to India or *Bharata*, as it is called in the Sacred Books; and these books are sufficiently full of its divisions, with the towns, mountains, and rivers in each; but beyond their own boundaries all is dark and doubtful. How many of the countries embraced between the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean were comprehended under the name *Bharata*, it were not easy to say; but the more accurate acquaintance which we are reaching with India's "Past," and the more careful comparison of the accounts of Arrian, Megasthenes, and Strabo, with the researches and discoveries of such eminent Orientalists as Professor Wilson and Mr James Prinsep,—the one among the written MSS., the other among the still darker inscriptions on ancient pillars and stones,—is conducting to the belief, that PORUS, the most

powerful monarch of the dynasty, which Alexander found on the Hindu throne, wielded a sceptre not less magnificent, than that which now graces the fair hand of the Queen of England.

Where nature has done so much among the Hindus, less has been left to do by art, in the important science of Agriculture; and the hand, relieved from the ruder work of the plough, has been the better adapted to excel in employments, which result in the more finished and delicate fabrics of the loom; and we need scarcely say, that India has in all ages stood unrivalled in the latter department of human skill and industry. Commerce in a country producing so abundantly and so easily the mere necessaries of life, so far as food and clothing come under the category, has been chiefly confined to an interchange of the precious metals of the West for such articles of luxury and enjoyment, as the countries and climates of the East alone can furnish. Even the long and intimate intercourse of modern days with the trading nations of Europe, has introduced fewer changes in its agriculture and commerce, than might have been expected. Tilling, sowing, and reaping among the native population, remain at this day as then very much as they have been described twenty centuries ago; and among the children of customs so inveterate, it may be doubted by some, if even the all-powerful agent, *Steam*, will produce results, that will stand very sensibly forth, for many centuries to come. The experiment, however, is in a fair way of being tried, and that under circumstances the most advantageous. The day is fast passing away, when this mighty agent and its products can be seized on by a superstition, working out the purposes of a cunning priesthood; and what may not the Hindus become, before its desolating blasts can again overtaken them, when a Religion which hails and sanctifies Science as its handmaid, has been made known to and received by them.

Speaking of the progress of the Hindus in Architecture, Mr Elphinstone in his "History of India," refers to a work recently published by an intelligent Hindu, throwing not a little light on their attainments in this particular department of the fine arts, and detailing at once the principles on which it rested, and the progress that had been made in it. All who have been in India, and in this particular walk of science, have really seen the "Past," in the "Present," will agree with Mr Elphinstone[1] in his estimate of Hindu taste and excellence in architecture, as displaying more richness and beauty in details, than any thing like greatness or grandeur in conception. The face of the country is studded with temples, from the lilliputian fane by the road side, with its flag on the branch of an adjoining tree, to mark its existence, and arrest the steps of the pious traveller, to the great temple, such as that of Seringham, where the grand and imposing Pagoda is surrounded by spacious enclosures one within another, perhaps embracing miles in a circumference of sacred ground,—the concentration of all this sanctity residing after all in some small central chamber, scarcely lighted by one door, at which *pooja* is performed, but within which the worshipper dares not enter, the interior being the holy of holies, where

[1] History of India, Vol I.

the object of adoration alone resides. In every thing like effect the Hindu temple must be pronounced a failure. It cannot boast of the beautiful symmetry aud imposing majesty of the Grecian, and it has nothing like the swelling grandeur and volume of the Mahommetan Mosque, or the exquisitely airy lightness of its minarets. The climate, at least in Bengal Proper, and in many other parts, is inimical to the preservation of these buildings, and the zeal of the votaries of Brahma does not appear to expend much care or money on this object. The celebrated temple of Juggernaut dates at the beginning of the 12th century, A.D.; while at the same time there runs through them all, and through the buildings devoted to human residence, a character of great antiquity on which ages have wrought little change or improvement. The sterner necessities of life have given to the *Tanks* or reservoirs of water in India, a grander and more solid character than to its temples; and some of the most gigantic efforts of human skill stand forth in the successful attempts made to arrest rivers in their course, by *bunds*, that serve to spread the benefits of irrigation over vast districts of the favoured country—favoured, of course, at the expense of those, for which the despot who erected these works had no respect, or was desirous to doom by these stupendous works to drought and sterility.

But it is perhaps time, and more than time, that we should introduce our readers more directly within the sacred precincts of the HINDU TEMPLE. They will indeed have already seen enough to convince them that this temple is of the most gigantic dimensions, and that in all, on which we can expatiate on the literature, philosophy, and common life concerns of the Hindus, we are still within its walls. This singular people have indeed in one sense been truly described, and that by the Christian missionary himself, as the most *religious* people on the face of the earth. The net, which at an early period of their history was spread by the cunning Brahmins, speedily came to embrace within its ample folds alike the *secular* and the *spiritual*, and in saying so, we speak of course of the practical working of the Hindu creed, and ritual, as they mingled with and guided and over-rode the minutest actions of Hindu life. But at present we would rather carry our readers into the *Divinity-Halls* of those days, that they may see how the Science of Theology was therein taught.

But here again, as we pass along, we are arrested by reflections, which roused, indeed, by reminiscences carrying us far back into the depths of India's "Past," may yet find a place not uncalled for, and, peradventure, not unprofitable in the solution of problems closely connected with India's "Present." It is of all others a feature, perhaps the most characteristic of India, under all the aspects in which it can be regarded,—whether metaphysical, scientific, or religious,—that the same picture is substantially before us, whether the days, that elapsed between the flood and the Christian era, or those that have since passed away, are brought under our view. And in the very foreground of this picture Religion, as it bears on Science—Science, as it reacts on Religion, stand forth the most conspicuous. In the public policy of our own happy country the battle between the *Religious* and the *Secular* is at this day meeting us

at every turn, and rages at this moment with all the eagerness, which but too often leads to all the bitterness of controversy. India has, unhappily perhaps for itself, been a stranger to this strife; and the forces, which, rightly balanced, are to preserve civilization and social order in their proper orbits, have been strangely disturbed and intermingled, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, have been altogether lost sight of as instruments having each its own proper sphere of action. Among all the varied phases which India presents, it is impossible to discover one, where the social policy pursued does not rest on "the godly upbringing of the young"—as there esteemed—and where the School and the Temple, the Priest and the Schoolmaster, are not found in the closest association, and in the most brotherly harmony. Nor indeed need we feel any thing like surprise at the phenomenon, when we advert to the place which the *Religious Feeling* has been assigned in the economy of human nature. It is impossible to imagine a more nugatory attempt on the part of any legislator, than that of ignoring this feeling in framing the ordinances that are to provide for the strength and permanence of the social and political fabric? and certainly *Menu*, the great lawgiver of the Hindus, did not fall into this error. Keeping this in view, we come to the properly practical lesson to be learned from it in the circumstances, in which Providence is now placing the British Power in India. The truly laudable efforts in which the Indian Authorities are at length engaged, in extending a sound European education to their native subjects, are necessarily bringing them nearer and nearer in their administrative acts to the precincts of the sacred temple; but approaching it, as we cannot doubt that they are, in the spirit of that religion which they themselves profess, and guided, as we trust they will be, by that wisdom which it affords, and which is, indeed, "the wisdom from on high," we cannot but regard the approximation with the strongest hopes of a truly legitimate and happy alliance, from which alike the high and holy objects of Christ's Church upon earth—the interests of Science in all its varied departments—and the peace, glory, and permanence of the British Power in India, will be promoted. When, indeed, we enter the Hindu temple, we encounter a superstition which, fastening on the *religious feelings* as its prey, has trampled on all that can maintain Man in the place assigned to him by his Maker, among the works of his hands; but the regenerators of India, whether found among the Civil Servants of the Company, or the humble and pious Missionaries of the Cross, will do well to remember, that these feelings hold a place among the people whom they would enlighten and convert, from which it would be as impossible, as impolitic, and unchristian to dislodge them. The Christian Statesman is not, therefore, to ignore the existence of the *religious* element in India, that he may avoid the difficulties lying in his more properly *secular* path; and the Missionary is not to withhold belief in its reality among the Hindus, however much he may lament the abuses to which it has been subjected. It is in truth the light-house, if we may so speak, by which, in his pious voyage, he is to be guided to the haven on which he is bent. "Whom ye ignorantly worship, HIM declare we unto you," must be the message of the "Preacher" to the Hindus, as it was that of the Apostle

to the Greeks of old. Where dogmata, the most subversive of all moral obligations, and all social happiness, have been built upon this foundation, the name of RELIGION, if still usurped for these doctrines, is only a plain and obvious abuse of terms; and the British Government of India has already dealt, and is every day more and more dealing with laws and practices arising out of these misconceptions and perversions, as an enlightened Christian Power is bound and entitled to deal,—regardless that these laws and practices have been traced by a crafty priesthood to a *religious* source, and have been for so many ages sacredly tabooed against the entrance of *secular* authority. Nor let it be thought that in these remarks we have a reference solely to the enormities of the *Suttee* or the *Thugee* practices, where these authorities have put forth their arm, and given the natives a lesson in their educational training that requires not to be repeated; but the great law of *Religious Toleration*, as carried out under the well known LEX LOCI of 1850,—another among the many proofs of the enlightened policy of the Marquis of Dalhousie, and by which the Hindu, who becomes a convert to Christianity, no longer incurs the loss of his ancestral property,—has given assurance the most encouraging, that the Government at length understands, and is prepared to discharge the duties laid upon it as a Christian power, by the events of an over-ruling Providence. Nor can we pass unnoticed the changes which, under legislative authority, have been lately introduced into the very innermost recesses of Hindu life, and that in its highest and, as esteemed, its holiest walks. The widow of the deceased Brahmin, of the Coolin Caste itself, who, but a few years ago, must have mounted the funeral pile of her departed husband, may now become again the wedded wife of a "twice born" lord and master. But while maintaining, on the one hand, the right of all its subjects to Liberty of Conscience, when they become *Dissenters* from the *Established Church*, those who still adhere to its frivolous rites and practices are protected in all the immunities civil and religious, around which—independent of the solemn pledges of the Goverment—the spirit and the precepts of Christianity have provided safeguards. It is true, and every sincere Christian must rejoice over it, that the direct countenance once given, is now being more and more withdrawn by the Indian Authorities from the ceremonies of the Pagoda; and a revenue is ceasing to flow from such polluted sources into the Company's exchequer. But debasing as is the ritual, and temptingly large as are the revenues of the Hindu temple,—while the one has ceased to be countenanced, the hand of confiscation has not been laid upon the other by the British Government; and under the Lex Loci itself the proselyte to our faith is not entitled to carry over to the support of the Christian altar the wealth which his ancestors have consecrated to the Hindu service. The day, we trust, is coming, when such a happy transfer may be witnessed under the sanction of the Legislature; but let us be thankful in the meantime, that while barriers, which have been so long and so effectually raised against the progress of the Natives to a purer and a better Faith, are every day more and more disappearing under an Education which, while it puts to flight all belief in the errors and fallacies of superstition, must be regarded as still doing homage

to the paramount value of instruction in Religion and its truths, as the best and only bulwark to be relied on for the peace and permanence of our Eastern Empire. Strange, indeed, it were, if a British Government of India should be found behind a Hindu in acknowledging by its practical policy that, according to the Sanscrit *Sloga*, "of all knowledge, *Religious* Knowledge is the most valuable!"

But we are forgetting our promise to introduce our readers into the Divinity Halls of the Hindus. These present the composite aspect of schools of Theology and Law, and we may venture to add, of manners also; and may be regarded as comprehending a whole modern University within their walls. The Institutes and Code of MENU, are to be received as the earliest authoritative expositions of the faith and worship of the Hindus; and early as is the period, at which we must fix the date of this code, it was necessarily posterior to the age of the VEDAS themselves, the truly sacred books, to which it constantly refers as furnishing the text of all its commentaries. These sacred hymns or poems—for such the *Vedas* are—had before the time of *Menu* been received with the profoundest reverence as the infallible oracles of truth, and their precepts and commands as binding on the faith and conscience of the Hindus. They are not, however, to be regarded as the only sacred books by which the Hindu creed and ritual came to be regulated; and it is of importance to bear in mind the distinction between them and the *Puranas* and *Upanishads*, so often quoted and referred to in the theological controversies of after times. Great and almost inextricable confusion has been introduced into all our researches into Hindu theology by overlooking this distinction; and the properly called Scriptures of the Brahminical faith have been charged with a vagueness, error, and inconsistency of doctrine and precept, which may not in truth attach to them, and with which the less sacred and authoritative, yet still divinely esteemed *Puranas* may alone be chargeable. The purer doctrines of the *Vedas*, as nearer to the revelation of the will of heaven, first made to man at his creation, came to be grievously corrupted, when they were seized on by a crafty and cunning priesthood, to maintain the power which they had usurped; but several centuries are allowed to have elapsed between the *Vedas* as they were first delivered, and the appearance of the code of *Menu*. It is very generally agreed among oriental scholars, that the *Vedas* date as early as the 14th century B.C.; and the rules by which they direct the measurement of time to be gone about, in fixing the holy calendar, have been quoted as evidence of their very high antiquity. Mr Elphinstone in his History of India,[1] fixes the era of Menu and his Institutes in the ninth century B.C.—an antiquity, of which it has indeed been attempted to strip this celebrated code; but as light has arisen on the darkness of Hindu history,—and the code of Menu been subjected to the checks which the more to be depended annals of the Greeks in India throw upon it, these doubts have been greatly mitigated, if not, indeed, entirely removed. Who *Menu* was, or whether he is not to be regarded as a purely dramatic personage is of little consequence. The very existence of a code of law, demonstrates a consider-

[1] History of India, vol. I.

able advance in civilization; and the remarkable fact, that the commentators of future times appear to have been so impressed with the simplicity and excellence of that of *Menu*, as to have set it down as intended for the better and golden ages, and not the present *Kal Yug* of the world, is not to be overlooked in estimating the period of its appearance and the condition of India at that period. The law, as given by *Menu* to the Hindus, was not said to have been accompanied by the striking and extraordinary phenomena in the natural world, which accompanied the giving of that of Moses to the children of Israel. He is represented as sitting and communing with himself, when he is approached by the *Rickii* or Sages, who request from him instruction in all that is to guide the four classes—a description, which may lead us to the conjecture that *Menu* and his code are traceable to the period, when *Theism* and the spirituality of its worship were first invaded by the Polytheism and idolatry of the existing Brahminical faith.

(*To be continued.*)

PROFESSOR LAYCOCK'S LECTURES ON TEMPERANCE.

The present agitation of Temperance Societies, Total Abstinence Societies, and the Maine Law, calls loudly on all who have devoted any portion of their attention to the nature of man, and the constitution of society, to pronounce on their respective merits as systems adapted for the cure or prevention of drunkenness. The history of these methods forms probably the most striking proof of the thorough inefficiency of one and all of them to effect the purpose which their originators contemplated. The merely pledging to temperance in the use of alcoholic liquors was too vague and indefinite to bind the confirmed drunkard, for under its mild dominion he could go the same lengths in drunkenness that he had previously practised. Hence arose the necessity for the total abstinence pledge; but many of the advocates of this more stringent system, finding that it too was insufficient to control either themselves and their more fallible brethren, fell upon the last melancholy resource within their limited field of view, viz., the passing of a law to render penal the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors. In the State of Maine, North America, where this law was actually enacted, it was found that the old consumers must still have their accustomed beverage, and the obtaining of it in the face of the law gave birth to such an amount of lying, deceit, bribery, perjury, and innumerable other deviations from man's ideas of duty, that it actually threatened to undermine and dissolve civilised society. Indeed, it was discovered that drunkenness, in its worst phasis, was a heaven upon earth compared with the enormities which the Maine Law generated, thus stamping with eternal infamy, the faithless, materialistic, and vulgar legislation which naturally enough sprung from the heads of so narrow, fanatically bigoted, aud atheistic a set of men as its advocates.

It is surely, therefore, unnecessary to remark, that all that class of

statesmen who would employ legislative or compulsory means to prevent or cure drunkenness, have no faith whatever in the ultimate influence of intellectual, moral, and religious agencies; they do not appear to be aware that by employing mere outward and compulsory methods, that they themselves have no sufficient faith in the morality or religion within them to prevent or cure the sin of drunkenness, if they themselves had been addicted to it, and accordingly, they have infinitely less faith in the influence of these ennobling agencies on others. Religion with them is not that absolute and infinitely expanded set of ties that bind man to his fellow-man as well as to his God and eternity, otherwise their faith in its absolute and certain power to control and direct everything temporal and fleeting, would be supreme. They could not help admitting its certain and ultimate triumph, and they would naturally use every means to its increase, and quietly await its development. No! this does not suit the pharisee and vulgar hypocrite, who, without religion in their hearts, would set up and parade its outward appearance and symbols; and would, moreover, enact laws that imply the intellectual, moral, and religious death of their fellow-men. Maine Laws, Forbes Mackenzie's Acts, and other such vulgar and material means, are the agents such men employ to gain spiritual and religious ends! Their morality is founded on fear, and their religion is based on the same principle. Their morality, indeed, is that of the gallows and other such machinery, and their religion is that of demons. Well might the writer of the following lectures maintain that the country that submitted to the enactment of such laws as the Forbes Mackenzie Act, had listened to the promulgation of the existence of an amount of moral turpitude and baseness that naturally harbingers the death of freedom. We should really feel alarmed could we imagine that the passing of such a law indicated more than the tortuous and serpent-like characters of its promoters, and the total absence of the very elements of freedom in their natures; but we trust that there is still sufficient moral chivalry left in Scotland to procure the abolition of this law, and its erasure from the statute-book as a disgrace to the country.

Of late years, Chartism, Maine Law Associations, and other pestiferous schemes have sprung up, with no other apparent object than to bear scoundrelism in its worst forms on their shoulders into Parliament. It is probably necessary that moral emetics should have some place in the legislative assembly of a great country, for they are naturally calculated to excite a healthy action in the opposite direction, but these should never be of too gross and foetid a sort to excite actual disgust. We regard chartists and advocates for a Maine Law so decidedly of this description, that the very mention of their views is only fitted to excite disgust or laughter, and their presence in any legislative assembly would constitute a nuisance that could not be tolerated.

The views of the advocates of intellectual and moral suasion are so plain and simple that he who runs may read them. That man is endowed with an absolute sense of law, which, playing outwardly on the universe, descries all the physical consequences inevitably attendant upon drunkenness and every other species of profligacy, and playing inwardly

upon his own mental framework, discerns the havoc and death which it necessarily brings there; and if, after being instructed in these as pointed out in the following lectures, man persists in habits of profligacy and drunkenness, all the penal statutes ever promulgated and addressed to his sense of fear will fail to have any effect on his intellectual and moral being.

THE EDITOR.

FIRST LECTURE.

A few weeks ago the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society did me the honour to send a deputation to me with a request that I would give two or more public lectures on drunkenness, with a special view to the means of abating it. I most cordially complied with that request; partly because the question has long occupied my thoughts, partly because I sympathised with the Society in their convictions of the erroneous evils the vice of drunkenness inflicts upon us as a nation, mainly, however, because it appeared to me that the banded opponents of the vice were labouring without a full appreciation of the magnitude of their task and of the means and the efforts necessary to success. In my professional capacity whether as a teacher of practical medical science or as a practitioner of medical art, I have to investigate the failings and infirmities of human nature, without any restriction as to whether they be corporeal or mental in their nature, or material or spiritual in their origin. Medicine as a science calmly investigates the realities of human life, so that it may be as able as possible to relieve the ills of human life. The physician, therefore, penetrates the heart of man more deeply than the non-medical inquirer, however well educated he may be; and traces suffering, infirmity, and crime far beyond the sources from which to non-professional eyes they appear certainly to spring. It is these calm conclusions of science as to drunkenness and the practical results flowing therefrom, that you have requested me to give you. If then those conclusions should chance to differ from your own, I pray you not to throw them at once aside as erroneous, but rather to penetrate to the scientific ground from whence they come, and then, being thus fitted to judge, weigh the matter well and act up to your convictions.

The arrangement I propose to follow is this,—

1*dly*, We will take a measure of the evil, that we may comprehend its magnitude and extent; 2*dly*, We will examine into its nature and causes; and 3*dly*, We will examine the means available to its abatement—that is, what has been and what should be done. First then, as to the evil. A drunkard is a man who habitually impairs and abolishes his mental and bodily powers by the use of poisonous drinks, the effective constituent of which is a chemical compound known as Alcohol. Intoxication in its medical sense, means the morbid state induced by any poisonous agent; so that strictly a man who impairs his faculties by other drugs, as Ether, Opium, Tobacco, or Indian Hemp, intoxicates himself, and in fact the drugs I mention are used by mankind for the same purpose as alcoholic drinks.

Alcohol, in common with all poisonous agents, produces, when taken into the blood, results which vary in extent according to various circumstances, but under any circumstances, if taken in sufficient quantity, it abolishes

the functions of the brain. All consciousness and will is then suspended, and the man is said to be dead drunk. If the poison operates still more deeply and abolishes the functions of that part of the nervous system which maintains the activity of the heart and lungs, then the man dies; he perishes in his drunkenness.

When alcohol is taken in small quantities, its immediate effect is to stimulate the activity of all the organs of the body, and to excite an agreeable sensation of vigour both bodily and mental. The blood courses more rapidly through the blood-vessels, the voice is more sonorous, the eyes more bright; the muscular system braced up,—in particular, the intellect is felt to be clearer—the imagination more vivid—the thoughts more free,—in short, all the faculties are exalted. As to the emotions—joy, exhilaration, benevolence, and good-fellowship, are felt; as to the appetites, there is increased desire.

It is rarely that the drunkard holds his hand at this stage of the poisoning; he desires to have still more intense enjoyment, for the exciting agent has itself developed the appetite for pleasure. He takes more; and then its principal effect is to derange the functions of the nervous system. This is manifested most distinctly in the derangement of the thoughts and of the will. The mental balance is impaired; the ordinary power of self-control is sensibly diminished. Hence the individual manifests more conspicuously the infirmities of his nature, whatever these may be. The irritable and ill-tempered become quarrelsome, the good natured laugh at trifles; the benevolent are foolishly urgent in their offers of kindness; the frank and talkative become unwisely outspoken and communicative; the melancholic are maudlin sentimental; the amorous, weakly impassioned and yielding; and the will cannot regulate the limbs correctly. If the drinker stops at this point, then the system busily expels the poison from the blood through every practicable outlet, and after a while the individual returns to his usual condition, except that he more or less experiences a sensation of langour and depression, the natural result of the unduly excited activity that preceded it. Now alcohol excites these various changes in the mental state in virtue of its action upon the brain, that is upon the organ of mind. It is therefore the derangement of the functions of the brain, which causes the derangement of the manifestations of the mind. And if the alcohol were to remain permanently in the system of the drunken man, his mental derangement would also be permanent; in other words he would be insane, for insanity is nothing more than such a permanent derangement of the functions of the brain, or of some part of it. Not unfrequently the excessive continuous use of the poison does excite a permanent derangement of this kind; this is called the drunkard's delirium, or, because the motor portion of the nervous system is so impaired that the hands are in a constant tremor, *delirium tremens*. Now this state is in both law and medicine a state of insanity.

In the great majority of drunkards, the continuous use of alcohol produces less manifest changes in the mental state by acting upon the mental organ. The healthy balance is impaired as in an ordinary fit of drunkenness; but it is disturbed slowly, almost imperceptibly. At last, however, a change is manifested in the whole man. He has become

more of an animal, that is, more sensual. On the one hand, the energy of his intellectual and rational nature is diminished; on the other, the vigour of the appetites and passions is increased. He has, therefore, less self-control; less desire for what is rational and intellectual; more desire for what is sensual and brutal. He undergoes a moral degradation, and that through a physical or material change in the organ of mind—the brain. In extreme cases of this kind,—and they are more frequent than those of delirium tremens,—it will be found that the high-minded, honourable man has become a cunning, selfish, liar or cheat; the religious man a sensual hypocrite; the faithful, chaste wife, an adulteress; the indulgent husband and father a terror to wife and child.

But the changes induced in the brain of the drunkard may lead to more than this,—they may induce actual insanity. The degradation is, however, in the same direction, but it reaches the lowest depths of his nature. Imbecility, homicidal violence, and suicidal melancholy, are the three most common forms.

Now, if there be a predisposition to any disease of the brain or nervous system, alcohol will excite that predisposition into activity. But smaller doses will be as effectual in persons thus predisposed as large doses in persons otherwise constituted. Insanity is thus often induced where there is a family predisposition, or paralysis and various other affections of this kind.

These results concern the individual in his social relations as well as the merely personal. It is more particularly, however, as a husband and father that the drunkard must be considered. It has been found that the morbid condition of the brain of the drunkard is often transmitted to his offspring, so that his child will present the same want of mental balance, the same infirmities of will, the same development of the appetites and passions, the same tendency to insanity and diseases of the brain, as he manifests. And just as drunkenness will induce insanity and imbecility in the drunkard, so may the children of the drunkard be born in a state of imbecility or insanity. Nor does this result stop with one generation. I have traced it in several instances to the third generation, and in one or two, to the fourth. Dr Browne of the Crichton Institution for the Insane, says that he has repeatedly had the care of three generations of drunkards, and that he has traced the tendency back for one hundred and fifty years.

This hereditary defect in the constitution of the children and descendants of drunkards is worthy much more attention than it has hitherto received. If the evils of drunkenness ceased with the individual drunkard, they would be limited, however gigantic; but where shall we place limits to this leprosy of the soul, which multiplies its victims according to the law of increase of a drunken population?

Let me give an illustration of this effect of habitual intoxication of the brain. Samuel Taylor Coleridge was an opium eater at middle age; in his youth he was intemperate, for the vice cost him a fellowship at Oriel College, Oxford. He had a son, David Hartley, a poet and speculative thinker like himself. This son was intemperate also; but his biographer describes him as having a peculiar mental constitution. In childhood he

shewed that he abhorred pain as he did death, and loved pleasure as strongly as life. He shrank from mental pain; he was beyond measure impatient of restraint; he yielded as it were unconsciously to slight temptations, slight in themselves and slight to him, just as if swayed by mechanical impulse apart from his own volition. In short, he had lost the power of will. And Hartley Coleridge, when he passionately lamented "his woeful impotence of weak resolve," felt that there was the secret of his yielding to intemperance. And this is the sum of the psychological influence of alcohol and other intoxicating agents on the brain; destruction as to the organ of the moral will,—development as to the organ of animal will. But what a fertile source of crime and wretchedness! Yet no one has measured its extent; very few comparatively have recognized it; fewer still give it a practical consideration.

How shall we ascertain the extent of the evils inflicted on society by habits of drunkenness? Gold is a standard of value, and if we could estimate to what extent skilled labour is depreciated by the mental incapacity and disease which drunkenness entails, we might have at least one fixed point to refer to. Yet it is not possible to do this, for we should have to ascertain how many lives have been prematurely ended, how many deaths have been caused, how much property destroyed on sea or land by wreck and fires,—by explosions in ships, mines, factories, —by upsets and accidents of various kinds—all due to incapacity induced by drunkenness: we should have to trace to the same causes what military enterprises have miscarried,—what offices of trust and honour have been lost,—how many merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen have been ruined,—how often important secrets have been revealed—moral influence destroyed,—the father's hopes of his children for ever blighted. All these evils are incalculable.

There is one evil so gigantic, that it deserves special notice. That is, the poverty induced by drunkenness. It is the most ruinous of all kinds of poverty. True is the sentiment "sweet are the uses of adversity," for it often makes a man know himself and his duties, but not so the adversity induced by drunkenness; it only urges the victim on his course. And what terrible domestic misery have I seen that poverty inflict! The daily, hourly wretchedness of the poor struggling wife of the drunkard can hardly be comprehended except by those who have witnessed it behind the screen which shuts off domestic life from the peering world. She sees business failing because neglected, and poverty—grim, inexorable—coming nearer and nearer; now she hopes reformation has begun, soon again the husband's relapse into vice throws her back into despair. The course is ever downward. Home made continually more desolate, affections more and more deeply wounded,—the person of him whom she has vowed to love until death becoming continually more loathsome, his manners more disgusting, his conduct more brutal. What legal or moral right has that man to freedom more than the declared lunatic? I express distinctly my conviction that a just and true law should consign the habitual, will-less, soul-less drunkard to the restraints of an asylum. Far more needful is it in his case than in the case of hundreds now treated as irresponsible beings, and deprived of freedom. The wife may,

in the instances I have referred to, remain a sober, temperate woman, and a virtuous, good mother, in a home—

> "Where hungry hope is starved to death,
> And withers day by day;
> And silent faith can do no more
> But clasp the hands and pray."

But suppose, as too often happens, that she becomes a drunkard too? Then what is the fate of the children? Death by suffocation or fire, or starvation, or neglected disease and injury, is to many a happy lot because it takes them away from the evil to come. If they survive these perils, they are worse than orphans, inasmuch as they are either left without control or advice, or deliberately trained to vice, and especially to drunkenness, prostitution, and theft. It has been ascertained that 85 per cent. of the children received into the Original Ragged School in Edinburgh, at its first opening, were the children of drunkards.

Attempts have been made to estimate the amount of crime caused by drunkenness. The judges of the land have declared that a very large proportion is due to it. But they refer only to the direct results; they have taken no count of the indirect as manifested in the children of drunkards, whether in consequence of a vicious cerebral organization, of bad parental example and want of all moral training, or of an actual training to vice. We have no account how many of our dangerous felons are the children of brutal drunkards, or how many of our educated castaways owe their want of self-control to the inherited infirmity of a parent.

Acts of insanity are often criminal acts dependent upon cerebral disease. When the disease is known, the crime is excused as being the act of an irresponsible being. But when it is not known to exist and cannot be detected, although there, the act is considered to be a crime. Now it has been ascertained that the criminal population of prisons contains a much greater number of persons predisposed to insanity than the general population of the country in the proportion of from one-tenth to one-twentieth. Hence it follows that when we state that from a third to a half of the population of our asylums owe their lunacy and loss of liberty to drunkenness, we speak of a proportion only of the individuals affected by the vice. These results vary much according to the habits of the population. In Sweden and in Ireland it is estimated that about one-half of all the cases of lunacy are caused by drunkenness. Of the lunatics admitted during ten years into the Asylum at St Petersburgh, 84 per cent. were drunkards, or the children of drunkards. In 1825 the spirit duty was abolished in Norway. During the succeeding ten years insanity increased, beyond the proper proportion to the increase of the population, in the towns to the extent of nearly 33 per cent., in the rural districts of 69 per cent. I believe there are persons who advocate the repeal of the spirit duty in this country,—let those facts speak out an unmistakeable warning. It cannot be too costly to the consumer, provided illicit traffic and manufacture is not thereby encouraged. Idiocy of children is much increased by drunkenness in parents. Dr

Howe of Boston, in the United States, inquired after the parentage of 300 idiots, and he found that nearly one-half (145) had drunken parents. In Norway, after the abolition of the spirit duty and the consequent increase of drunkenness, it was found that the born idiots had increased during the ten following years beyond the natural increase by 150 per cent. For the ten years before the duty was abolished, they constituted one-third of the insane population; in the ten years that followed they constituted one-half. What terrible facts are these! A vice considered by many so venial that they hardly think it a crime defacing the image of God in multitudes of helpless children, and degrading them below the soul-less brute.

How then shall we express the extent of the evil of drunkenness? More than all other vices, it deteriorates the whole nature of man, because its peculiarity is to strike at the very root of all goodness, whether of intellect or will. It deteriorates the material organ, and thus renders all healthy and fitting mental action impossible. This deterioration being transmissible, it is apt not only to develope vice in the man, but also in his offspring to the third and fourth generation. From its multitudinous relations, it is, in fact, one of the greatest political questions of the day. The mind of the public is stricken with horror by the history of some terrible tragedy—it is the consequence of drunkenness. With panic by the story of robberies with violence—drunkenness. Prostitution is rampart in your streets, drunkenness is the great cause. Houseless children wander about your towns like Arabs in the desert; four-fifths are the children of drunkards. Insanity is more and more pled as an apology for crime,—three-fourths of the insanity is caused by drunkenness. Your schools, your churches, are badly attended,—few drunkards or their children go to them. All attempts at systems of education, at the reformation and management of criminals, the prevention of vice, and the diminution of sickness and poverty, will fall short of effectiveness, so long as this leprosy is continually spreading through the population. To sum up then: drunkenness, more than all other vices, populates our prisons, our poor-houses, our lunatic and idiot asylums, hospitals, reformatories, ragged schools; destroys health, life, prosperity; impairs the efficiency of our military forces; degrades the national character, counteracts the immense benefits which ought to flow from our high and progressive civilization, and inflicts misery both in this world and the next—all this more than any other vices. What a question for a great statesman! Such then is a measure of the evil. We will now go on to consider its nature and causes.

The principal cause of drunkenness, lies in that love of pleasure or desire for happiness, which is an essential part of the nature of man; we must, therefore, inquire how it happens that alcohol and other intoxicating drugs minister to that desire. This involves a preliminary inquiry into the nature and origin of the desire itself. We must penetrate, in fact, into the deepest springs of human action. Now I do not intend to enter into any metaphysical disquisition, or into any profound speculation. I shall state a few plain and simple facts, as to the constitution of man, and shall add the deductions which necessarily flow from those facts,

nothing more. But, nevertheless, I shall draw largely upon your thought and attention in the simple statement of those facts and conclusions, for, the time being short, the subject must be compressed.

The bodies of living things, whether they be animal or vegetable, are made up of a number of separate parts. These are organs or machines constructed for definite purposes. Each has its allotted task, but they all work together for a common end, and that is the good of the individual. This co-operation continues more or less perfectly, so long as life continues; indeed, this continuous co-operation is life. The All-wise Intelligence which created these organized bodies has provided, in His boundless beneficence, that those which are endowed with consciousness, should experience a feeling of satisfaction, pleasure, or happiness, in this continued co-operation of the various organs, or in other words, shall enjoy life. With the view of better securing this beneficent object, He has made it a condition of existence, that each living thing shall so act that it secures its own well-being. This property is instinct. With regard to certain animals (and man is amongst these), he has made it an inherent and necessary part of their nature, that they shall not only feel happy, but always desire to continue in life and enjoy happiness. This is the instinctive desire for life and for happiness. In virtue of this desire, they necessarily strive to attain those things which give pleasure, and since, by the Divine arrangement, those things which give this instinctive pleasure, are also necessary to the proper co-operation of the organs, it happens that while they are striving after what will give pleasure, they also seek after what will maintain life. Consequently, that which according to the will of God is desirable, is also beneficial. It follows, therefore, that so long as man, in common with all other animals that have feeling, obeys the will of God, as thus expressed in the conditions of his existence, his desire for pleasure is not only innocent, but to seek its fitting and lawful gratification is a duty, for he thereby fulfils the will of God in his creation, which is, that his existence shall be healthy and happy.

Now, this desire for happiness runs through the whole nature of man, and is not limited to his corporeal existence and animal nature; and the conditions of its gratification is always the same. Man's happiness consists in doing the will of God; so that, in proportion as he knows that will and performs it, he is happy. Heaven itself is but a state of happiness so attained, as we are taught by our Saviour Himself, in that sublime form of prayer to our and His Father, which he left for our guidance,—"Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven."

But let us pause here to dwell upon the condition of performance, namely, a knowledge of the will of God concerning us. The will of God in our redemption is revealed to us in his written word; in our creation and preservation is revealed to us by scientific research. It is as the expounder of the will of God in these respects, so far as I know it, that I stand before you this evening. Believe me when I tell you, that I feel deeply the responsibilities of my office, and earnestly desire that I may rightly set forth the will of God as revealed by scientific research and medical experience.

I have only spoken as yet of good and of happiness; I will now speak of evil and suffering. The harmonious co-operation of the various machines which make up the entire individual man, is apt to be disturbed by various causes, such as injuries to them, or the want of the things necessary to their action, as air, food, drink, or imperfections in their construction. This imperfect fulfilment of the will of God is evil, and when it occurs, the feeling of pleasure in the soul ceases, and that other and antagonistic state of the consciousness takes its place known as pain. Now however, there arises a desire to remove the pain, that is, to recover the pleasure, and to avoid and remove the circumstances or things that give pain or interrupt the pleasure. This is aversion. The desire to avoid pain, therefore, is as beneficent a gift to man and other animals endowed with feeling, as the desire for pleasure, because, rightly used, it equally conduces to life and happiness. And thus it is, that pain and suffering lead us in spite of ourselves to fulfil the will of God. Now, you will ask, how it is that the soul experiences these changes in its states concurrently with corporeal changes? That I will not attempt to explain,—all I know is this, that soul and body are inseparably united in this world; that it is that union which constitutes our earthly life,—when that union is dissolved, our earthly life ceases, and the soul is no longer bound to the frail machinery through which, according to the unalterable will of God, it is made manifest on earth, and in connexion with which it undergoes its period of probation. If I may venture an opinion, I will, however, say this, that inasmuch as the soul is immaterial and immortal, we should err greatly if we concluded what is to be our future mode of existence from the present. Bodily health is certainly essential to perfect unalloyed happiness on earth, whether it be corporeal or purely intellectual; and to bodily health a strict submission to the will of God, with the means of fulfilling that will, as food, raiment, sleep, due exercise of all the bodily functions, the sun's light and heat, and atmospheric air in its purity. Truly therefore, does Pope say,

> "Man's highest pleasures, all the joys of sense,
> Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence.
> But Health consists with Temperance alone,
> And peace, oh virtue! peace is all thine own."

Let us now advance a step onward.

The higher classes of animals have, like man, a special apparatus for harmoniously combining all the machinery of the body; a central telegraph office—the seat of the will and of consciousness. This is the brain and the nervous system. It is in the brain that those changes take place which are coincident with desire and aversion, and of all other changes in the consciousness. If the brain is sufficiently injured, the man becomes unconscious; but for all that the soul may not cease to act; it certainly does not cease to exist. But we know nothing of it except as it is manifested through the body, so that we have to investigate the conditions of the brain if we would know the state of the soul. Now under ordinary circumstances we know nothing of the working of each particular organ, nor even of their existence. It is only physiological

science that teaches us the existence and structure and functions of these organs; without this, man knows nothing of his heart or lungs, or stomach or brain, nor need he, so long as all goes on harmoniously. So soon, however, as disease or disorder takes place, the play of the organs is revealed, he must eat the bitter fruit of the tree of knowledge, and he now not only knows that he has organs, but he also finds out that he must seek and obtain a knowledge of the method by which the divine artificer has constructed them, and the duties he has allotted to each, if he would get relief from pain. This is medical knowledge. Medicine is therefore one of the blessings which God has given to fallen man to alleviate the consequences of the primal curse.

How then, you now ask of medical science, does it happen that alcohol ministers to the happiness of man, by acting on the brain? Let me try and make this point clear by an illustration. A tree near a well or other water sends out its roots to the water, while it as diligently spreads its branches towards the sun and the light. That is to say it lengthens them by growth. This is done in virtue of the conditions under which it is a tree. Now let us suppose it to be endowed with consciousness; then it would feel a desire when lengthening its roots towards the water, and spreading its branches towards the sun; it would experience pleasure when it reached the water and the sun; it would suffer pain when deprived of them. We do not ourselves any more than the tree feel how we grow and are nourished, nor the working of certain organs which take in food, and drink, and air; these, therefore, are called the organs of vegetative life. We only feel through our brain the sum of their working in the indefinite sense of health, and pleasant existence when they work well, or the opposite thereto of languor and pain when they do not work well. Now it is the effect of alcohol to excite this pleasant sense of health and vigour; it exhilarates, for a time it invigorates, and thus causes a stronger sense of enjoyment. On the other hand, where there is the feeling of bodily languor and exhaustion, it removes for a time at least that painful feeling, and often substitutes for it a pleasurable state. The desire for alcohol then has a twofold origin.

Let us now enquire into the sources, more purely mental, of the desire for alcohol, and into its influence on them. The brain is undoubtedly the organ of all the mental faculties, but is nothing more. It is just one of those organs which grows, is nourished, and acts without our knowledge, how or why. Consequently, it is not a necessary condition of our mental existence that we should know we have a brain, any more than it is necessary to healthy digestion that we should know we have a stomach; much less, therefore, that we should have a knowledge of its functions. Plato, Socrates, Aristotle,—in common with all the greatest thinkers of modern times,—knew nothing of this; yet they developed very profound theories of mental philosophy and morals, very applicable to a theoretical state of purely mental existence, namely, of the perfectly healthy action of a perfectly developed organ. Yet, since man is not a perfect but a fallen being, such theories never could, and never, in fact, did apply to actual condition, for they wholly left out of consideration the organ of the soul, and the relations of the one to the other. Plato,

and others, his contemporaries, tried, it is true, to explain the connexion, but their theories were the most crude, and so far removed from the truth, that if any educated man were to advance them seriously at the present day, he would incur the suspicion of insanity. No systems of speculative philosophy, which leave the functions of the brain out of consideration, ever have been, or can be truly practical; that is, available to the moral and spiritual elevation of man, or to the relief of his infirmities and diseases of body and mind. Yet the whole question thus evaded, rests for its solution upon one simple, intelligible principle. When the brain works as the organ of mind in accordance with the will of God, that is, either intellectually or morally, a pleasant state of the consciousness is felt. That is the state of a good conscience,—hope, joy. Under the contrary circumstances, an unpleasant or painful state occurs, that is an evil conscience,—anxiety, sorrow. But these changes in the corporeal organ may also occur from mere material causes. It may work feebly, languidly, imperfectly, and as a consequence pain is felt. But it is still mental pain,—the only kind of pain the brain itself can feel. Headaches are not in the brain, it is believed, but in the membranes covering it. Now the commonest of this bodily mental pain is the so-called depression of spirits; the more diseased and the more permanent is shewn in the various forms of insanity termed melancholia. It was from such a bodily mental pain dependent upon a morbid state of brain that the late lamented Hugh Miller perished. He experienced misery so intolerable that he could endure existence no longer. Strange fact in the history of human nature, that the organ which is exempt from acute pain of the ordinary kind, should, when thus diseased, be the source of inexpressible anguish! Such a state is common to all over-stimulation and the consequent debility. It constitutes the "horrors" of the drunkard; a state of agony so overwhelming that language fails to describe it; but drunkards have said that fear of no consequences, however terrible, would avail to turn them from seeking an immediate relief from it by wine.

I have hitherto spoken of man in his relations to his Creator and his own consciousness; but it is one of the necessary conditions of his happy existence that he shall exist as a social being. He has, therefore, social desires and aversions, and these constitute the sympathies and antipathies of his nature. His Creator has provided as wisely for the continuance and well-being of the race, that is, for the harmonious co-operation of individuals in society, as for the continuance and well-being of the individual. Hence the relations between the sexes; between parents and offspring; between man and man. Hence the ever-varying sympathies, affections, and emotions, which thrill his heart with joy or anguish,—with hope or dread. Hence the love of wife and husband, of parent and child, of society, that is, social enjoyment, of home, of country, of a common faith. And hence, in reference to alcohol, the origin of all the drinking customs of society, whether domestic, hospitable, or convivial. Every kind of emotion finds its expression in social participation, and its development or solace in alcholic drinks. Joy is enhanced by joyous celebration; sorrow is relieved by funereal festivities. All painful

and pleasant memories become fixed festivals. Hardly any event, whether private, domestic, or public, and whether pertaining to religion, science, politics, war, commerce, or the arts, that does not become a subject for convivial greeting. Even a morning call of etiquette, or a visit of friendship, calls forth the alcoholic drinks. The entire framework of society is in fact interpenetrated with the use of these, from the simple cup offered as a medicine in the privacy of domestic life to the wearied husband, the suffering wife, the pining child, to the banquet with which a monarch greets a monarch, or a nation its returning heroes. These customs have been in practice in all ages, and in all nations, from time immemorial. What an undertaking it is to attempt to change them!

These, then, are the views I wish to set forth respecting the nature and sources of the desire for alcohol, and its operation on the man. We will now briefly summarize the conditions under which these desires are awakened into activity, and their gratification irresistibly demanded. They are necessarily classified under the two heads of the pleasurable and the painful.

In the first place come the conditions under which the desire for the enjoyment of life is developed more strongly. Some men have this as a part of their nature, or as an inheritance from sensual or drunken ancestors, or as the result of a diseased or imperfect condition of the nervous system. This class supplies the maniacal drunkard. Again, when all the powers of animal life are in their full vigour, the capacity for and the desire to enjoy pleasurable existence is greatest. Youth and manhood are, therefore, the ages most tempted to indulge in convivial excesses, as they are to all other pleasures which depend upon the free use of the instincts. It is from this period of life that the drunken habits date so often their beginning. Young men fall victims to intemperance in a far greater proportion (that of five to one) than young women; and the same holds good as to other vices. The tendency to intemperance and crime diminishes as life advances, after the age of fifty. According to Mr Neison's researches, a youthful drunkard of 20 has the chance of living 15½ years longer; a healthy temperate youth of the same age the probability of living 44 years longer. This influence of age and sex is well worthy of consideration in all pratical measures directed to the prevention of crime in general, and drunkenness in particular.

But both these conditions are most operative, as well as the desire for pleasure, simply, whenever the mind is vacant of any active desire; that is, when the man has no pleasurable pursuit, or none which occupy the mind sufficiently. He must pursue some object of desire by the very constitution of his nature. Hence, idleness, and want of sufficient stimulus, are temptations to the gratification of the desire for pleasurable excitement, by the gratification of the instincts, and especially for that induced by alcoholic drinks. Those individuals or classes of the people with few sources of lawful gratification at command, or who are deprived of those they possess, will be apt to fall into drunkenness so soon as their time is unoccupied. This is certainly the source of the intemperate habits into which the intelligent classes in the country occasionally sink. They have not the varied means of intellectual and social enjoyment

which the large and busy towns offer; nor are they so fully occupied in their ordinary pursuits. Hence they devote more time to pleasure, and seek to give their pleasure a keener zest by conviviality. Savage tribes who have no pleasures higher than those of animal existence, experience intense enjoyment, during their hours of rest from war or the chase from alcoholic drinks. In this country the cessation from labour on the Sabbath by the labouring population, constitutes that day a day for idleness and enjoyment, unless it be fully occupied with religious duties and as alcoholic drinks offer the readiest, indeed the only source of pleasure to many, they are taken as a matter of course. Hence Sunday drunkenness.

But these stimuli are often taken for the purpose of removing or alleviating pain or misery; we will therefore enquire next into the conditions which develope the desire for alcoholic drinks, by inducing distressing or painful sensations. Fatigue, whether of the body or mind, is a painful sensation; the result of excessive cerebral or muscular exercise. It indicates that the materials necessary for the healthy action of the organs are wanting in the system; alcohol takes the place of these as a stimulant to the natural functions. Hence it is that it is given or taken to urge men to efforts beyond their natural powers, or to re-excite their flagging energies,—a step necessarily of a dangerous character, and sure to lead to the habitual use of the drug. Starvation, or the want of food, lowers the tone of the human system, and is an important source of drunkenness; men never drink more than when starving. Habitually breathing an impure atmosphere has a two-fold effect; it induces a feeling of bodily languor, suffering, and exhaustion, and at the same time impairs the energies of the nervous system. In this way, if the food be also insufficient, it has an influence on the mental faculties not unlike that of habitual drunkenness. Hence thousands and tens of thousands of the people of this country are exposed daily and hourly to conditions which not only enfeeble the mental powers, but powerfully excite the appetite for stimulants. Impure atmosphere at home, labour unduly prolonged in crowded, ill-ventilated workshops, and an imperfect supply of food, are three heads of the hydra which must be subdued before religion, morality, or temperance can spread amongst the poorest classes of this country. In Edinburgh, the common-stairs are so imperfectly ventilated, that many of them are but reservoirs of a deleterious atmosphere, —so deleterious, that a man coming from the healthy country to reside in some of the houses and rooms, must inevitably fall into ill health, if not into habits of drunkenness. The use of sleeping closets, and the want of frequent ablution of the surface of the body, belong to the same large class of physical conditions that necessarily lead to the use of stimulants. This is the sanitary side of the question. I will pass on to the medical.

When individuals have been enfeebled by any of these physical conditions, they become irritable; all depressing emotions act more powerfully on the brain, and excite more readily that cerebral pain known as depression of spirits and heart-ache. These emotions affect directly the heart, inducing feebler action than is natural and safe. The blood circu-

lates more slowly through it, through the brain, through the lungs. Hence the heart-ache, the sleeplessness, the sighing of the sufferer. Now nothing alters this unhealthy condition, and gives temporary relief so effectually as alcoholic drinks. It is for this reason that they have been considered, from time immemorial, as the best solace for the care-worn and sorrowful. Long ago it was said, by a Chaldaic writer, author of the Proverbs, c. xxxi, "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy heart. Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." Abstainers, I understand, have concluded that this passage was meant to be ironical, but that I think it is not. It contains a practical medical truth disguised to modern minds by its oriental turn of expression. Wine properly administered to those suffering from intense mental anxiety, is a most valuable remedy. It counteracts the tendency to suicidal insanity, generated by very depressing mental emotions in brains overworked or naturally feeble. I say properly administered, for taken in excess for this purpose, wine would be more dangerous than under ordinary circumstances. Nor is it mere depression of spirits that indicates this special medicinal use,—the condition of the heart and the digestive organs must be taken into account. It is in this direction that sound knowledge is required by the public at large, so that they may rightly use what rightly used is a great blessing. Undoubtedly the use I recommend is a medicinal one, but can it be expected that men and women would think it necessary to go and consult a medical practitioner whenever they have the heart-ache or are overwhelmed with sorrow? I don't know a more important point for the total abstainers to investigate in reference to their pledge than this. There are circumstances in which their pledge might be most properly broken, because wine is indicated to ward off so serious an evil as permanent depression of spirits, or even suicidial insanity, or infanticide, when the brain is suffering the shock of some overwhelming grief or anxiety. But actual disease of the stomach, heart, and brain, causes often an overwhelming sense of sinking and distress. When the brain is affected, it causes a true *mania* for wine and stimulants; when it is the stomach, it is usually a symptom of an inflammatory or otherwise morbid condition of the stomach, very common in drunkards, and also common in cases of indigestion in delicate women. Being temporarily relieved by alcoholic stimulants, it lays the foundation for an ever-growing habit of taking them in women, and excites a more and more urgent desire in the drunkard. It is in this way that many persons of status and education have become irrecoverable sots.

We have thus passed in review the mighty evil of drunkenness, and we have seen that it is of great political and moral importance. We have seen too what is the nature of the diseases that give rise to the vice, and determined the more important causes which excite them into undue activity. A great political and moral evil must be met by great political and social remedies. In my next lecture I will examine what has been done in the way of remedy, and what ought to be done if we would secure an effective reform of national drunkenness.

(*To be continued.*)

THE EARL OF ELGIN AND THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF CANADA.

A common school which shall combine a thorough religious and secular education, without offence to the peculiar religious opinions of any class of the community, is the great social problem of the age, in the sister kingdom. It has engaged the anxious attention of some of our most eminent statesmen; it has elicited various proposals, each claiming public and parliamentary support; and after all the time and thought expended on it, it remains just as it was, awaiting the advent of the fortunate individual who may have ingenuity enough to devise the method of its solution.

With us in Scotland it is different. We have schools against which not even their bitterest enemies have ventured to stand by the allegation that, as a whole, they are in the one respect or the other inefficient. We have never heard of the charge, where if it could be made with truth, it certainly would, that the religious instruction given in them was offensive to any class of the population, whose children attended them. They are conducted in so thoroughly tolerant and liberal a spirit, that we can say as matter of fact that persons of all creeds and persuasions willingly avail themselves of the benefits they offer, and yet singularly enough these are the schools which have been stigmatised as sectarian, and which repeated attempts have been made to overthrow; and Scotland is the country selected for the rash and untested experiments of adventurers in the field of education.

The latest of these is the distinguished person whose name stands at the head of this article. In his address to the Philosophical Institution, delivered in the Music Hall of Edinburgh, in the beginning of last winter, he selected Education as the subject of discussion. Had his views on this subject rested simply on the arguments propounded in support of them, and carried with them no other weight than the estimation for ability and statesmanship in which he may be held might have afforded, we should not have taken the trouble to subject them to investigation and criticism in these pages. But Lord Elgin had held the high office of Governor General of one of the most important provinces of the Empire, and he had (so he said) successfully investigated in that province a common school system, which had conciliated the support of all classes of Christians therein, while it provided for a sound secular and religious education to all; and it is this signal service he professes to have rendered to our fellow-subjects in Canada that is fitted to give his views so much weight in influencing the opinions of Scotchman on the question of Education. No doubt he disavowed any intention of holding up the school system of Canada as a model for imitation in Scotland; with becoming modesty styled himself a "smatterer," and begged to be acquitted of the "presumption of having any useful purpose in view in making these observations." Be it so. But why then were they made at all? It is impossible to conceive they should have been made with any other object than a practical one, unless his exposition of the Canada scheme were from

beginning to end a piece of egregious egotism. And in point of fact his Lordship's opinions as a successful experimenter in the field of education, have been, and will no doubt still further be, quoted, as adverse to our parochial system in Scotland, and as favourable to that which in three successive years has been repudiated by the Parliament and people of this country.

It is right and necessary that the public should not be misled by their ignorance of a system of which all that they probably know is what Lord Elgin has thought proper to tell them. They must not be allowed to take a leap in the dark, merely because his Lordship gives them to understand they will, if they do so under the advice of those who think with him, fall on their feet. We propose, therefore, in so far as our space will permit, to give a sketch of the scheme, more especially as it makes provision for religious instruction, in order that our readers may judge how far it is such a one as they would wish to see introduced into Scotland in room of the system which now prevails. For this is the light in which we are called on to consider the Canada scheme. It may be well suited to the circumstances of that country; it may be better than any which preceded it; it may be effecting a salutary change among the people of Canada: and if so, none will more heartily rejoice at it than ourselves. But when offered, or whether offered or not, at all events when received by some, as a solution of the school problem in this country, we are called on to consider it with reference to that system for which we are invited to take it as a substitute.

We must premise that our information has been chiefly obtained from the statutes on Education enacted by the Provincial Legislature, from the Reports of the Superintendents of Schools in the two Provinces, the last of which is the Report on the Common Schools of Upper Canada, for the year 1855, and from individuals conversant with the working of the scheme, whose names it is unnecessary to mention. Of the information given by those last mentioned we shall make little use, and that only in so far as we can corroborate it by the official documents before us, so as to avoid the imputation of offering an unfair representation of the working of the scheme. Its warmest advocates cannot object to our presenting it, as it is exhibited in the reports of the local Superintendents and Inspectors, whose interest it is not unnecessarily to obtrude its more forbidding features; they are the witnesses whom we shall call, to tell us what the common schools of Canada are.

The system is a very complicated one, and differs materially in the two provinces, though founded in both on the same general principles. And what increases the difficulty of making it intelligible is, that the same offices have different names in some instances in the respective provinces, so that without entering into details and repetitions which would only weary our readers, and are not necessary for our purpose, we could not afford them a complete view of the machinery of the system. A sketch or outline therefore of its more prominent features is all we shall attempt.

There are two superintendents of schools, one for each province, who may be regarded as ministers for Education under Government, to whom it belongs to see that the schools are conducted in accordance with the

enactments of the legislature. Under them are local superintendents or inspectors, whose duty it is to visit periodically every school within their district, and to report to the chief superintendent. The schools may be visited also by the clergymen of all denominations, and by the Trustees of school districts.

These Trustees are the most influential parties concerned in the working of the system. They are elected by the rate-payers of the district, and the whole management of the schools, subject to the limitations imposed by statute, is committed to them. They choose the schoolmaster, fix the amount of his salary, dismiss him when they please, and determine the amount of the local rate to be levied for his support. Other points of great practical importance, such as the number of hours in the day, and the length of time in the year, during which the school shall be open, and whether fees shall be charged to the scholars, or the funds for the support of the school be otherwise raised, are left to their unfettered discretion, subject always to the approval of their constituents.

There are Boards of Examiners for granting certificates of qualification to teachers. And all are eligible without reference to their religious opinions or tenets, the only test required of them being a certificate of moral character from some clergyman or priest.

The funds for the maintenance of schools are supplied from two sources, a legislative grant, and a local assessment, the amount of the former given to any district always bearing a certain proportion to that of the latter. This legislative grant is the sole inducement to the establishment of schools, which the people must at the same time assess themselves in order to obtain, and the only hold the executive officers of Government have on the school districts, in order to secure compliance with the laws they are appointed to enforce.

Before proceeding to the religious element of the schools, we have to direct special attention to the composition of these local Boards of Trustees, as they are called in Upper Canada, and Commissioners in the lower province. In answer to a question as to the sort of men intrusted with such large powers for so momentous a purpose, a respected correspondent, who is master of the subject in all its practical bearings, and favourable to the principle of the scheme, writes: "In both provinces there are plenty of Commissioners and Trustees, *unable to read or write*, and generally the more respectable and better educated classes in the country districts refuse the offices, chiefly because they cannot act with those who would be their associates." And no wonder; for he elsewhere states, "these bodies do not act harmoniously; the larger and smaller governing bodies are filled generally with ignorant men, who bring into their discussions all the acrimony of political and personal disputes. And the meetings are too often the scenes of disgraceful contentions, sullied by the vilest of language, and ending *in fights among the members*." Now, apart from the probability that it should be so among a people where the spirit of sect and party runs so strongly, we are prepared, if need be, to substantiate what our correspondent above states by the reports of Inspectors of schools, who let out incidentally what amounts to positive proof that the above statement is by no means overcharged.

And now we turn to the all-important matter of religious instruction. And we announce at the outset, as a comment on Lord Elgin's Edinburgh address, that religious instruction forms no part of the system of education in the common schools of Canada. No doubt clergymen may, out of school-houses, with the consent of their parents, instruct the children of their own denomination in religious truth, and, as we shall by and bye show, the school statutes are made by one denomination the instrument of indoctrinating the young very effectually with its own peculiar tenets. But that is done not by the spirit of these laws, but in violation of that spirit. All the legislative provision for religious instruction in these schools consists of a *recommendation* "that the labours of the day commence with prayer; that they conclude with reading publicly and solemnly, a few verses of the New Testament, proceeding regularly through the gospels; and that the forenoon of each Saturday be devoted to religious instruction." Let us then test the value of this recomendation. We shall take Dr Ryerson, the very able superintendent of Upper Canada, as an expounder of the system, who cannot, in the judgment of its warmest advocates, be objected to. In the many elaborate dissertations in which he discusses the question of religious instruction in the common schools, his language is uniformly such as we here quote: "in such a system, where there are diversities of religious opinion, the method is to have *combined secular*, and *separate religious* instruction; the State providing the former, and leaving the latter to the respective parents, and religious persuasions of the pupils." Again: "the *sole* object of public schools is secular education; the leading object of sectarian schools is sectarian interests," with which the State does not interfere, "where there is no semblance of union between Church and State." According to the Canada scheme then, not only is there no provision made for religious instruction, but in the opinion of one of its ablest defenders, there ought not to be. But this is not all. In one of the Doctor's conflicts with Dr Chartonnel, Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto, he lets out, in answer to a charge of partiality in favour of the Protestants of Upper Canada, "that there are some 300 Roman Catholic teachers employed by Protestant school municipalities," and in a subsequent report it is stated that there are 396 so employed. Are these Roman Catholic teachers engaged in instructing the children of Protestants in religious truth? We cannot, for the sake of both parties, believe any thing so bad of either of them. What then becomes of the recommendation above quoted, about religious instruction on the forenoon of each Saturday. It is a mere sham, that means nothing, and that the chief superintendent tells us, was not intended to mean any thing.

But we have still to test the value of the former part of the recommendation as to opening the schools with prayer, and reading, barely reading without notes, or comments, or questions, "a few verses of the New Testament, proceeding regularly through the Gospels." By no abuse of language could this be said to amount to religious instruction. But such as it is, let us see how far it is given in the schools of Upper Canada. We are, fortunately for our purpose, furnished with very full statistical returns in the report for 1855 now before us; and since we cannot quote

the returns from all the Townships, we shall, to avoid the appearance of having picked out the worst instances, take those at the top of each of the first seven or eight pages, adding the *last* return in the latter page, as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem.*

Townships.	Schools.	Opened with Prayer.	Bible Read.
Glengarry,	55	23	16
Grenville,	81	30	52
Frontonac,	72	19	52
Durham,	88	21	66
Peel,	74	38	66
Lincoln,	70	11	36
Waterloo,	79	33	53
Huron,	71	19	54
Elgin,	108	18	43

The above specimen will suffice to show how far, notwithstanding the efforts of the local superintendents, the mere forms of religion are attended to in the common schools of Upper Canada. The result of the whole is, that in the 3189 schools reported, the form of opening and closing with prayer is disregarded in 2287, and the reading of the Scriptures in 1290.

And yet Lord Elgin, in a tone of injured innocence, could exclaim in the Music hall, "this, ladies and gentlemen, is the way we understand 'godless education' in Canada." If he is so delighted with it, then let him keep it in Canada, we want none of it in Scotland.

To the parents and pastors then, it is left to give such religious instruction as the young attending the common schools of Upper Canada obtain in any degree and of any kind. To look to the former for it in such a state of society as prevails there, or indeed, can prevail at any time generally speaking, is, to use the expression of one of the local Inspectors, "altogether preposterous." When School Trustees and Managers are unable to read or write, those who elect them are little likely to be either able or willing to give religious instruction to their children. It remains with the clergymen, therefore, to do what they can to supply this most essential part of what constitutes sound and useful education. And though we have reason to believe that they are fully alive to the urgency of the duties, in this respect, which the common school system of Canada imposes on them, and are doing their best by means of Sunday Schools to supply the glaring and perilous deficiencies of that system, we also believe, and it must be apparent to any one who will give the subject a moment's serious consideration, that at the best they can apply but a partial remedy to a general evil, and can only hope to mitigate the disastrous results which it is beyond their power to prevent.

In the above observations, we have had reference for the most part to the schools of Upper Canada. We have now to direct attention to a very singular and startling result of the system as exhibited in the Lower Province. There the great majority of the population are Roman Catholics, for the most part descendants of the early French colonists, between whom and those of British descent, there is not, we believe, any strong desire to cultivate intimate social relations. Each race retains its own

peculiarities in regard to language, manners, customs, and religion, as well as other things. Like many people we know nearer home, although very good friends when they meet, they are better pleased when they don't. So that to this day the French Canadians remain nearly, if not quite, as distinct a people from the British colonists, as they were when Canada first became a province of the British empire. At the time when it did so, it was stipulated that the Roman Catholic Church should retain its property and privileges as they existed prior to the cession of the province by France to this country. That stipulation we believe to have been faithfully kept to the present day; so that the Roman Catholic Church in Canada is a powerful body, not only from its numbers and organization, but also from its great wealth. And powerful more than ever it has been rendered by the secularising of the clergy reserves, and the diverting to other than ecclesiastical purposes of what had been set apart by the piety of a former generation for supporting in the province the Protestant Churches of England and Scotland. So that the Church of Rome stands there, wealthy, compact, organised, and united, with her privileges respected and her property secured, while the Protestant Churches are, in comparision, distracted, poor, weak, robbed of their property and privileges by that legislature which has so scrupulously respected those of the Church of Rome.

All this has an important bearing on the state of education in both provinces. Doctor Ryerson, before referred to, in his Report dated July 1856, states, that "in Lower Canada, what are legally the National Schools, are, as a general rule, Church Schools, the ceremonies and religious teachings being such as are directed by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. But in Upper Canada the national schools are non-denominational; the religious convictions of all classes are equally protected, as much so as in the mixed schools in Ireland." In other words, while in Upper Canada it is the "general rule," that everything deserving the name of religious instruction, is carefully excluded from the public schools, the rule in Lower Canada is exactly the reverse, and, in the words of our correspondent before quoted, "in Roman Catholic Schools religion is almost all that is taught." Here then is a state of matters that suggests many grave reflections. Those that occur to us we have not space to mention, nor is it necessary, as they must present themselves to the mind of any one who will give two minutes serious thought to the subject. We certainly do not wonder at learning from Dr Ryerson, that "Protestantism is represented as a species of infidelity, that Protestants are a species of infidels, and that the public schools supported by Protestants are infidel schools." The emissaries of the Church of Rome have before now made as grave accusations with less appearance of reason. That church feels her power, and is alive to the advantages for prosecuting her own ends afforded by the school system of Canada, and she is not slow in making the most of them, as we shall presently see still more fully. But how, it may be asked, is such a state of things as we have described, tolerated by the Canadian educational authorities? For the simple reason, that they have no power to prevent it. We

mentioned before the very extensive powers conferred by statute on school trustees, or commissioners, as they are called in Lower Canada; that with them rests the appointment and dismissal of teachers, the levying as well as fixing of the school rate, the management and direction of the school, &c., but we omitted to mention that with them also rests the appointment of the inspectors, who are to report to the chief superintendent the condition of the schools, and to act as the medium of communication between the local and central authorities. Where, therefore, as is very generally the case in Lower Canada, the inhabitants of a district or municipality consist of Roman Catholics exclusively or generally, they can make the school what they please. The commissioners elected by the rate-payers will of course be Roman Catholics, so will the schoolmasters, and the inspectors, and the visitors, and all in any way connected with the school, which will, of course, be conducted not on the model of a Canadian common school, but according to the ideal of a Roman Catholic seminary. And thus this precious system, resting on "the broadest foundation of non-sectarianism," which excludes religious instruction from the Protestant schools of Canada, is made use of to inculcate the dogmas of the most exclusive and intensely sectarian church on the face of the earth.

And this brings us to advert to a class of schools we have not yet mentioned. Lest the machine should explode at starting, a safety-valve was required to allow the steam to blow off and evaporate. This has been provided in the shape of "dissentient," as they are called in the lower province, and "separate" schools, as they are styled in the upper. When twelve or more heads of families, residing in any one locality, shall apply for the erection of a school other than the common schools above described, they are entitled to obtain it, to elect their own trustees and managers, and to apply the school-tax, for which they are by law liable, to the support of such school, and to conduct it on such principles as they please, provided that to certain effects they acknowledge the jurisdiction of the local superintendent or inspector. But this concession can take effect only in the case of Protestants, where the teacher of the common school is a Roman Catholic, and in favour of Roman Catholics, where the common school teacher is a Protestant. By Protestant is meant every religious denomination other than the adherents of the Church of Rome; Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Independents, and the rest, are all lumped together under the common designation of Protestants. We do not intend to discuss this part of the system; our object is more to state facts than to argue about them;—nor do the returns before us supply so fully as would be desirable the statistics of these separate or dissentient schools. But it is a significant commentary on the practical effect of them, and only what any reflecting man would expect, that in Upper Canada the Roman Catholic separate schools number forty-nine, while the Protestant separate schools amount to four! How these latter are conducted, and with what body of Christians they are connected, we have no means of discovering; but there can be no doubt with what view, and to what effect the former have been established. But this does not content the Roman Catholics of Canada.

Making their firm and impregnable position in the lower province the basis of operations, they have assailed with great vigour and resolution the whole school system in Upper Canada, employing the separate school laws as the chief engine of attack. To explain this would occupy more space than we have to spare. But it appears that though the laws regarding separate schools have been patched and pared from year to year to please the Roman Catholic body, they are still dissatisfied, till at length the Romish Bishop of Toronto (we wonder if he is the hero of the trowel mentioned by Lord Elgin at the Music Hall) has proposed changes which threaten the very existence of the whole school system of Upper Canada. We give Dr Ryerson's words: "It is perfectly clear, that should such a Bill become law, there *would soon be an end* of both free schools and public schools, and the trustees of Roman Catholic separate schools would possess a direct and indirect power in each municipality *far greater* than that of the Municipal Council and Trustees of public schools together." He refers to "the extreme exertions of ecclesiastical authority," by which this Bill is pushed on, and states that the effect of such exertions on the state of society in Upper Canada, is to keep its Protestant population, "like the Israelites in their work of re-building, as mentioned in the 14th chapter of Nehemiah, labouring to complete this educational edifice, 'every one his sword girded by his side, and he that soundeth the trumpet by him.'" How it will end it is not for us to say; we hope the Bishop will eventually be beaten, but it will be a hard and protracted struggle.

We have now done; not that we have fully exposed the school system of Canada in all its shortcomings, absurdities, and inconsistencies, but we have said enough to point the moral for the sake of which we have undertaken our present task. We trust our countrymen will ponder well and wisely, before they give up our long-tried parochial system for any other scheme, however plausible in theory, and however eloquently recommended. We have now seen, in one instance, how such theories work when reduced to practice, and how different they appear when tested by actual experiment from what they seemed in the glowing description of their inventors or advocates. It cannot fail to have struck many of our readers how remarkable is the resemblance between the Canadian scheme and that proposed three years ago by the Lord Advocate, in many of their most prominent features. So remarkable is it indeed, that we are almost convinced that the one was borrowed from the other. Nor can it fail to be remembered how truly many of the evils apprehended from the latter have been verified in the former scheme. From these, the wisdom and firmness of Parliament, and especially of the House of Lords, have hitherto saved us. Lord Elgin, however unintentionally, has done us the signal service of giving us timeous warning of the perils that lie in our way, by the instructive instance to which he has directed our attention. And by way of enforcing that warning, we conclude with the eloquent words of the Rev. Dr Taylor, of the United Presbyterian body, who preached the anniversary sermon, on occasion of celebrating the festival of St Andrew, at Montreal, last November. Adverting to the part the Church of Scotland took in support of the truth at the Reformation, he continues:

"Nor must we forget the powerful auxiliary which the church raised up for herelf in the parochial school. These gave the doctrines of the reformers a lodgement in the minds of the Scottish youth which was too deep ever to be erased. In every parish there is a school, and in every school the Bible is read. Under these influences the youth of Scotland grow up, and their characters are formed, and if there be any stedfastness in Scottish character in adhering to what is good and true, a stedfastness which impartial judges will I think admit, I ascribe it under God to this system of schools in which the Bible occupies so conspicuous a place. Looking back to that country from this land, I see nothing there which I envy so much as, or which I am more desirous of seeing transported to these shores, than our parochial schools. I frequently wish we had that system here, where everything is so loose and unsettled, and men's opinions are as shifting as the sand. Sometimes I have thought that my wish would be realised, and that the Scottish population of this city would raise up a St Andrew's school on the model of the parochial schools of Scotland. How different would be the quality of the education which our children would then receive, from the flimsy, non-religious, or rather anti-religious education so common in this province; and how different would be the influence exerted on society by children so brought up, from that which is now exerted." These expressive words of a true-hearted and Christian-minded Scotchman, extorted by painful experience of the evils that prevail in the land of his adoption, may well put to shame the unpatriotic Yankeeism and egotistical misrepresentation of the Ex-Governor General of Canada.

THE PARISH SCHOOL CRISIS.

To the Editor of Macphail's Ecclesiastical Journal.

SIR,—My attention was directed to an article in a late number of your interesting periodical, headed "The Parish School Crisis," upon which, by your permission, I wish to offer one or two remarks. I premise, by saying that it yielded me no small pleasure to peruse that paper. It is a critique on a Pamphlet, from which large quotations are given, and if I am to judge of the merits of it from these quotations, it may at once be pronounced as a production of high order. The reviewer, evidently a young writer, has done his part well—particularly so when he coincides, as he almost universally does, with the subject of his criticism. I would respectfully caution the one and the other not to be over sanguine, recommending, as the only remedy and safety for the parish schools, the acceptance of the Privy Council grants. I bring to the consideration of this question, I believe, a longer experience than that of the Pamphleteer or his reviewer, and I always considered that the grants, as now bestowed, while they may tolerably well suit the condition of certain other schools, are not at all suited for supplementing the income of the parish schoolmasters. In fact this was not contem-

plated from the beginning. Hence the unjust and servile treatment which the parochial schools have met with in the distribution of that money. The minimum salary goes for nothing, and credit is only given for the difference between it and the maximum, or as much above that as heritors or others may contribute. This cannot otherwise be pronounced than unjust. But I take leave to state farther objections to the system, and to Mr Wilson's too, I will add two or three more,—more serious, I humbly think, than those he enumerates, and

1. To ignore the superintendence of the church over her schools is, to say the least of it, unconstitutional. To subject the teachers, all to a man tried classical scholars, to the ordeal of an examination, and their schools to the periodical inspection of a person in every respect inferior to a committee of the Presbytery of the bounds, cannot be otherwise regarded than as a public insult to a body, the efficiency and ability of whose actings, the state of education in Scotland well can declare. Let us keep always our eye on that objection; but let me

2. Pass to the undue consideration that is given to what is floridly called a "*Certificate of Merit.*" What is this same certificate and what its merit? It is a bit of parchment to be sure, yet very unlike our idea of other parchments, in this particular, that it binds no party. Examine it and you will find it such. The teacher who obtains it is as much at the mercy of the inspector's report, as the one that never had it. To call such a document a thing of merit is sufficiently curious; a degree of A.M., is worth a cartload of it.

3. We must advert to the position of the Inspector of Schools, who is the servant, and as such may be the creature, of the government which appoints him. His position as regards the parochial system, at any rate, is a superinduced, ill-defined, and an unconstitutional thing. This same "government man" may possess the necessary amount of scholarship for the discharge of his function, and yet be miserably deficient of the necessary degree of discretion, and even common sense, for the proper guidance of his conduct in his position, where the latter requisites are supremely required. If he should contravene your path, where is the recourse for redress which you have upon himself or his employers? Is it in the ordinary courts of law, or where? I say that, as the Minutes of Council now stand, an Inspector may give any amount of unnecessary trouble and annoyance to school managers, schoolmasters, and scholars, with impunity.

4. Lastly, and not least, the Minutes of Council are not Acts of Parliament. They may be changed by every wind—even cancelled and superseded. The conditions of the grant may be made so intricate and perplexing as to disgust persons of independent feelings coming forward at all to try for it. To graft so uncertain an expedient to the statutory provisions of our parish schools, is manifestly unsafe, as it is unwise. The entire scheme clearly aims at separating all schools from the superintendence of the church. With our eyes open to the fact, are we still eager in our grasping at the ideal, which present appearances forbid us to hope ever to enjoy?

With the experience of many years of school visiting, and of the last

nine or ten as manager under the Privy Council grants, and viewing the matter in all its phases, facts have, unwillingly rather, constrained me to give it as my decided opinion that parish schoolmasters would do well, as much as possible, to keep free of these grants altogether. These grants, like all government bestowals, are beset with such trouble, and not the least to a teacher is the hour and a half which he is bound to bestow on his pupil teachers after the ordinary hours of his school. This is a sad drawback, and it is not the least necessary. Like other officials, teachers surely deserve their hour of relaxation. In this case, and to no essential purpose, it is denied them.

I send you these remarks for insertion in an early number of your Journal, trusting that the perusal may be more or less interesting to your readers, and in particular, to my brethren, the country clergy, who have so large a stake in the subject; and by doing this you will oblige one of your readers.

A Country Minister.

February 1857.

DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL.[1]

Of all the Scripture characters, who were less than divine, David is perhaps the most interesting. Little need we wonder at this, since he, of all others, was the brightest and most striking type of David's Son, who was the Lord from Heaven. Mention David and Bethlehem, and you touch a chord near the heart of every one who has been blessed with a Bible education, and call back a gush of boyish recollections and feelings to all who hear you. The old delightful Sabbath mornings, when the sun shone brighter than ever the summer sun shines for us now, and the very captive bird, which some neighbour might hang out at his open window, sang more sweetly as it seemed, to our susceptible ear, than the mellowest warbler of the grove has ever sung in later times,—these old delightful sabbath-mornings, long past and gone, begin, at the name of David the youngest son of Jesse, to dawn once more upon our memory and heart. Back they come with all the dear, the lifelong cherished associations of urchins in their night gear, gliding surreptitiously from their beds, in the early light and quietude of the summer Sabbath morn, to feast their eyes on the image of the little shepherd warrior, (religiously held to have been a striking likeness)—represented, in the first volume of the folio family Bible, as standing over the prostrate giant of Gath, and hewing off his terrible head; back they come with still some slight shade of wonder how David's arm could wield Goliath's sword, or carry the ponderous burden it severed from its kindred shoulders. What ingenuous youth has not dwelt with boyish admiration on David's combat with the lion and the bear? Who has not felt proud when the hero of his young imagination became the Lord's

[1] David, King of Israel. The Divine Plan and Lessons of his Life. By the Rev. Wm. Garden Blaikie, A.M. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co., 1856.

anointed? Who has not accompanied the shepherd boy, and felt all the alternations of hope and fear, which he must have experienced, when the hand and the harp which had so often cheered the desert solitude, were summoned to shed gladness upon the lowering spirit of Israel's erring king? Few can have forgotten the feelings with which they set out in fancy with David, when he went forth, at his father's bidding, to visit his brothers, and carry the provisions necessary for them to the camp of Saul, not forgetting the present which the prudent old man sent to the captain of their thousand, that his children might have a friendly eye upon them to secure their advancement, perhaps, or to succour them in the perilous hour of need. Is there any youth whose Bible does not open spontaneously at the identical chapter which tells how, "The Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and were gathered together at Shochoh?" mark him, for he has a dull head and a cold heart. He will probably never come to anything great either as a man or a Christian.

What? This is heterodox, is it? Oh, man, think ye that God had no object in fitting David to be the hero of the susceptible young imagination? David, who was also to be the most expressive type of Jesus Christ? Think ye that He who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not," has not drawn thousands to His loving bosom by means of the inimitable narrative of the early youth of him who was Christ's progenitor, according to the flesh? It is natural for the young to delight in the deeds of daring performed by those, who, at the time of their achievement, were youthful as themselves; and how could that sentiment be so legitimately gratified as by following David to the brook, whence he chose the five smooth stones, the first of which was to lay prostrate the boaster who had defied the armies of THE LIVING GOD? It is no small matter to lead the young ingenuous mind to the conviction that the Bible records incidents of a fresher and deeper interest than could ever be awakened by all the fables of heathen Greece or Pagan Rome, or any tale that ever was told amid the luxurious splendours of an Arabian palace, or any fiction that ever was penned by the story mongers of modern times. Is not "all Scripture given by inspiration of God, and profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and instruction in righteousness?" The youth, who has been led, through means of the Scriptural account of the eventful life of David, to prefer the Sacred Book to every other, will not be likely to fall away from his first love in riper years, even although he may have to confess to the committal of such a fault, and absenting himself from Church that he might gloat, at leisure, over the beloved plates in the great folio Bible, which, when spread out to its full extent, well nigh covered the entire surface of his mother's table. As he turns to his favourite passages, his eye may be led, at length, by the blessing of God, to something more suitable to his growing intelligence and progressing years; or, he may be led to look beyond the letter of well known incidents to the spiritual truths they foreshadow, and thus become wise unto salvation.

Bishop Horsley remarks that, "The Book of Psalms is the most universally read of all the books of the Old Testament." And why?

Not, in the first instance, from any appreciation of the intrinsic excellency of the Psalms—not because of the clear, explicit allusions to the Messiah which they afford—not because their evangelical qualities recommend them at once to the human heart. We must confess, and so, perhaps, will some of our readers, to having entertained a very decided repugnance to many of them in our earlier years. Those alone found favour with us which drew their illustrations from the pastoral occupation, or other pursuits of their author, and thus, as it were, brought the whole scenery of Bethlehem or Engedi so prominently before us, that we beheld David the shepherd, the musician, the warrior, or the fugitive, as clearly as if we had gazed on him with the eye of sense. We first began to admire those of them which were either composed in the narrative form, or which had been called forth by some affliction, some perilous escape, or something else which touched our feelings, and awakened the sentiment of a common kindred. And much reason have we to admire the wisdom and goodness of God, in permitting such an eventful history as that of David, and such delightful songs as those which David penned, to form a part of His Word, leading us thus, as it were, by a path of the freshest and sweetest flowers to Jesus Christ.

What beautiful touches of nature and feeling the experiences of David enabled him to impart to his sacred songs! Take, for example, that Psalm which the lisping tongue of childhood has so oft repeated, and the recollection of which, amidst the cares and turmoils of the world, steals upon the mind like a calm upon troubled waters, and comes home to the heart of the aged like the sweet breath of summer fields, mysteriously associated with scenes of other years. "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: He leadeth me beside the still waters." The metaphor harmonises so well with the prominent points of God's dealings with His people, and represents His kindness and mercy towards them in such a winning, and, withal, in such a truthful manner, that even our Lord himself hath said, "I am the good Shepherd: the good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." Many a one in his wanderings may have marked a careful shepherd keeping watch over his flocks amid the quiet loveliness of pastoral solitude; and every one who has any sympathy with what is calm, lovely, and soothing, must have felt gratified and refreshed by gazing on a scene so expressive of peacefulness and enjoyment. But David painted from his own experience, though certainly guided by the Holy Spirit, when he penned those words which tend so greatly to exalt our notions of the tenderness and affection with which Christ the second and greater David feeds His people with spiritual food. It was for a great and important end that God permitted His servant to follow the "ewes great with young," and to be cast out from the abodes of men to skulk among the fastnesses of the wilderness, consorting with other fugitives,—living sometimes on the bounty of shepherds, and lodging in caves. It was apparently a hard ordeal of training; but it imparted those experiences, which, under the grace of God, have made David's Psalms an epitome of the Gospel. The affecting incidents which, in many instances, have given occasion to these psalms, arrest the attention, and thus the more

spiritual sentiment finds its way to the heart. And the amazing variety of the topics treated gives the Book of Psalms all the advantages of the Gospel net, which, on being cast into the sea, brought up fishes of every kind, both small and great.

It is well that, as Bishop Horsley remarks, the Book of Psalms is more read than any other book of the Old Testament, since in no other book do we find such admirable tokens of the wisdom and goodness of God displayed in the manner in which He prepared the world for the advent of the Messiah, as in that collection of divine songs. In no other book of the Old Testament do we find such clear proofs that Jesus is the Christ. Both of these important purposes were greatly promoted by the typical life, actions, and sufferings of David, as recorded by his own inspired pen. The great value of David's biography and the sacred songs by which it is so copiously illustrated, consists in the fact that the afflictions, persecutions, and sufferings of the Psalmist himself, were typical of those which were subsequently endured by the Messiah. The strong points of resemblance between the type and the antitype could only be resisted by an amazing amount of perversity—not to say dulness,—on the part of those familiar with them. And if, in spite of these proofs, there are many who remain faithless and unbelieving, we may easily believe that, in their absence, there would have been many more in the same unhappy state of mind. Indeed the grand Christian doctrines of the mediation of Christ, and the inestimable blessings of His atonement, are so clearly expressed by David in his psalms, that no candid person can affirm the Gospel to be a new invention. The very incidents of the Messiah's life and sufferings are portrayed in the Psalms, as if the writer had followed Jesus in His journeys, felt His indignities, and taken the place of the mournful spectator under the cross.

And however clearly the incidents of the Messiah's life may be portrayed in the writings of David, they are not less visibly foreshadowed in some of David's experiences which he has not made the subject of any sacred song. At one time the Psalmist had no where to lay his head, and no one that he could turn to for friendship or sympathy, even when he had been anointed King of Israel. There was not one of all the thousands, over whom he was yet to bear sway, who was not better provided for than himself. Does not this recall the condition of our blessed Lord when He said, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has not where to lay His head." Can we fail to perceive, that when God permitted His Servant David to experience those vicissitudes of fortune, which young and old read with an interest painful in its very intenseness, He was foreshadowing in him the more grievous sufferings of David's Lord. And we, for our part, have no sympathy with those who smile when the older commentators, with a microscopic eye for typical persons and actions, which nothing could escape, discover even a resemblance between those who followed David, at the Cave of Adullam, and the mixed multitude who formed the early Christian church. We see no reason for flouting the notion that David's band—a sad company of wilful outcasts, it is true, and composed of most unmanageable materials—was called together by a hidden purpose of

God, and was typically connected with that peculiarity of the Christian system which evinces the highest proof of divine mercy. We see nothing unwarrantable in viewing the motley crowd collected around David, as a foreshadowing of the throngs of the poor, the halt, the lame, and the blind who followed the Saviour, and for whom ample provision is made in the Gospel. Nor would we make so bold as to question the opinion that David, in his typical character, when skulking from place to place to elude the vengeance and escape the snares of Saul, presents an adumbration of the fierce struggle maintained between the Church and Antichrist. And we, whose lot it is to witness that contest whilst yet it is incomplete,—we, who are waiting for the victory, may thank God and take courage. For even as He at length delivered David from all his adversaries, and gave him peace on every side, so will the time come when David's Lord shall triumph, and all his saints shall shout aloud for joy.

But it may be deemed somewhat less than civil in us to occupy so much of the reader's time, without once alluding to the very handsome, well got up volume of 439 pages now before us, which claims our attention, under the title of "DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL." We are happy to say that we think favourably of this work, although we must also state it to be our opinion, that it will not command the degree of popularity it deserves. Perhaps the author does not claim the merit of great originality of design. It is likely enough too, that a more interesting work might have been produced from the rich materials at his command. It does seem to us that it might have been possible to infuse somewhat more of the breath of life and freshness into pages apt to grow somewhat dull and tedious in spite of being composed of well constructed, and even highly polished sentences. This, we would venture to submit, is what is most obviously awanting to the success of the work. The author is apparently a man of piety, and is far from being deficient in learning and professional accomplishments. It is probable that he has constructed his book from materials which had previously done service in the pulpit. Perhaps he was induced by growing audiences and the liberal commendations of friends, to submit his lucubrations to the public in a new form; and the public, we think, will not be out of his debt unless it relieve the booksellers' shelves of the present edition within a reasonable time. But no one ought to be confident that a work which may have commanded popular attention when delivered in the form of lectures, adapted to the pulpit or elsewhere, will necessarily become a favourite when issued from the press, elaborated into the form of such a treatise as the one whose title stands at the top of this article.

The author divides his work into four parts, of which the *first* is introductory, and comprises such topics as "David's Place in History;" his "Birth and Boyhood;" and "Early Forehadowings of His Future Life;" together with the defeat of Goliath, and other incidents. The *second* part embraces those "sufferings and wanderings," which he was exposed to when he was, in the first instance, an inmate of Saul's palace, charming the dark cloud from the moody brow of the God-deserted monarch; making hairbreadth 'scapes when maniac phrenzy made the

soul of Saul dead to the voice of the charmer, and the javelin, which trembled in his giant grasp, was launched like a thunder-bolt with the intent to smite the charmer to the wall; and latterly, when he roamed amid the fastnesses of Moab, and was hunted like a partridge upon the mountains. The *third* part treats of "David's Active Life upon the Throne;" and the *fourth* professes to deal with the storms and calms of his "Eventide."

The following passage, p. 330, affords a favourable specimen of our author's style:—

"It is deeply interesting, in this memorable period of David's life, (during the revolt of Absalom), to trace the typical resemblance between him and his great Son and Lord in the awful crisis of his sufferings. In the first place David's general desertion by his whole people,—the tribe of Judah,—and the attention which he received from comparative strangers,—from such men as Ittai, Shobi, and Bazillai,—foreshadowed the Lord's own experience, when, betrayed by Judas, denied by Peter, and forsaken by all the apostles, his only sympathy seemed to come from the weeping women, and when strangers, like Nicodemus and Joseph, were left to attend his funeral. The marvellous meekness and and patience which characterized both David and Jesus, was due to the same cause; both view their affliction as sent by God, and were able to overlook the instrumentality of men: David, as we have seen, in his reception of Shemei's outrage; and our blessed Lord still more remarkably, in his treatment of his murderers, as well as in His memorable prayer in Gethsemane. In both cases, a period of accumulated agonies was succeeded by glimpses of divine favour, and assurances of final deliverance; both drank of the brook of divine refreshment by the way, till at length God lifted up the head.

"Perhaps the resemblance was even closer. An expression in the 22d Ps. (bulls of Bashan, v. 12), would lead us to suppose, that it was in the forests of Bashan, with the wild bulls that roamed there careering past him in fury, and forming a lively picture of his enemies, that David experienced the awful sense of desolation and desertion, pourtrayed in that Psalm, which prefigured the darkest of all the Messiah's sufferings. Then, perhaps, it was, when his heart was crushed by the unsupportable thought of Absalom's guilt, and his courage shaken for the moment by intelligence of the vast preparation his enemies were making for his complete destruction, that he exclaimed, 'My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?' Even when we regard this Psalm as prophetical, and as no otherwise describing David's experience than in so far as that experience was a dim type of Christ's,—even in that view, the mere fact of its being even suggested by this occasion, shews what a time of agony to David it must have been. The supposition of his passing through such a conflict in Gilead is by no means inconsistent with what we gather from the title of the 3d Psalm,—that it was in that peculiarly calm and peaceful song he expressed his feelings on perhaps the very morning after he reached Mahanaim: 'I laid me down and slept; I awaked, because the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people that have set themselves against me round about.'"

Might we humbly venture to take it upon us to mention to our author,—who is not destitute of good taste and very considerable powers of composition,—that in any work, grave or gay, we do not expect such expressions as "*that dash of romance,*" applied to any of the sacred books of Scripture; and that, even to taunt Goliath with "*swaggering,*"

though it may be a perfectly legitimate imputation, grates upon our ear, and produces a sensation of discomfort. We might mention other instances evincing questionable taste were we in any degree inclined to be hypercritical. These, however, are but slight blemishes; and we cannot part with the author, without tendering him our thanks, for having spent so much of his time in elucidating the typical character of him who was the sweet singer of Israel, and who said and sung, "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy foot-stool."

SCOTTISH EPISCOPACY THE PIONEER OF POPERY.

Such is the title of a pamphlet recently published by the Rev. Mr Phin of Galashiels. We confess that we read the announcement of it with considerable alarm. We know that Mr Phin possesses more than ordinary capacity for making out his case, that he has great ingenuity in expiscating its facts and circumstances, much cleverness in turning them to his purpose, and quite a peculiar courage in maintaining the position he assumes. Recalling the undaunted air wherewith he has for several years faced the storms which he raised in the General Assembly of his own church, and the advantage which his apparent enjoyment of "a scene," his dexterous retort and his rather frequent habit of evading the more weighty arguments urged against his views, many a time obtained for him over foemen who would willingly have conveyed the notion that he was scarcely worthy of their steel;—recalling these things, we were somewhat uneasy when he announced his intention of shewing that Scottish Episcopacy was a pioneer of Popery. For we had been accustomed to believe that there exists no affinity betwixt the two, that Scottish Episcopacy is on the whole very similar to English Episcopacy, and had been accustomed to consider that they might be called sisters with as little of figure in the word as where the Church of England and the Church of Scotland are spoken of as sisters—that more literally the Scottish Episcopal Church is the daughter of the Church of England, and therefore entitled to some share of the honour generally awarded to the mother, of being a bulwark against popery. And while some concern lest these views might be found to be erroneous, and consequently Protestantism more in danger than we apprehended, was excited in our mind by the announcement of Mr Phin's work, we felt a more immediate concern. We conceived some alarm lest the individuals and families in almost every parish of Scotland, who, notwithstanding of their Scottish Episcopalianism, not only give the parish minister a most kindly welcome into their houses, but an encouragement to discharge his duties among their dependents beyond what he receives from some bearing his own name, are the first to whom he thinks of applying in behalf of any uneducated child or indigent adult, and are moreover among the most exemplary in the parish, both for the moralities and the religious observances of Christianity,—we conceived alarm lest these estimable

persons should be drifting unconsciously towards the pernicious errors of Popery.

But we have been greatly relieved by the appearance of the pamphlet itself. The very title page did something to dispel apprehension again. It bears something more than the ominous words, "Scottish Episcopacy the Pioneer of Popery." It offers this alternative title, "Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Scott, on the recent movements of Scottish Episcopacy, in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk." That suggested the hope that perhaps Mr Phin's severe charge might be applicable only to a part of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and that not a considerable,—and a perusal of the pamphlet has borne out that hope.

By much the larger half of the pamphlet consists of strictures on the services at the consecration of the Church of St John the Evangelist, Jedburgh, in the summer of 1844. In these, certain clergymen belonging to the Tractarian party in the Church of England, and some of them now in the Church of Rome, performed a principal part, and gave utterance to doctrines strongly tinctured with Popery. Dr Hook of Leeds qualified some compliments he offered to the Church of Scotland, by lamenting that it does not "look upon regeneration as the grace of baptism, nor believe that in the Eucharist the faithful receive *really* and indeed the body and blood of Christ to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls, nor look upon the apostolical succession as necessary to empower men to administer these holy sacraments." The Dr is also charged with drawing a "thoroughly Romish distinction" between private and public devotion,—with representing God as worshipped as a Father in the first, and a King in the latter,—but we scarcely think that the quotation given makes the distinction so very broad as represented, or that it is peculiar to Romanism to assign somewhat more prominence to the kingly attributes of God in the Church than in the closet. But if Mr Phin has not selected so very conclusive a passage on this subject, he has given another, (at page 11) wherein Dr Hook advocates ornaments and pictures in places of worship as aids to devotion, as distinctly as any Romanist can do. Archdeacon Wilberforce, in a style which has now been made a great deal more intelligible than it could be to the majority of his hearers at Jedburgh, by his now professed Popery, preached that the Sacrament of the Supper is a repetition of Christ's sacrifice. Mr Dodsworth, also by this time an avowed Papist, was loud in his commendation of the Scotch Communion Office because it favours the doctrine of transubstantiation. The Rev. Mr Keble desiderated a frequency of church offices incompatible with the active duties of life, assigned to them an importance fairly exposing him to the suspicion of sympathizing with Romish views as to the virtue of forms, and also applied the word *sacrifice* to the Eucharist.

Mr Phin convicts these parties of all the Romanism here imputed to them, and therefore he never had more proper subjects for those caustic rebukes which he can so well administer. Of course we concur in all the censure which he pronounces upon men who could abuse their office in a Church of the Reformation to vend doctrines like

these. Had he contented himself with calling *them* only Pioneers of Popery, we should have considered the epithet very justly bestowed. But he is not content with this. He identifies with them in sentiment all who encouraged them to put their discourses in print, who have never animadverted upon them, yea, all who listened to them in silence. Now this we submit is rather hard measure. We are told that four out of the six Scotch bishops were present, and upwards of forty ministers from England and elsewhere, but it is not said that these suggested the publication of the discourses. They were the founders of the Jedburgh Chapel who did so, and it is not usual to hold every clergyman present at the delivery of a discourse by a brother, which others may get published, responsible for all its sentiments until he refute or disown them in a counter-publication. It is quite conceivable that both among the Scotch and English clergymen present, there might be some surprised and offended at the dogmas of the preachers, and accustomed to preach the truth in their own places. But while we think it severe to regard as homologating the Romish tenets advanced, *every clergyman* present, simply because he has hitherto kept silence regarding them, we make no laboured nor anxious apology for them. It would certainly have been more creditable to them had they publicly disclaimed the doctrines propounded. What we protest against, is, that upon their presence, their silence till this day, or even upon their approval of all the reprehensible things advanced by their Tractarian brethren, (should that approbation seem as clear to the readers of Mr Phin's pamphlet as to himself), a charge of Popish tendencies should be preferred against the Scottish Episcopal Church *as a whole*. It seems to us that the charge might with a far greater show of justice be urged against the Church of England. They were her sons and her clergymen who vended the errors upon which the accusation is rested. They perhaps considered that Jedburgh was a safer place wherein to bring them forward, in such naked form, than their own spheres of duty, a dozen years ago. They were farther removed there from the eye of their superiors, and might not dream that there was one so vigilant at Galashiels. The great majority of their clerical listeners too, appear to have been from *England*, and therefore if silence imply assent, the church of that country is more compromised by the consecration of the Jedburgh Chapel than the Church in Scotland. It cannot be equal-handed justice to compliment the one as yet sound in its Protestantism, and to revile the other as Popish "to the core," if there be no other foundation for thus distinguishing, than that a conclave of Romanizing clergy belonging to the *Church of England*, on one occasion met a much more insignificant number of kindred Scottish ecclesiastics in a border town, and amused or edified themselves by mutual disclosures. It is in this manner that Mr Phin saves the credit of the Church of England: "Every one knows that within the last few years that illustrious daughter of the Reformation has been harassed by a band of traitors, who, though eating her bread and pretending zeal for her interests, have lured hundreds of her people to her deadly adversary the Church of Rome."—(p. 14.) Now surely

that apology is just as good for the Scottish Episcopal Church as the other. That the traitors once made a raid across the border, and paraded for a day or two in their true colours, and then returned to their own country to carry out their treacherous plots or abandon them, is surely not a sufficient reason for branding the entire Scottish Episcopal Church as traitorous. At the very worst it only reflects some suspicion upon those who invited the English "traitors"—upon the handful of Scottish clergy whose presence may be construed into an indication of complicity with them—upon the Episcopal congregation of Jedburgh—upon the clergy and laity in other towns of this country, who, upon other and later evidences than those furnished at the consecration of the Jedburgh Chapel, can be convicted of sympathies with Popery. The opprobrious name of "Pioneers of Popery" should have been confined to one or all of these classes; and it was so confined by the nobleman who suggested it to Mr Phin. The Rev. Mr Tarbutt, of the said Jedburgh Chapel, having publicly asked of Lord John Scott whether he employed that expression at the "great Protestant Meeting at Melrose," last summer, received this answer, "What I did say, I now repeat, that your *High Church in Scotland, as your High Church in England*, have acted the part of sappers and miners for the Church of Rome." That is quite a different charge from Mr Phin's,—one far more difficult to controvert, and at once more discriminating and more impartial. It allows that the unfaithful form only a party in each Church, and that the shame of their infidelity attaches as much to the one as the other.

The objection we have been urging, viz., that Mr Phin's premises are far too narrow for his conclusion, is equally applicable to his other proofs of the Popish tendency of Scottish Episcopacy. In pages 15 and 16 he argues that the sermons preached at Jedburgh are founded on the "apostolic succession," and that no Scotch Episcopalian can consistently maintain that dogma "without his finding it necessary to join the Church of Rome; for whatever religious body may be able to make a show of possessing that 'succession,' it is palpably wanting to the Scotch Episcopal Communion." Having shown by one extract from the Church Protestant Defence Society of England, and by another from Archbishop Whately's "Cautions for the Times," that the apostolical succession is untenable, he reasons thus: "If then the Scotch Episcopalian *will* cleave to the cardinal tenet of the Jedburgh preachers, that he can only obtain salvation through receiving the sacraments from a 'priesthood' which can trace back its ordination to the apostles, whither shall he betake himself for this 'essential,' upon being convinced that his own church has it not? Assuredly not to the Church of England, in whose Articles the 'succession' has no place, and whose archbishops, like Dr Whately, treat it only as a Romish figment or a vain dream. His natural resource is the Church of Rome, which assigns to his favourite dogma the same importance as he does, and which boasts of a catalogue of priests and bishops from the apostolic age to the present time. So direct and short is the road from the Episcopacy of Jedburgh to the Popery of Rome!" It is rather too direct and short a road, however, of demonstrating that

the Episcopacy of *Scotland* leads to Popery. There is a great deal of begging of the question here. It should have been shown and not taken for granted, that every Scotch Episcopalian pins his faith to the Jedburgh preachers, or holds that the *apostolical succession is essential.* And he should have given some fairer proofs that apostolic succession has no place in the Church of England than he has done. He says, it has no place in her *Articles.* Has it in the Scottish Articles? We thought both were the same. He says Dr Whately repudiates it; but Dr Hook maintains it. Of course we consider Dr Whately right: we only demur to Dr Hook being regarded as uttering the true opinion of the whole Scottish Episcopal Church on this point at Jedburgh, and, at the same time, as speaking for no one in the English Church save himself and his friends around him. We say that he was not the correct exponent of either Church.

Mr Phin's third proof in support of his charge is, that the "direct and short road from the Episcopacy of Jedburgh to the Popery of Rome has already been traversed by several of the most distinguished preachers and hearers of the sermons on which I have commented. Two of the five authors of these sermons," (but we may remark in passing, that Mr Phin somewhat contemptuously dismissed one of the five, viz., Mr Teale, without bringing much Popery home to him), "are now Romanists of some years standing. Two of the three trustees who petitioned the bishop to 'consecrate' the chapel are in the same predicament; and one of them has erected a Romish Chapel within a few yards of the preparatory edifice. Nay, the Popish creed was also adopted by the only inhabitant of Jedburgh whose name occurs in the volume before me—the late Robert Laing—at whose house it is recorded (page 43), 'the Bishop of Glasgow, the Diocesan, accompanied by the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Primus, by the Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Argyle, and by the Bishop of Edinburgh, assembled' before 'the celebration of the imposing rite.'"—(Page 16.) Now this is not a distinct proof; it is only another phase of the first, and indeed Mr Phin himself modestly calls all the three, only "remarks" deducible from his reasoning upon the volume of consecratory sermons. The answer must, therefore, be similar with that offered to the previous. It is certainly as suspicious a sign of the English Church as of the Scotch. The apostate clergymen were in the ranks of the first, and none of their Scotch brethren who co-operated with them in the Jedburgh ceremonial have yet apostatized,—it is more by implication than direct proof that their accuser makes out that they are not more trusty, but only more cowardly than their friends now in Rome. And then as to *lay* renagades. We would like to be informed how many belonging to St Barnabas' or St Paul's, London, by this time ought to be set over against the two trustees of St John's and the one inhabitant of Jedburgh—how many of the laity of England against those of Scotland. Is it not true that this deplorable defection in both Churches originated in that of England,—hath found its most zealous and able abettors there, and that it is spreading till this day in it far more MANIFESTLY at least than in that of Scotland. Just as we lay down our pen to look at our newspaper handed in, one

of the first things which attracts our eye is an intimation of more "perversions" at Oxford, and no remark of wonder or sorrow is appended. The thing is too common now to call for this. It is, therefore, utterly inconsistent to call the one an "illustrious daughter of the Reformation," and the other a "Pioneer of Popery." It might have occurred to Mr Phin, that not only in the present critical position of Protestantism, but in former days, it has had as insidious foes in the one as the other,—that Bonner and Laud, the very models of Tractarianism, belonged to the Church of England, and that, therefore, he should divide his praise and his blame more equally.

But Mr Phin anticipates the answer we have been giving to his charge against Scottish Episcopacy, and goes on to shew that matters have been conducted for some years back in other places in the same style as at Jedburgh;—as was to be expected, he selects Melrose, the nearest to him. A chapel was consecrated there in 1849, "with a ceremonial similar to that previously used at Jedburgh," and a Wm. Randolph was made its parson. Mr Phin sets himself to demonstrate that this gentleman too was devoted to the "characteristic opinions and practices of the Romanising section of the English Church," and does it well. We do not imagine that Mr Phin attaches very much weight to the fact that the ceremonial of consecration was similar to that at Jedburgh, because all such ceremonials must have a good deal of resemblance. Nor do we think, that because Mr Randolph by and by advised a member of his congregation to discontinue a series of tracts of undoubted Romish tendency, (and which Mr Phin gives his readers now to know he exposed in the *Border Advertiser*), without entering into the discussion of either side, with merely saying,—"I pronounce no opinion on the Tracts or on the replies of the writer in the *Border Advertiser*,"—it would have indisputably followed, had this been all, that he was a Papist in disguise. We confess that we liked the spirit of the letter wherein that advice was conveyed, (page 18). We are told that it put an end to the issuing of the offensive tracts, and thereby it allayed a bitter controversy in the district, which it would not likely have done had it entered into the dispute, and we are by no means clear, that Mr Phin has consulted his credit for being the superior, "in instructing in meekness those that oppose themselves," by giving his rejoinder to that letter in the next page. However, Mr Phin adduces more damaging proofs of Mr Randolph's semi-popery. He appeals to his "Five Sermons for Troublesome Times," in proof that he held and taught Apostolical Succession, Baptismal Regeneration, the Communication of Grace through the Lord's Supper, irrespective of Faith, the Authority of Tradition, and the Fellowship of Prayer between the Living and the Dead, (page 23). And further, he informs us that the Episcopalians of Melrose, at length became so impatient of Mr Randolph's habiliments and ceremonies, that he resigned his incumbency.

Now, in this last mentioned fact, we find room for hope that Scottish Episcopacy is not yet lending itself so much to Popery as Mr Phin apprehends. Its professors at Melrose had a High Church clergyman, and according to Mr Phin, they have been unfortunate enough to get

another. But they did not tolerate the first very long,—is there not ground of hope, that if his successor does not take warning, especially after this arresting pamphlet from the other side of the Tweed, he too, will ere long require to seek some place where he may sap and mine with less interference.

Let us go now to the next semi-Popish Chapel. Mr Phin conducts us to no more! He intimates, indeed, that something has happened at Hawick: but because he has no documentary evidence, he is to say nothing on the subject. And there are "rumours abroad, about the change lately effected in the character of the Kelso Episcopal Chapel, in spite of the determined Protestantism evinced by a distinguished person, who was wont to be considered its chief supporter," but he is not to repeat these!

Was there ever a more inadequate induction of particulars, when the inference was to be so sweeping and so grave. There are fully six score of Episcopal Chapels in Scotland, and of these, *two* have been convicted, let us suppose of semi-Popish doctrines and practices—it is insinuated that other two are addicted to them also, and this is made one of two justifications of a published accusation, that the *whole* are "Pioneers of Popery." Surely that is making far too wholesale a use of the proverb *ex uno disce omnes.* It should be remembered too, that these two culpable chapels are comparatively new, founded by High Church partizans, and therefore not a fair specimen of the whole. Even Mr Phin allows, that in the older Chapel at Kelso there is determined Protestantism yet, and that if there be any strife to undermine it, this has been going on only since 1844,—that "it is no exaggeration to affirm that (till then) both the doctrine and the worship maintained by its ministers, were as unlike the system introduced by the Jedburgh innovators, as is the simplicity that is in Christ to Romish ritualism," (page 4).

It was not to be supposed that one so acute as Mr Phin is, would fail to perceive that the tractarian doctrines and practices of a few clergymen, and their introduction of these into their chapels with the consent, or to the discontent of their people, would not establish a charge of Popery against *all* of the same communion, and he therefore reserves by far his most formidable argument to the last. He endeavours to show that the "Church of England is wholly distinct from the Scotch Episcopal Church," (28) that while the Church of England is thoroughly Protestant, the "Scottish Episcopal Church is Romanistic to the very core," (35) and by way of making out this, he appeals to the Scottish Communion office, to passages of Romish character in the Catechisms of certain Scottish Bishops, and to passages wherein two Bishops, the Bishop of Manchester and the Bishop of Cashel, and two periodicals, the *London Standard* and the *London Record*, distinguish between the Church of England and the Scottish Episcopal Church.

We freely allow that Mr Phin hath at length grappled with his subject, instead of skirmishing around it, that he hath now adduced a *fair* argument, and as already acknowledged, not a weak one. Still we submit that when he says "the conclusion seems inevitable, that the

Scottish Episcopal Church is Romanistic to the very core," he rather jumps to the conclusion than arrives at it by steps which a Scotch Episcopalian has a right to see him observe. Let us try to show this.

The Scotch Communion Office is, as every one knows, the most vulnerable point of Scotch Episcopacy, and constitutes the great, if not the only difference between it and the Church of England. It is to it that all the four parties whom Mr Phin brings to his support direct their censure, and it is on it they found their distinction between the two churches. We have no defence of it to offer,—we agree that it is too similar in *aspect* at least to transubstantiation. But we cannot agree that Scottish Episcopacy is therefore "Romanistic to the core," or that its mission is to prepare "perverts for Rome." Candour requires us to interpose, that those Scotch Episcopalians who use that office do not allow that it teaches transubstantiation,—that as they understand it, that blasphemous dogma is not countenanced by it, and that it is but usual to permit parties accused of heresy to vindicate themselves by disowning that they use the language libelled upon in a heretical sense. If they profess that they are misunderstood, and that they really hold the orthodox doctrine, they get credit, and the charge is not persisted in. But we have a better answer to the charge that this Communion Office lays the whole Scottish Episcopal Church open to a charge of Popery. That office is not used over the whole Scottish Episcopal Church. Are there not chapels in which the Communion Office according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland is employed? Is there anything in the constitution of the Scottish Episcopal Church to prevent its use in every Chapel? We rather think that it is left to the clergyman and his vestry to choose which they please. And further, were the charge established, that every Scotch Episcopalian holds, or in consistency ought to hold, either a gross transubstantiation or in a refined way, and that therefore they are more of the Papist than Protestant, the inference might be carried further than Mr Phin intends. No one would show more generous indignation than he, were the very father of the Reformation represented as after all little better than a Papist, because he held the corporeal presence, and even went so far as to say that he would rather hold with the Pope than with Zwingli in this article.

If these remarks be pertinent, or of any force, they are equally applicable to the quotation from the Catechisms of Bishops Skinner and Innes, and also to that from Bishop Rattray's Instructions concerning the Christian Covenant, extracted from the 5th paper, Church Protestant Defence Society, (pp. 33 and 34). Those quotations respect this same doctrine of the Lord's Supper; they inculcate the view of it presented in the Scotch Communion Office. We have already said that we do not entertain that view, but we have also submitted what to us appears authority for saying that Mr Phin overstrains it, and that even accepting his own view, it does not warrant his heavy and broad accusation. And lest these quotations from the Bishops' Catechisms, should be considered as nullifying what we have advanced, we add that whatever weight their Catechisms may possess in their own diocese,

or with the High party in the Church, they are not the Catechisms which the ingenuous youths of the Scottish Episcopal Communion are required to learn in order *to confirmation*; that the Catechism prescribed for this initiatory rite is one and the same to the English and Scotch Episcopalian. We dispose in the same way of the quotations wherein Bishops Skinner and Jolly teach that it is right to pray for the saints departed, (p. 35). We appeal from their Catechisms to the authorized standard of Scottish Episcopal doctrine.

The only further testimony to the difference between the Church of England and the Scottish Episcopal which calls for notice, stands at page 30 of Mr Phin's pamphlet. "The assertion that this Church (the Scotch Episcopal) is identical with the Church of England, can only be regarded as a palpable untruth, so long as the doctrine of the Council of Trent is stereotyped in her canons and liturgy. She now appears as the resolute abettor and ally of semi-Popery in England, as the unscrupulous agitator against churches of a pure faith and practice in Scotland, and as a bold claimant of rights and privileges to which she has not a shadow of title, but which, if granted, would prove fatal to the best interests, if not to the very existence of the Church of England. In view of these undoubted facts, the Committee solemnly protest against all assimilation of the Scotch Episcopal Church with that of England, and they call on all the members of their church prayerfully to watch against and to defeat the encroachments of Northern Tractarianism." This is strong language, and from high authority. Still we remember another, which we hope will save us from the charge of presumption, though we dispute it. Mr Gladstone, in July last, when speaking to the discontinuance of the allowance of £600 annually to the Bishops of the Communion in Scotland, and to the disabilities of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, and the Episcopal Clergy of the United States of America, used these words: "It might be expected that the subjects of these prohibitions were Mormonites or professors of some hidden and unheard of religion; but such was not the case. They were, on the contrary, the members of the two religious communions with which, on questions of doctrine and discipline, the Church of England stood in the most immediate relation of agreement. They were the Protestant Episcopal communities of Scotland and of the United States, which sprang from the loins of the Church of England respectively, in the 17th and 18th centuries. . . . . To make the matter still more ridiculous, this disability was founded on no spiritual incompetency, because the spiritual competency of these persons had been fully recognized by a recent Act of Parliament, which allowed the ministers of these two communities to administer in England, with the license of a bishop, all the most sacred offices of the church. They might preach, baptize, offer prayers, celebrate the Eucharist; and if bishops, confirm and ordain, and do all things within the Episcopal functions; yet we committed the absurdity of saying that in no case should they hold a cure of souls." If Mr Phin qualify the testimony of Mr Gladstone, by saying that he is a partizan of High Churchism, we might answer, that in his quotation from the London Record, he tells us that it too is a partizan,—is the

"well-known organ of the evangelical party in the Church of England," and that Mr Gladstone is not much in the habit of allowing his particular views to mislead him as to facts. But we shall rather fortify his testimony by that of one not of the same *political* party at least. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in justifying the withdrawal of the grant, and in replying to Mr Gladstone, re-echoed his words thus:—"There was no difference between the religious tenets of the Episcopal communion in Scotland, and the Established Church in this country. Each subscribed to the Thirty-nine articles, and though there might be some difference in their liturgies, there was none in their doctrinal opinions." Remember that this unanimity of opinion was expressed by two of the best informed statesmen of the day, belonging to different sides, and in the audience most competent to correct them if wrong,—the British House of Commons,—and that no member murmured dissent. And, though not quite so much to our point, it may deserve remark in passing, that Mr Black, a representative of Voluntaryism, to his credit, passed, in the same debate, a high eulogium on the prelates and clergy of the Scottish Episcopal communion. No doubt Mr Phin appeals to the author of the annals of Scottish Episcopacy as establishing the fact that her clergy, in subscribing the Articles of the Church of England, mentally reserve the explanation of them to themselves; and in "illustration of Scotch Episcopal deference" to them, he quotes this passage from a sermon by the Rev. Mr Cheyne, of St John's, Aberdeen, before Bishop Skinner and his clergy, and published at their unanimous request: "I cannot admit that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England are our ultimate document of appeal, on the Eucharist or any other doctrine. Our appeal is from them if need be, to our Catholic liturgy, which is anterior to them in point of time, and superior in point of authority." Well, if it be true (and more proof would have been desirable) that the Scottish clergy subscribe the Articles with that mental reservation, has Mr Phin forgotten that by far the largest half of the English clergy do the same in the case of the five Articles which distinguish Arminianism from Calvinism. That though their obvious sense is Calvinistic, and was intended to be so by those who framed them, they subscribe and defend them in the Arminian. He knows also that Mr Denison recently assumed the same tone with Mr Cheyne, but that the Archbishop of Canterbury did not thereby feel himself barred from trying and condemning his views "on the Eucharist" *by these Articles.* It will be time enough to take Mr Cheyne's appeal from them to his Catholic liturgy into consideration, when he places himself in Mr Denison's position.

On the whole then, we submit that Mr Phin has by no means made out his case. He may have said enough to show his own "belief that the one church is altogether different from the other, and that there is no ground for involving them in a common censure or praise," but we do not think he has said enough to make many candid readers believe this. And we feel sure that he has not established those indiscriminating and harsh accusations which he has preferred against the Scottish Episcopal Church. We fear that neither his character for cha-

rity, impartiality, nor good reasoning will gain by this publication. Certainly we take no exception to those compliments which he carefully pays to the Church of England. We doubt whether Dr Grant, of Edinburgh, ever spoke more truly and gracefully the feeling of his Church, than when, at the meeting of the friends of the Bishop of London the other day, he said "he could never forget, in thinking of the Church of England,—and in spite of all that had recently and indiscriminately been said in regard to that church by so-called Protestant zeal,—he could never forget that it was one of the fairest churches of the Reformation, and one of the very strongest champions of the Protestant truth; and he could never forget that from her copious stores,—the productions of as great minds and intrepid champions of truth as ever any period of history had produced,—he and many others in this northern part of the kingdom had drawn to a great extent the soundest views, which, as Christians and Protestants, they entertained." We express our humble acquiescence in these generous and beauteous words as cordially as Mr Phin will do, no question. We only regret that he should not consider that those good services of the Church of England give some claim to the Scottish Episcopal Church of more tender treatment at his hand. We admit, however, that he has had some provocation; that the Scottish clergy of Roxburgh and Selkirk have not presented favourable types of their class. He has done well in combating their errors for a good while back, and this new pamphlet would not have required censure had he confined it to them. If it pass through more editions than one, he may perhaps drop the offensive and the misleading title, and content himself with the more accurate,—and also stop short when he comes to the assault on the Scottish Episcopal Church at large. We think he might then advertise it as revised and *greatly improved.*

For ourselves, we shall yet cling to the hope that Scottish Episcopacy is yet sound in the faith,—that any of its clergy who may have been pioneering the way to Popery, will henceforth fling away their tools, and stand in the ways, and see and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein. So shall they find rest to their souls, and guide their people to it with a security which shall be sadly lessened by tampering with the errors of Rome.

THE EXHIBITION OF THE ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY OF PAINTING, SCULPTURE, AND ARCHITECTURE,—1857.

The present exhibition is a decided advance upon that of last year; but how much of this may be owing to the powerful aid afforded by foreign artists it is difficult to determine. It is certain, however, that some of the most remarkable pictures are from the easels of Frenchmen. That by the late Paul Delaroche,—being Edward V., the young King of England, and Richard, Duke of York, his younger brother,

in the Tower of London,—is one of the most striking and powerful historical pictures we have seen anywhere. It fills the imagination with the melancholy history and fate of these children, and is infinitely more suggestive than anything in the rooms; nay, probably, than any picture produced by the highest names in British art. Be this as it may, both the style of feeling and method of manipulation are so different from anything Scottish, that all the French pictures stand out from the rest of the exhibition as the products of a different country and people. But though some of the works of the French artists are thus prominent, they do not overwhelm by their excellence the less pretentious efforts of the Scottish pencil. Our own artists, indeed, notwithstanding of the juxta-position of some of the highest works of the French mind, take a stand in our estimation and affections which no foreign agency could dislodge. The figure pictures of Noel Paton, George Harvey, James Drummond, John and Thomas Faed, R. S. and J. Lauder, Stewart Watson, Charles Lees, Wm. Douglas, Erskine Nicol, Alex. Green, R. T. Ross, Robt. Herdman, R. Gavin, Alex. H. Burr, Keeley Halswell, and others, when following the bent of their peculiar genius, evince capabilities equal to most subjects within the range of modern history or modern incident; but the loss is, that many of them, after they have fallen into the track of feeling and expression suitable to their powers, imagining themselves to be equal to any subject, make attempts in directions for which they are utterly unfitted. We will find in the sequel, that some of our best Landscapists too, have deviated into a false mannerism, as far removed from nature, or the true and the beautiful in art, as it is possible for artists to do.

But looking first to the works in figure composition, and going back a few years to the early efforts of some of our present artists, we cannot help feeling that not a few of them have wilfully abandoned the range of feeling and expression which they first instinctively adopted, and have had recourse to others for which they were unfitted, and are unable to express. This is not as it ought to have been. For example, Robert S. Lauder first came out as one of the best delineators of Sir Walter's more elevated and ideal characters. In this sphere he was eminently successful. It was acknowledged on all hands that his Master of Ravenswood, and numerous other productions of the same order, were marked by a power and originality only excelled by the great novelist himself. In fact, elegant and elevated expression in the middle and upper walks of life was his peculiar sphere of excellence, and he did not fail even in the historical department. Accordingly his Trial of Effie Deans, though not without its defects, was marked by some points of remarkable strength. But R. S. Lauder was not satisfied with the sphere of thought and expression which nature had chalked out for him. He must, forsooth, take up the religious sentiment of the 15th and 16th centuries, and struggle to represent Christ in all the different striking relations in which he appeared upon earth. Now, it so happens, that even the representation of Christ, by the greatest of the old masters falls infinitely short of modern ideas of him. The infinite amount of thought and production that have sprung out of the bosom of Christianity, even within the period

of a century, preclude the possibility of imparting to mere humanity that expression of superhuman benevolence and justice commensurate with the subject. The artist has not yet appeared who has accomplished this task, and the model could not easily be found, from which he could draw the mere material elements of his subject. No. 140,—The Betrayal of Christ, by R. S. Lauder, realises all the defects of this school. There is considerable power in the utter prostration of Judas, but the figure and expression of Christ himself are feeble in the extreme. Some of the subsidiary figures are well rendered, but then in them the artist has no scope for expression. In fact, this picture is more remarkable for the strength and force of its colouring than any other quality. If the aim and end of art be to instruct and elevate, this picture signally fails in it. James E. Lauder is tinged with the same tendency which has beset and made hopeless shipwreck of his brother. For many years James E. Lauder was highly successful in historical and other compositions,—but now nothing will satisfy him but the religious and supernatural, for which he does not seem much fitted by nature. Accordingly the only two pictures by him are of this description, and are more remarkable for the garishiness of their colouring than any other quality.

Another artist of mark and likelihood—we mean George Harvey—had taken up a more natural sphere in the religious department than the Lauders, viz. in his Covenanters, &c., and although this is decidedly far within the legitimate scope of art, yet we have always felt he failed to realize his subject in that perfect form we could have desired. We can remember some of his early pictures, such as the Cobbler's Stall, or a Cobbler indulging in the luxury of a snuff, in which Harvey evinced much feeling and quiet humour. But this class of subjects he has now left far behind him. In the present exhibition, however, we have two pictures by him, marked by peculiar excellence,—one is a Landscape, in which he manifests a fine feeling for nature; the other, "John Bunyan selling tape and stay laces at the door of Bedford Jail," is distinguished by much power, and true and deep feeling.

Noel Paton, who has devoted much of his artistic skill to the illustration of merely fanciful and ideal subjects, has latterly evinced great power in the range of the real. Accordingly, his picture of "Home, or the Return from the Crimea," recently exhibited in Prince's Street, unfolded his great powers in the delineation of the affections, in which it was little surmised he would ever excel. It was, in its own way, one of the most powerful pictures recently produced by the Scottish pencil. His picture of "Hesperus," in the present exhibition, though silvery, and, in some respects, forcible in colour and feeling, has no hold on the affections. It is merely a piece of simple and playful sentiment artistically manipulated; still underlying it there is something fine and poetical. Of two pictures by Drummond, the better is "Homeward," which is marked by a fine historical sense. This year Erskine Nicol, in addition to his usual array of Irish humour, exhibits the Irish character in a new phase, *i.e.* their religious relation. The representation of a group of Irish peasants prostrate before a large

stone cross, at once unfolds the form and character of their religion, and is a key to one portion of the Irish character. R. Gavin exhibits a fine piece of colour and feeling in "Phoebe Mayflower,"—R. T. Ross, his usual simplicity of feeling in the "Young Artist,"—R. Herdman, his characteristic sense for the ideal and beautiful in a great variety of subjects. Alexander Burr has all at once taken a high place among our young artists by the production of his "Politicians," being a group of children playfully imitating their elders in perusing the newspapers, while an old woman is peeping in at the door. We had almost omitted in our haste to notice two admirable pictures by William Douglas, viz., "The Alchemist," and "The Messenger of Evil Tidings." Both indeed are beyond all praise for colour, feeling, and expression. Stewart Watson exhibits a sweet and pleasing effect in his "Swedish Peasant Girl." Next comes Keeley Halswell, whose "Bridge of Sighs" expresses much more than at first glance meets the eye, for, on examination, it is the representation of the death of one of those poor unfortunates whose melancholy fate moves the sympathies even of the surrounding policemen, and is certainly calculated to touch the sternest heart. This, and his other pictures, give much promise of future excellence. And last, but not least, we have "A Highland Ejectment," by Alexander Green, pourtraying, with much power and feeling, all the points calculated to illustrate this painful, though too true class of events. All these latter artists appear to choose subjects which they are peculiarly well fitted to pourtray.

Glass and Gourlay Steel have their usual assortment of truthful representations of our domestic animals, always a pleasing and interesting subject.

But our landscapists occupy their own share of room in our exhibition,—and if the infinitely diversified characteristics of Scottish scenery be taken into account, of the two departments of art it is probably the more subtle and difficult. At all events, to represent it truly requires genius of a high and peculiar order. Of all our landscape exhibitors Maculloch is the most vigorous, manly, and truthful. He looks at nature through the eyes of no other artist. He examines her for himself, with an acute and far-seeing intelligence, and delineates her with a power quite commensurate with the clearness of his vision. Like our national poet Burns, if he does not give the most ideal representations of nature, they are at least the most truthful, correct, and vigorous. We admire certain features in one and all of his present pictures. We especially like the middle and remote distance in No. 158, "Summer-day in Skye—View of the Cullin Mountains,"—and No. 316, "Mill on the River Irvine, Ayrshire," is so full of sweetness and quietude, that we could not help being arrested by its power. The landscapes by D. O. Hill, though possessing a certain clearness and silveriness of colouring, are deficient in force. They have about them many elements of excellence, though they are wanting in firmness and decision of handling. His works indeed have a certain refinement and sweetness of feeling peculiar to themselves.

Crawford has his usual complement of pleasing and picturesque

landscape and sea views. Samuel Bough has made the largest stride in the direction of excellence of any Scottish exhibitor. Before, we may justly say, that he had not arrived at his ultimate conclusions in art, for he has now so far excelled his pictures of last year, that they actually appear like the productions of a different mind. His pictures in the present exhibition evince less effort,—are less theatrical. In fact both his landscape and river scenes are distinguished by so much truthfulness, simplicity, and feeling, that they at once satisfy the imagination and the reason. The air and water and shipping in his "Port of London," appears to be as perfect as art could make it.

John Houston has evinced equal powers in the treatment of figure composition and landscape. Of late he has chiefly confined himself to the latter, in which he has manifested decided excellence. He delineates some of the picturesque aspects of nature with great force and feeling. Several of our young artists continue to improve. Clark shews considerable advance on last year. He is superior in harmony of colouring, clearness, and decision. Alexander Fraser exhibits several excellent specimens marked by his characteristic force. Edward Hargitt has departed from his original simplicity and truthfulness of colouring. Some of his pictures are garish and theatrical in the extreme. Waller Paton, with a fine pencil for landscape, has fallen into a purple tone of colouring that is as remote from nature as the poles asunder. We cannot help admiring, however, his untiring efforts in always unfolding an expansive view of his subject. Several English landscapists exhibit, and are distinguished by much truthfulness and feeling.

There is as usual the ordinary complement of portraits and busts. The portraits by Sir John Watson Gordon, John Graham Gilbert, Daniel M'Nee, and Colvin Smith, are marked by their characteristic excellencies. The busts are comparatively few, and the fancy subjects in marble still fewer, but on the whole, viewed even as a mere Scottish exhibition, the *toute ensemble* shews an improvement, which, while it delights us in the present, argues more for the future.

With so many pictures by French artists in the rooms, it may not be inappropriate to throw out a few observations on the present occasion, on the wide difference between French and British art. For nineteen centuries, the people of Gaul or France have been under the influence of a larger amount of civilising agencies, than any other people of Europe, and if we are to believe the commentaries of Julius Caesar, they were, even in his time, peculiarly adapted for being affected by such influences. In this land, moreover, Christianity was first planted by the Apostles themselves, and its growth and rapid spread strikingly bespoke the fact that the mere elements of civilization had long preceded it. The comprehensive idea of law, physical, moral, and intellectual, which Christianity first impressed, found a ready outlet and realization both in the useful and ornamental arts in France, for large ideas cannot have long place in the human mind, irrespective of their application to useful purposes. Accordingly, in the larger towns of Gaul, all the useful arts of life grew up and unfolded themselves commensurately with the natural intelligence of the people.

At an early period indeed, the French mind had been trained into a clear knowledge of all the physical and mechanical laws, applicable to all practical and everyday operations. Hence it is that to the present hour, the French preserve their ideas of completeness and perfectability in every article they produce and manufacture. Every thing they do is in conformity with a large form of civilization, which the coarser, more materialistic, and empirical mind of Britain cannot understand. Hence it is, that even in their commonest manufactures, such as shoes, gloves, clothes, &c., they evince a completeness which our artizans cannot approach. Everything they do is more in harmony with a larger and more perfect idea,—their gloves better fit the human hand, their shoes the human foot, and their dresses the human body, because they had previously made themselves perfectly familiar with these structures, as well as the laws that regulated or affected them. The same holds true of every production of the French mind, from these trifling articles to the loftiest and most complicated structures in France. Now, bringing this state of things to bear upon art, it naturally follows that their productions in every department of invention will participate of the same superiority emanating as they do from minds deeply imbued with a larger and higher civilization. Hence, in almost all the French pictures, there is the representation of a larger and deeper form of thought and feeling, than is given by any of the British school. The feeling unfolded in the features and attitudes of the children in the Tower of London, tell their story with a power and pathos that is evinced by no other picture in the rooms—nay, which is shewn by no picture of the British School. The picture too, of "Christ in the Garden," by Ary Schoeffer, possesses the same characteristic. Both artists have chiefly in view to unfold the soul and deeper meaning of their subjects. No garishness of colour or effect can seduce them from their main design. These pictures, indeed, stand out in striking contrast to the productions of the Lauders and all of the same fantastic and theatrical school. The other French pictures have about them a completeness of thought and idea, which our best artists fail to realise. Many of our artists may be superior colourists or more notable draftsmen, but one and all of them are far inferior to the French in realising the truth and real feeling of their subjects. But space precludes us from saying more.

LITERARY NOTICE.

Letter to the Rev. James Veitch, D.D., upon the Title Page of his recent Pamphlet. By JOHN LOWIS, Esq. of Plean. Edinburgh: Myles Macphail.

WE are glad to find that Dr Veitch's pamphlet has called forth a rejoinder from one, whose official position in India claims for his opinions the greatest weight. As member of the Supreme Council of India, and Chairman of the Church of Scotland's Mission Board in Calcutta, Mr Lowis forms a link between the Church and the Indian government,—and no one is better entitled to hold the balance evenly between them. It is a happy idea to deal only with the title-page, for this enables the writer to make short work of the pamphlet itself. The title-page contains the gist of the pamphlet, and

the body of it is only an expansive, or rather, a weak dilutive. The points adverted to are, *first*, the *suggestio falsi*, as Mr Lowis terms it, in the statement of the question, and, *secondly*, the motto which illustrates the sad travesty of the Sacred Scriptures running through every page. We regret much that any minister of the Church should subject himself to the calm, dignified, Christian-like rebuke, of one who, occupying the highest position in the Church and the State, has rendered such eminent service to the cause of Christian Missions in the East. The practical mind of Mr Lowis has enabled him to put the whole question in the clearest light, and in the breifest compass. It is certainly a great relief, to turn from the cloud of misconception and wrath in which Dr Veitch has enveloped the subject, to the bright daylight which Mr Lowis has let in upon it. He has clearly shewn that the Indian dispatch is the exact concession which the missionaries, and all interested in the evangelization of the East, had been long struggling to obtain. The missionary institution had long lain under grievous disabilities. The students had been shut out from those privileges which the government schools had enjoyed. Though qualified by a high standard of education, yet they were denied access to those high positions of emolument and influence where they might most effectually advance the interests of Christ's kingdom. The rulers of India at last saw the justice of the claim, and, embued with a better spirit, agreed to the *affiliation* of these institutions, or, in other words, to the removal of the disabilities under which they laboured. When this great barrier to the triumphs of the gospel was removed, the universal feeling amongst the friends of Christain missions in India, was, "This is the Lord's doing, it is wondrous in our eyes." We can well conceive their astonishment, when it was announced, that this great triumph was received at home, not only with coldness, but with active opposition; and that the opposition came, not from the open enemies of Christianity, but from men bound by the most solemn vows to proclaim Christ to the heathen, instead of abandoning them to a purely secular system of education. We are glad to find, from the tone of Mr Lowis's letter, that the many devout laymen in India, labouring for the spiritual welfare of its perishing millions, are not likely to be disheartened by such treatment. We trust that they will be refreshed and cheered on in this great work, by the hearty God-speed so emphatically pronounced by the last General Assembly. The letter deserves the widest circulation among the ministers and laity of the Church.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Whitehall, February 13.—The Queen has been pleased to present the Rev. James Gunn to the church and parish of Uig, in the presbytery of Lewis, and county of Ross, vacant by the death of the Rev. David Watson, late minister thereof.

Presentation.—The Earl of Haddington has presented the Rev. William Paul, M.A., to the united parishes of Whitekirk and Tynninghame, vacant by the death of the Rev. James Lang.

Ordination at Belford, Northumberland.—On Wednesday last the Presbytery of the North of England met at Belford, and ordained the Rev. John Ellis Rae, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to the pastoral charge of the Scotch Church there.

Parish of Abbotshall.—We understand that the Rev. John Duncan, lately assistant to the Rev. Mr Blaikie, has been almost unanimously recommended by the people to the patron as assistant and successor in the parish of Abbotshall.

Some correspondence between the Earl of Leven and Melville, and the Rev. Messrs Leitch (Monimail) and Williamson (Colessie), with the Privy Council, has resulted in the removal of the present restriction in reference to the holding of the office of heritors' clerk by schoolmasters in the receipt of Privy Council grants.

Died, at 132 Hill Street, Garnet Hill, Glasgow, on the 1st ult., in the 75th year of his age, and the 54th of his ministry, the Rev. John Muir, D.D., minister of St James' Parish, Glasgow.

MACPHAIL'S

EDINBURGH ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL.

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INDIA:—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

(*Continued from page* 81.)

In drawing, so far as we have yet done, in our truly erratic rambles over ancient India, for our illustrations of the progress of the Hindus in the arts and sciences, we have to acknowledge ourselves deeply indebted to works, that have emanated from the *alumni* of the now doomed and devoted College of Hayleibury; and we venture to hazard a doubt, if all the cramming Schools of England, now called on, under Mr Macaulay's celebrated Minute, to supply the ranks of the Civil Service, will easily produce abler men to conduct the judicial and other departments of the public service in India, than the distinguished scholars, who amidst all their official duties, have so eminently contributed to the stores of our Oriental knowledge. In acknowledging our obligations, and taking leave of some of our guides in the more strictly called literary and scientific fields of research, we cannot do otherwise than ask from our readers the benefit of a "de mortuis" for the old and once so much coveted College of Hertford. They will, we are persuaded, join us in expressing a wish, that the new system of filling up the ranks of the civil service in India may prove equally successful as the old, in sending out tide after tide of public servants, to play their part of Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors in India, clad in that panoply of high principle and honourable bearing, which have so long been the pride of England's well-bred sons, and which surround the names and memories of such men as Colebrook, Elphinstone, Metcalf, Ellis, and Thomason. If the aspirants after civil office in India, now called into the field from a wider, and what is no doubt regarded as a more

promising range than the so much decried nepotism of the India House, do not sympathize in this wish, let them bear with us of the old school in telling them, that they may chance themselves to lack a qualification for offices in India, to which in the day of competition at home they may be called, for which no merely literary or intellectual attainments may be able to compensate, when the day of trial arrives abroad; and India at least may have no cause to rejoice, under the rule of such Judges and Magistrates, that the doors of Hayleibury should have been shut.—But, "revenons a nos moutons."

The MIMANSA, or section of Theology, properly so called, presents, as might have been expected among such a people as the Hindus, features of no ordinary interest, demanding the most especial attention of those, who are now going forth to guide them to a purer and a better faith. We have already referred to the *Mahabharat*, in illustration of what may be called the heroic life and manners of these early times; and in that gigantic record, not only of the military exploits, but also of the literary, the philosophical, and the religious wars of ancient India, we shall find presented to us very antagonistic theories, as to the origin of the world and the nature of God and the human soul—sketched it may be thought as much by the poet as by the theologian, but not the less curious and interesting. When the wars of the *Mahabharat* are carried into the intellectual and theological arena, it is a combat between the *Vedanta* and the *Sidhanta*—the *traditional*, and the *rationalistic* "tendencies"—as we would now a days call them,—of the theo-philosophy of these early times. In the contest which in those days arose in the religious world of India, *Superstition* came to be pitted against an antagonist of the same family, but more powerful than it was itself, and if possible still more destructive of the peace and happiness of mankind. A cunning priesthood had succeeded in peopling heaven with a vast array of "gods," hiding from human view the great Supreme Being himself, or confining all knowledge of his nature and attributes to a select few; but there now arose an order, which drew down these gods to earth itself to dwell among, and to domineer over men of all castes and ranks: *Fanaticism* took full possession of the stage; and in the shape of the *Sunyuasi* or *Faquir*,—the prototype, as we have seen, of the Monk of the Christian world—ruled it over the highest born Brahmin. The very nature of their vocation forbade that the ascetics should usurp or exercise that secular authority, which it was doubtless the great object of the priesthood to attain; but in a sphere of action all the more flattering to their pride, that it was wide enough to embrace all within its compass, they held the most paramount and despotic sway; and the more that they set at defiance all allegiance to the humanities of our nature or the decencies of life; the more hideous and disgusting they could render their bodies; the more cruel and revolting the penances and provocations they could undergo, so much the more successfully did they trade upon the fears and trample on the reason of their deluded votaries. When the tyranny and oppression of a reigning Rajah became too intolerable to be any longer submitted to, the insurrection against his authority was headed by a "holy man;" but it was under something more than a

merely divine commission to a mortal agent that the political reformer among the Hindus went about his work. It was a "god incarnate" who took the task into his hands; and his failure, as of course fail he frequently did, did not always destroy faith in his pretensions, or afford security against a repetition of the fraud. When he pretended that he was himself invulnerable, and could clothe his followers in the same impenetrable armour, they believed implicitly in his declaration; and if they fell in crowds around him, his claims as an emanation from some divinity were not thereby invalidated; the result only proved that they who died in the cause, had dared to enter on that cause before they were prepared by holy lives to participate in its immunities. The days of a fanaticism so degrading to the human intellect, yet once so prevalent over India, are not yet perhaps altogether numbered; but under the rule of a Christian and enlightened power like England, the Faquir now finds it difficult to swell his ranks; and even the wretched devotee,—who seeks a saintly distinction by perpetrating the cruelties of the *Churruck Poojah* or "swinging festival," so well known to all who have lived in Calcutta—is becoming ashamed of his vocation, as he is more and more losing the sympathies and the plaudits of his countrymen.

We are accustomed to speak of "the gods" of the Hindus, and to count them bythousands; and to whom their own books give names, qualities, and functions, each distinct from another. But our language, perhaps, requires a modification which is but seldom kept in view, and a limitation, which, in justice, is due to the Hindu creed. The distance between "the gods" as they are called—such as *Brahma Vishnu* and *Siva* themselves, and the Great Supreme Self Existent Being, is declared in that creed to be so great, as to extend to the infinite; and to this "Being" the fountain and source of all existence, neither weakness nor imperfection,—neither desire nor decay are ascribable. Herein indeed is the error of the Hindu theology, that the only object of adoration worthy of man, or able to guide him to virtue and happiness, is regarded by it as too exalted and too perfect, and too ineffably happy in himself, to be known by such a creature as man; and the objects which it sets up, as able to satisfy the religious cravings of human nature, are just what a crafty and cunning priesthood may chuse for its own selfish purposes to call upon the stage. They are in fact, just another priesthood in heaven, above the priesthood on earth; through whose ministrations the great self-existent Being may be more nearly approached, but never reached, until the worshipper is absorbed into the essence of the object worshipped. The "gods" of the Brahminical and Buddhaic faiths are just the prototypes of the Saints of the Popish calendar.

The doctrine of "periods," and "æras," and "developments" in the creation, destruction, and renovation of the world and its inhabitants, was not unknown to the Hindus; and *Bodhayanah*, one of the orthodox polemics of the *Mahabharat*, enlightens us on these dogmata as luminously at least, as in after ages has *Sonchoniathon* among the Phenicians, *Aristophanes* among the Greeks, or the author of "*The Vestiges* of *Creation*" among the English divines. Let our readers listen for a moment to the Hindu sage, when he dives into the deep things of "the

beginning," and say—such of them, as are learned enough in the classics: to undertake the office of umpires, if *Bodhayanah* does not at least divide the palm of victory; if indeed the Hindu philosopher, when, like the Greek, he points to a primeval chaos from which Love created all things, does not soar into a sublimer region, than do his rivals and his copyists. The Hindu sage represents the Spirit of God, as involved in himself and acted on by no extraneous objects, moving upon the face of the waters, and out of nothing, save pure love, calling the world into existence,—

> "Love! holy love! the great primeval cause
> Of all celestial universal power!
> 'Twas he who first the jarring atoms charmed,
> And soothed them into rest; he spoke, and lo!
> The utmost regions of disordered chaos
> Re-echoed; and the soothing strain obeyed;
> Discord and horror listened to his voice—
> The uproar ceased: peace spread her dovelike wings,
> And all the warring elements were joined
> In bands of unison and sweet concord.
> His fragrant breath breathed through the sterile waste,
> And every rock with animation teemed.
> Luxurious and green the sands burst forth
> With herbage; and the barren waters swarmed
> With living myriads and with countless forms."

It will be found, amidst all the darkness that broods over the theological speculations of the Hindus, when they attempt to be wise above what has been revealed to men, that there is interspersed the glimmering of a light, which, as providence is opening up to them the path that can alone lead them to the truth—must arrest, as it demands the attention of those who are now going forth to enlighten the natives of India, and to bring them to a purer creed, not less than a more rational philosophy. The *Vedanta*, which treats of the nature of God and man, has the strongest claims alike on the "schoolmaster" and the "missionary," and notwithstanding the forbidding aspects in which the particular chapter in Hindu theology has been presented, its perusal may perhaps more richly reward research, than is generally believed. It appears neither the most fair nor the most philosophical course to open our eyes only to what is glaringly perverted, erroneous and absurd in the creed of Brahminism; and to shut them against dogmata, if any such there be in this creed, that may have to some extent escaped the early inroads of superstition on the domains of *natural religion;* and may claim and command the belief of the Christian himself. One thing stands prominently forward in the history of religion found within the realms of Brahma. The relation of the *finite* spirit of *man*, to the *Infinite* Spirit of God, and the destination of the soul to the enjoyment of an unbounded good, or the sufferings of an unbounded evil in a future world, lie at its root; and a belief in these doctrines whether *intuitive*, bestowed by *revelation*, or supplied by *education*,—once instilled into a nation, and it is but a step and an easy one, by which the priest may rise above the prince. Every thing touching on the temporal happiness

of man, was among the Hindus easily rendered secondary and subordinate to what regarded his eternal destiny; and the chain of reasoning could not be broken, which conducts to the conclusion, that to gain the whole world and lose his own soul, was the greatest folly and sin that man could commit. It was only overlooked by the Brahmins of these days as by the misled and corrupt teachers of a purer and a better faith in after ages, inculcating in truth the same doctrine, when they also taught their disciples to escape from the busy haunts of the world, and to court the desert and the monastery, that as the duties are the substantial elements in the religion of common life, so are the enjoyments of heaven dependent on their performance, as the only divinely appointed road to felicity.

Under the tares, with which the field of Hindu theology is so grievously overspread—by which, in truth, it has been so thoroughly overpowered,—there may still lurk the seeds of a faith which, teaching the Being—the Unity—the Spirituality—and the Supremacy of the One God—the responsibility of man to his Maker for all his actions—and the existence of a world of retribution in which virtue shall receive its reward, and vice its punishment, bears evidence not to be hastily rejected, of its having sprung from the first REVELATION made to mankind; and amids terrors and darkness the most deplorable may, perhaps, be discovered, glimmerings of the *truths* made known by *Moses* to the more favoured children of Israel. Many who are strangers to the people whom we are now essaying to instruct and convert to our faith, will perhaps be surprised to learn what this people were once taught,—what their sacred books still teach them,—of the origin and fall of the human race. According to these oracles, man when he came all perfect and innocent from the hands of his Creator, was placed by him in a garden abounding with the most tempting and delicious fruit, but containing a tree of which alone he was forbidden to eat. The Serpent tempted him; he fell; forfeited his happiness and innocence; and was sent forth to fulfil the painful and laborious destinies and duties of his fallen state. Another and a more general plunge into the rebellion and wickedness by the family of Adam after they had multiplied on the face of the earth, brought down a sweeping judgment; and from the *Deluge*, which overwhelmed the guilty race, the second progenitor of mankind was alone preserved in the ark, which floated in safety with him and his family over the ruins of a guilty world[1]. So runs the Hindu legend: and had the Brahminical and Buddha sages contented themselves, as did the Jewish, in teaching the Unity, the Spirituality, and the sole Supremacy of Jehovah—admitting no rival to share the honour due to HIM alone, or to intercept the eyes of the worshippers from the only object of adoration, can we take it upon us to affirm that the Institutes of Menu, so far as we have seen that they teach these great and fundamental doctrines, relating to God and man, may not be appealed to, as records of the primeval truth, by the preacher of Christianity, when he comes to make known to those who now receive Shasters with all their gross and erroneous errors, as the rule of their faith the purified and perfect revelation of the will of God? When these

[1] Oriental Magazine.

teachers of the Hindus strove—as alas! they soon did—to be wise above the means, and the measures of intelligence given to man, they only wandered more and more into the mazes of ignorance, idolatry, and error; those melancholy aberrations from the "knowledge of God" and his acceptable worship, from which the "foolishness of preaching" by the apostles of the Cross can alone deliver them.

But if we are called upon—and we are not unwilling—to acknowledge, that the Hindu sages may have had vouchsafed to them a faint glimmering of the truths of religion, how widely do they wander from its sublime simplicity when they strive to explain what it is not given to the human powers to comprehend; and when they cease to feel and in all humility to acknowledge that here we "see through a glass darkly," and would with impious and sacrilegious hand up-lift the veil, not yet to be "rent in twain." But once launched on the *mare magnum* that lay before them, dogmata, the most absurd and irrational, degenerating into practices the most dishonouring to God, and degrading to, and unworthy of man, were the inevitable consequences. These dogmata were embodied in what are called the sacred books of the Hindus, ramifying into and pervading not more the *religious* then the *secular* department of life and manners; if, indeed, a distinction between these could by this time be drawn, or if rightly understood ought at any time to be admitted. Religion among the Hindus has buried the active duties of common life under the mere rubbish of the most senseless, frequently the most immoral, sensual, and cruel ceremonies, how much miscalled *religion!* and of a truth might be applied to them the rebuke of the apostle, "Verily I perceive that in all things ye are too religious." And now when these stores of miscalled "wisdom" are at length unlocked by the labours of orientalists, and compared with all that in after ages has led astray to the Greeks and Christians, how vividly is brought home to us the truth of the wise man's saying, that "verily there is nothing new under the sun." The terminus to which all these aberrations conducted at an early period in the history of our race, was, faith in the original and final identity of the *Creator* and the *creature*,—a dogma however erroneous and subversive of all sound philosophy and true religion, at once of the most wide spread prevalence; pervading, as has been well remarked, the philosophy of Pythagoras, by whom it was borrowed from India; received by the Jewish Cabala; adopted by the Christian gnostics; and now about to be siezed on by the pantheists of modern Germany as a discovery in Theology, the property, as much as the railway and the telegraph, of the 19th century of the Christian era!

But the *Sydhanta* philosophy can not only boast of such an antiquity as might procure for it a greater respect than it otherwise deserves; but there is something in it so congenial to the metaphysical appetite, that is now abroad among some of our own divines wandering among the "tendencies," the "objectives," and the "subjectives" of the science of "knowing and being," that we should almost be afraid, were we even able to expose it fully to view, lest finding its way across the Forth, it should corrupt our most ancient seat of learning, as it did many centuries ago the no less learned schools of Alexandria.

Questions have been raised among Orientalists on the claims to priority, respectively of the *Brahminical, Buddhaic,* and *Jainist* creeds—claims, which, carrying us so far back into the depths and darkness of history, it were not very easy to settle in any satisfactory manner. While some who have made the matter a subject of the most laborious research, regard the *Jainist* faith as the earliest departure from the Revelation originally made to mankind, and the creed of Brahma as the last and permanent triumph of idolatry and superstition; others assign to the still established religion the foremost place in the annals of Schism, and regard the other creeds as offshoots flourishing for a time, but at last, in the land of their birth, waning before that of *Vishnu* and *Seva.* The most generally received opinion among Oriental scholars is, that the established creed of Brahma, after maintaining itself for many ages undisturbed by Schismatics, was at length, some centuries before the Christian era, assailed by SAKHYA MUNI the MARTIN LUTHER of these days, when there occurred a REFORMATION the most gigantic and wonderful in the ecclesiastical annals of the world,—a heresy, as it was no doubt esteemed by the orthodox, branching out, and although unable to maintain its ground in the land of its birth, still holding sway over Tartary, China, Japan, and the numerous islands of the Malay archipelago. The Hindu reformer, like the monk of the western world, had become disgusted, we are told, with the vices and tyranny of the priesthood; and it is added, that the affronts which he had personally received at the hands of the proud and haughty order, served not a little to stimulate his zeal, and to invigorate his attempts to subvert their power. SAKHYA MUNI taught his Buddha and Jainist followers to address—every man for himself—his prayers and supplications to God, through men who were once like themselves, sinning and guilty inhabitants of the earth; but who from the singular piety and worth, at length achieved by them, had been translated to a state of superior bliss. So early in the history of the world had "*The Invocation of the Saints,*" flourishing at the present day over Roman Catholic Christendom, found a place in its worship! "Such beings as objects of adoration might obviously be approached without the complicated machinery of the altar, the sacrifice, and the consecrated order; and the genuine Buddhist and Jain sought not to bring them to their recollection by any other means, than a natural representation of them in the human form and posture, sitting placid and contented in the contemplation of the GREAT ONE.[1]" The orthodox tenet of *Vishnu's* Incarnation found no favour with these seceders. They also discharged all belief in the *Veds* as of divine origin and authority; and while at the same time they had their own *Puranas* or Sacred Book, they did not teach that they were to be received as *infallible* guides to truth, but merely as writings well worthy of being regarded as instructors in virtue and holiness. The Jainist sect of the Buddha Schismatics have their *Thirkantharas,* or holy men, of whom they now reckon 24, raised to the rank of *heavenly beings* by their virtues, and commissioned as their reward to revisit the earth from time to time as the regenerators of mankind. The spots from which these

[1] Bryce's Native Education in India, Macphail's Magazine, Nos. lxxviii. and lxxx.

Thirkantharas have taken their last flight to heaven, are esteemed peculiarly holy; and there is certainly something natural in the idea, that mortals gradually rising to heaven by contemplation on the Deity, should take their last leave of earth from the loftiest pinnacles which it presents. There is something of the very poetry of devotion, that the print of their last footsteps, as they loosen their hold on earth, should be regarded with peculiar awe and reverence. Here the Jain temples, like those of Aboo and Parsanath, are built, and they are distinguished for a neatness and a cleanliness altogether unknown to the Brahmin pagodas. —Says a traveller who has visited these holy places—until lately almost unknown to Europeans, "nothing can surpass the beauty of sculpture, the richness of tracery and the liveliness of many of the innumerable figures found on the walls and pillars of their Fanes, where *Adinath* and his fellow *Thirkantharas* sit cushioned and enthroned." It is a fact less noticed perhaps than it ought to be, that while the temples of the established creed are crumbling into ruins in many parts of India, once esteemed the most devout and holy, and no pious devotee appears to care about their sustentation, those of the Jainist sect are enriched from time to time by the gifts of the pilgrims visiting them; of whom many are to be found among the wealthy *Mahujuns* or bankers of Benares, Moorshadabad, Gualior, and other places. Since the rule of the Company has given peace and security to all ranks and classes in India, and *toleration* in its widest sense has become the principle and rule of public policy, the number of pilgrims, that yearly visit these remote and almost inaccessible temples, has greatly increased. At these times Abu teems with living beings, each engaged in individual acts of the profoundest adoration, how woefully mistaken, indeed! yet how elevated above the cruel and sanguinary rites of *Juggernauth's* worship, or *Doorgahs* immoral and debasing practices! The solitudes in which the Jainist ritual delights, have now, indeed, been invaded by the Christian lords of the country. A Sanaterium is rising around the modest but beautiful shrines of Aboo. The prayers and the praises of the Christian temple may by this time be breaking the impressive silence, that has so long reigned within them; and the missionary of the Cross is peradventure at this moment preaching the glad tidings of salvation from under their hitherto silent porticos.

After the very brief and imperfect outline which we have given of the Buddhist and Jaina Reformations, we need scarcely add that the faith of India, as purified by them, was still contaminated by errors subversive of all the *duties*, and consequently destructive of all the *happiness* of man in a social and civilized state; errors lying at the root of the orthodox creed itself, and which *Buddha* came not so much to overthrow, as to disturb—peradventure to foster and strengthen—and which the apostle of the Cross of Christ alone can put to flight. The groundwork of the Brahminical and Buddhaic faith is that "*God is all*," and "*All is God*," and the corollaries flowing from this proposition, surely require no illustration. Of all doctrines imaginable, that of Hindu *muckti* or *absorption*, to which the faith conducts, is the most utterly subversive of all the foundations, on which rest the religious feelings and

the moral duties of man, that arise out of these feelings. *Muckti* or *absorption* is necessarily loss of individual existence; for if to "know God" is to be absorbed in his essence, knowledge and the cessation of individual existence is one and the same thing. Every thing like responsibility for our actions, good or bad, is consigned to the winds; and a future state of rewards or punishments is blotted out from among the articles of faith, or the motives to a life of purity and virtue. But while on the subject, and looking back—how cursorily we need not remark—to ages long prior to the Christian era, we may be permitted, as we are strongly impelled, to refer to a writer who has given us a summary of Hindu divinity, that may perhaps the more strongly arrest attention, that it may throw light on dogmata, to which, strange to say, the metaphysical mania, now again so characteristic of the present age, is giving an interest to which certainly in themselves they are little entitled. "So long," says this writer, summing up the the Hindu dogmata, "as man is destitute of 'consciousness' he is incapable of evil, or of wandering from God; for he forms a part of the Deity. When he becomes conscious of a separate and individual existence, the very act is sin, and separation from God; and is only to be expiated by a long period of devout contemplation, and total forgetfulness of all those objects, to which individual consciousness introduced him; and man at length returns into the divine essence, and carrying into it the individual consciousness that first seduced him, he is conducted to the highest state of happiness, of which his nature is capable—he is now conscious of being part of the divinity."

Another corollary flowing from the doctrine of *absorption*, and fraught with the most pernicious consequences when followed out into the duties and business of life is, that so long as man knows not God, he exists separately for himself; but all around him which he imagines to be *reality* is in truth *delusion*—induced by worldly blindedness, sensual and carnal propensities, and the existing imperfections of his nature and faculties. These are purged and purified, as he passes through various states of being on his way to knowledge of God, until at length he arrives at this knowledge, that is, is absorbed into the Deity. It is amusing, and it may prove instructive, to compare these doctrines of "the olden time," with what are now esteemed by our modern metaphysicians, as discoveries in the "Philosophy of Consciousness." According to them, man's *conscious existence* is an act put forth against his *given existence*—an antagonistic state of being. It is not, we are told, *derivative*, but *original* and *primary*: it *opposes* and *resists*, and we are to infer, ultimately swallows up every thing in man, which is *given*, *passive*, *natural*, or *born*. The activity put forth out of man's *given* or *natural* existence, is not *activity* at all, but *passivity*. Not being originated at all by the creature, who apparently exerts it, every particle of it falls to be refunded back out of this creature into the source from which it really comes. Can we fail to perceive from what source all this "wisdom" such as it is, has been borrowed? The sketch, which we have now given, however imperfect, of the *Mimansa* or *Theology* of the Hindus, may perhaps assist us in the discovery, and

may lead us to strip the rationalistic and pantheistic laurels from the brows of *Hegel* and *Strauss*, as at least any thing more than borrowed plumes.

The BHAGHAVAT GITA, an episode, or as it has been called by some, a metaphysical excresence on the *Mahabharat*, the great epic poem of the Hindus, demands our special attention, when we enter the field of Hindu theology. It is a lecture on this branch of science, not indeed delivered within the Divinity Hall of any University by a learned and reverend professor to earnest and attentive students, but communicated by CHRISHNU himself to *Arjuna*, amidst the din of the battle field, and during a brief suspension of hostilities between the *Pandu* and the *Curu* armies. From this lecture or commentary on the *Vedas* and *Puranas*, as by this time they had come to be interpreted by various discordant schools, we gather that the vulgar orthodox faith had come to diverge into a twofold path; which, marshalling its followers, each as it separated from the other, under the antagonism of FAITH and *Works*, as the true roads to happiness, may afford a clue through not a few of the labyrinths of this the most remarkable structure of human belief, that was ever reared. The votaries of the *Vedanta* creed sought for supreme felicity, or what, with them, was an equivalent term—*knowledge of God*, the universal Spirit, by abstract and secluded contemplation. They did not prohibit *works*, *i.e.* sacrifices, acts of moral virtue and penances; but they only countenanced them, so far as they prepared the soul for knowledge and purification, and ultimate absorption: and they strictly forbade them as criminal, if gone about with desire, with views of temporal advantage, or in the belief, that they possessed any intrinsic virtue in working out final felicity. "They were to be regarded," says one of the *Puranas* or commentaries, the *Brahma Sutra*, "as a steed to convey the traveller to his home." But as might have been expected, under the natural tendency of human nature to enthusiasm, the period of reaching that home was attempted to be accelerated; works of any kind, even the performance of the three great duties, were held as altogether unworthy of attention; and perhaps only the more so, that full vigour to discharge the social obligations of caste remained unimpaired; and the active duties of common life gave way to ascetic contemplation, while the current of human passions and desires continued to run in all its violence, and the blood yet boiled in the veins of the pretended recluse from the world and all its follies.

The fruits of these fanatical errors on social happiness and good order, appear to have been felt before the era of the *Mahabharat*, and *Krishnu* denounces as followers of a demonaical faith, those who are filled with pride and hypocrisy; who perform horrid penance undirected by the ritual, and characterized by violence, passion and desire. He tells *Arjuna*, "Such men are fools who torment the aggregated elementary essence of the body, and ME who am present in it; who put their faith in fiends." A sort of compromise between the contending sects would appear to have been attempted. The discharge of social duties was insisted on—indifference to the results was all that was stipulated for; and man was to adore as Epicurus worshipped, "nulla spe nullo pretio abductus." The *Pur-*

anas soon however went farther than this in their construction of the orthodox oracles of faith, the VEDAS. They made faith in CHRISHNU sufficient in itself for emancipation:—"I am such, says KRISHNU to *Arjuna*, that by faith alone placed in me and in no other, may men know, behold, and be absorbed in me." It appears, farther, from this summary of Hindu theology, that particular "gods" might be worshipped for particular purposes, each being confined within his particular province of responding to his own votaries; and these votaries might reach by their devotional exercises to the same region of bliss, in which the objects of their adoration are to be found. Those however, who worship "THE SUPREME" go to him, and attain the highest pinnacle of felicity, absorbtion into his essence! Those on the other hand, who cannot attain at once to this highest region of happiness, may, at length, after repeated transmigrations, be enabled to reach it.

The very imperfect sketch which we have now given of the discordant sects, that speedily arose in, and divided the Hindu Church, will doubtless suggest to our readers an analogy furnished at an after period in the history of religion, by the doctrines that came to distract the Christian, when the comparative efficacy of the *contemplative* and the *practical* creed, came to divide Christendom itself. The respective merits of FAITH and WORKS, in accomplishing the salvation of men, were raised at an early period into questions of the most vital importance, and the most violent controversy; and although they have been traced as finding their way into the Christian Church from the Platonic philosophy of Greece, we shall not perhaps fall into any great error if, as we have already noticed, we carry back their origin to India and the Hindus. The subject is one, which well deserves a closer investigation then it has yet received, and the very progress now making in our knowledge of Hindu theology, may open the way to this desideratum in the history of religion. If the Christian is deriving light from the Hindu lamp in tracing to their true source, the controversies, and the corruption that have crept into his own church, the Hindu is becoming debtor to the Christian, in leading him by a better light out of the labyrinths of the grossest idolatry and superstition with which his creed has been overlaid; if not yet introducing him to all the desiderated knowledge of the "truth as it is in Jesus." It ought not at this moment to escape observation, in looking at India's "past," that since a Christian power became paramount within its borders, and many of its natives deeply read in their own theology have acquired an acquantance with Christianity from a careful study of the scriptures of our faith, and from that intercourse which has now grown up between the professors of the two creeds, a religious sect has arisen in Calcutta, and it is said is spreading rapidly beyond it, which if not certainly taking its place among Christian denominations, is at least standing aloof from the idolatrous faith and worship of the vulgar superstition; inculcating the Unity and Spirituality of God, and receiving the "precepts of Jesus" as revealed in the New Testament, as the guide to virtue and happness. This sect of modern *Vedantists* arose in 1818 under the well known RAM MOHUN ROY a Brahmin of high rank and of most distinguished acquirements in the literature of Europe. The eminent position as a man of

learning alike in Oriental and European literature which this celebrated Brahmin then occupied; the triumph which quietly and unostentatiously he had achieved over those prejudices of his countrymen, which stand in the way of their intellectual, moral, and social advancement; and the singular modesty and good sense, that marked him as a reformer of the vulgar faith and worship, all conspired to bring Ram Mohun into great notice in the City of Palaces at a crisis in providence, when such a man seemed specially raised up for the most important ends; and his acquaintance was cultivated by all who had any pretensions to an interest in native regeneration. The Bishop, Middleton, who had just taken possession of the newly erected See, himself a scholar of European reputation, did not fail to appreciate the value of an acquaintance with the learned Brahmin, whose knowledge of the classic tongues of Greece and Rome was not unworthy of a place beside his own; and although unable, laboured, and believed, very arduously to convince him of the claims of the 39 articles upon his faith, and of the Episcopal polity to be received by him as the holy apostolic constitution of the Christian Church. Ram Mohun however, became a seat-holder, and a hearer occasionally, in the Scotch Church, which was then first established in India. With the plain and simple worship of the Presbyterians he was greatly pleased; while he could not receive the Westminster Confession of Faith, or the Shorter Catechism, as prescribed to him by his Christian "guru"—the minister of St Andrew's church. The good missionaries of the Baptist and other persuasions flocked around Ram Mohun, as affording, from his intimate knowledge of the English language, and his kind and affable manners, a channel of communication with the object of their pious labours, the most valuable. And the promoters of the education movement just then originating, found themselves anticipated by this native gentleman, in many of the means they proposed for carrying out their object, and sought and found his co-operation. Indeed in passing over this early stage of native progress towards a better faith and a better philosophy, we cannot omit noticing a fact, which has since acquired not a little interest as bearing on the progress, and promises of India's "Future" to acquire still more attention, that while the HINDU COLLEGE was set agoing under the auspices of the chief justice of the Supreme Court and of many distinguished Christian men in the civil service, the question was raised how far the BIBLE should be introduced as a class-book; and *Ram Mohun Roy* stood almost alone in advocating this admission! It is well known that on grounds of state policy, the BIBLE was then excluded, and has not yet found its way as a class-book into the government Institutions. Had the counsels of Ram Mohun been followed in 1818 the *questio vexata* of *neutrality in religious instruction* would not at this time of day be engaging as it has done the attention of our church courts at home in connection with their own schools in India,—admitted, as it is by all who are competent to speak on the question, that the difficulty in now introducing the BIBLE as a class-book in the government schools has arisen mainly out of the resolution to exclude it so unwisely and needlessly adopted in 1818.

But returning to the views, religious and Christian, entertained by

Ram Mohun Roy, at the commencement of the educational move, which, since that period, has made so remarkable an advancement, we may notice, that it is in evidence before the late Parliamentary Committees on Indian territories, that the sect which he founded now constitutes a congregation at Calcutta, numbering between four and five hundred of the best educated natives of that presidency, who in place of performing *Pooja* at the shrine of some hideous idol, now assemble together weekly under the roof of a modest chapel, where some one of the most gifted addresses them on the doctrines which they hold, and where monotheistic hymns are sung, and prayers are offered up to the Supreme Being. It was to be expected that Ram Mohun Roy would, as it happened, encounter the most violent hostility from the orthodox and bigotted Hindus of Calcutta, many of them of great wealth and influence. And looking back to these days—not very remote in India's "Past," there occurred incidents seemingly trifling in themselves, but bearing not the less perhaps on its "Present and Future," deserving of a passing notice. When the native gentlemen of Calcutta—all of them as it happened, being very bigotted Hindus in the matter of religious faith,—first moved towards an English or European education to their children, they found *Ram Mohun Roy* very much advanced in his views as regarded a religious amelioration; and it is not to be wondered at, that they should have looked on him as a dangerous reformer even of their literature and science. When, accordingly, a subscription was set a-going among them for the erection of a HINDU COLLEGE, as a preliminary step towards their object, some of them very gravely proposed to Sir Hyde East, to whom they had appealed for support and countenance in their undertaking, that the subscription of their liberal brother Brahmin should not be accepted! The worthy judge, who had no desire that the course of proposed improvement should stop short at the merely intellectual and scientific stages, asked if they were disposed to refuse his own subscription, because he was a Christian. "Surely not," said the native gentleman who had made known how his Hindu friends stood affected towards Ram Mohun Roy, but then he added,—somewhat in alarm no doubt, at the seemingly new light breaking in upon the world,—"there is no intention of changing our religion!" To this Sir Edward replied, "I am a Christian, and should like to make you all Christians; but sensible, that such a change is not in my power, I may still attempt to make you good Hindus and good men." In this view of the matter they all acquiesced; and as this was just the object, and might be the effect of Ram Mohun's "grant in aid" to their New College, they agreed to accept of it. So far, opposition to Ram Mohun Roy's more enlarged and enlightened views was overcome among his own countrymen; but he was opposed, as was also to have been expected, by some of the pious and excellent missionaries, whose faith he was accused by his countrymen of having embraced, as his object was to teach, that the "Precepts of Jesus," as revealed in the New Testament, are sufficient guides to human peace and happiness, and that the Omnipotent God is the only proper object of worship. With these missionaries, the learned Brahmin entered into a controversy in defence of his tenets, displaying a very intimate acquaintance with the

Holy Scriptures, however heterodox his opinions must be esteemed at measured by the 39 articles of the Church of England, or the Westminster Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland. It is, however, pleasing to find the learned Hindu, in his "Appeals" in defence of his doctrines against "the Friend of India," alluding to the manner in which he had been met by his opponents, as a "mild and Christian like style," "encouraging him in his researches after the fundamental principles of Christianity,"[1]—an example which it were well, was imitated more than it is by religious combatants at home.

How far the modern *Vedantists* of the 19th century, now arising in India, may be destined to occupy a place as conspicuous as their namesakes of a period as far before, as they are behind the Christian era, it were needless to conjecture. It may, however, prove both curious, and, under the events now occurring in Providence, not uninstructive, to note a few of the features of the new Sect, as India's "Present" is becoming exhibited. Ram Mohun Roy paid a visit to England upwards of thirty years ago, where he died; but before he left India he laid the foundation of the Sect[2] now attracting no little attention. In his character of a Reformer he attempted to impress his countrymen with the excellence of "The Precepts of Jesus," and to induce them, on this ground alone, to adopt these Precepts as the rule of their conduct, and the road to peace and happiness;—receiving them as a revelation from heaven of the mind and will of the Supreme Being. No one could be more impressed than was Ram Mohun Roy with the conviction, that England, in obtaining and preserving her supremacy in India, owed more to her Faith than to her arms; and, as he felt, so he strongly expressed his belief, that if his subjugated countrymen were ever to rise to an equality with their conquerors in all that constitutes the true dignity of human nature, and the ornament of social order and stability of political power, it must be by forsaking all faith in their own religious dogmata, which had, in truth, reduced them to the state of degradation into which they had fallen, and embracing the Precepts of Christianity as their rule of life and manners. In this estimate of the value of faith in our creed, and of the results, that must flow from it on their religious, moral, social, and political position, Ram Mohun did indeed fall into what must be esteemed most grievous errors in the course in which he desired to guide his countrymen—separating, as he did, the "Precepts" of our faith from its "abstruse doctrines and miraculous relations," and overlooking what the history of his own country, above that of all others, ought to have impressed on him, that there are cravings implanted in the human soul, which the cold precepts of no moral code however pure and excellent can satisfy; and that without faith in the blood of an atoning sacrifice the load of conscious guilt can never be removed. He did indeed honestly avow, that the reasons for this separation were, that the abstruse doctrines of our Faith are "liable to the doubts and disputations of freethinkers and anti-Christians; and its miraculous relations are capable at best of carrying little weight with the natives of India—the fabricated

[1] "Precepts of Jesus." Calcutta. 1818.
[2] Oriental Magazine. April, 1823.

tales handed down to them being of a still more wonderful nature."[1] In making this separation, however, Ram Mohun took care to state, that he meant to convey no doubt or denial of the truth of the doctrines and miracles of Christ; and that in applying the term "fabricated" as employed in speaking of miracles, and which, it appears, had given great offence to his pious opponents, he merely meant to evince the contemptible light, in which he viewed the tales and legends received by his credulous countrymen. Having thus far cleared the way, the learned Brahmin meets the Missionaries on the ground, that the "Precepts of Jesus" are a sufficient guide to human peace and happiness in this world, and eternal felicity in the next; and here he has no explanations to offer. The controversalists are fairly pitted against each other on a distinct and defined ground of argument,—a ground, which Ram Mohun labours to keep still farther clear and unambiguous, by reminding his opponents of "the Friend of India," that the reasoning of "the Friend," founded on the assumed soundness of the "Doctrines" and truth of the "Miracles" of Jesus, which the Brahmin did not deny, did not demonstrate the position that the "Precepts" must fall short of being guides to human happiness, and rules of conduct adequate, if observed, to conduct to it.

We enter not into the contest between the Hindu Reformer and the Christian Missionary of the 19th century, on the efficiency of observance of the "Precepts of Jesus," in working out felicity, independent of faith in the "abstruse doctrines" of Christianity. To the extent, which we have indicated, Ram Mohun Roy claimed to be a Christian; and under the movements now making in religious progress among his countrymen —many of whom may be regarded as in a transition state between casting off all faith in the follies and fallacies of Hinduism, and one day accepting in all its fulness, the "Truth as it is in Jesus"—the Sect which he established, and which, it appears, is spreading beyond Calcutta, may grow into no little importance; and is perhaps a product which might have been almost expected, when an enlightened literature and science is more and more breaking in upon the darkness of Hinduism under the creed of the modern *Vedantists*, and belief in the follies and fables of the Brahminian Faith more and more put to flight; and alike the frivolous and childish ceremonies, and the more sanguinary and demoralizing rites of the Hindu Temple ceasing to be performed. Looking to this particular product already resulting from "Education in India," we cannot but bear testimony as we pass along in our "pilgrimage" to the far-seeing sagacity of the founders of the Assembly's School and Mission in that country, when in 1826 they brought forward their distinctive plan of assailing the superstition, which has for so many ages trampled alike on the intellectual faculties, the religious feelings, and the moral apprehensions of its interesting tribes. Says the late Dr Inglis, in his "Letter to the People of Scotland," when establishing the Foreign Mission Scheme of the Church of Scotland, and with reference to the singular structure, intellectual, social, and religious, which it was expected to rectify and reform, rather than to overthrow and demolish, and with remarkable foresight into its probable fruits as they are standing out in

[1] "Second Appeal," by Ram Mohun Roy. 1821.

the existence of the Vedantist Sect of which we have been treating:—"No, brethren, while we contemplate these things we will not suffer our minds to be discouraged. Though we must regret that those natives in the higher ranks of society who abandon the rites of idolatrous worship, do yet hesitate to embrace the Christian Faith, we are far from thinking that the change which their minds and opinions do undergo is a matter of small importance either in itself or with a view to its probable and ultimate result. When men are brought to believe in one God, we have good hope of their being also brought to believe in Jesus Christ, 'whom he hath sent.' In addressing ourselves to the understanding of such men, we feel that we are placed on vantage ground; the faith which they already profess supplies us with such arguments for that which we desire them to embrace as it would be difficult for a consistent mind to resist, and such as we, on that account, hope will be, through divine grace, rendered effectual. Nor is it a matter of small importance, that we acquire in the meanwhile the full co-operation of such men in the great work of imparting to their native brethren of every rank and condition an Education, which may enable them also to rise superior to those idolatrous prejudices which so effectually oppose themselves to Divine Truth."[1]

There remains yet another Chapter on "India's Past, Present, and Future," to be opened up. The tale of MISSIONARY exertions to erect the empire of the "evangile" within the realms of Brahma.—Meagre alas! as have hitherto been the fruits of these labours, and powerless as they must be acknowledged to have been in dispelling the darkness of Hindu superstition and Mahomedan delusion—they may yet be found rich in lessons of a highly useful and encouraging character. These lessons, drawn from a more enlarged and correct acquaintance with the obstacles that have hitherto obstructed the good work, cannot fail to guide us to a more just and accurate estimate of alike the difficulties and the facilities that present themselves in the policy, that may now be pursued by the Indian Government in that department of its duty, which must be accounted as the most truly onerous and important, whether measured by our obligations as a Christian State, or as dictated by a wise regard to the peace and permanence of the British Power in India.

But we must delay entering on this Chapter until our next Number.

(*To be continued.*)

PROFESSOR LAYCOCK'S LECTURES ON TEMPERANCE.

SECOND LECTURE.[2]

I HAVE this evening to discuss the remedies for that enormous social and political evil, the nature and causes of which were examined in this Hall on Monday last.

[1] "Letter to the People of Scotland relative to the Propagation of the Gospel," by Dr John Inglis. April 1826.

[2] Delivered 29th Jan. 1857, in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh.

We found that an evil so great could only be met by a commensurate remedy; that drunkenness is both a disease and a sin; that it is both moral and physical in its nature; and that its spread is due to both moral and physical causes. It follows then, that the remedies must be of the same twofold character, and as comprehensive as the causes of the evil.

Until the rise of temperance societies, the abatement of the evil rested with the church and the legislature. The church considered it mainly if not wholly in its moral relations. It did not enquire into its physiology, nor did it investigate or attempt to meet the physical conditions which operate as causes of drunkenness. The legislature found it wise to raise the price of alcoholic drinks by taxation, and thus limit their use; to regulate the sale of them; and to punish the drunken abuse of them by fine and imprisonment. Many attempts of this kind were made. Nevertheless, neither the Church nor the Legislature was able effectually to control the evil.

About thirty years ago a number of patriotic citizens of the United States formed themselves into a society with the object of abating the drunkenness then fearfully prevalent in their country. Ardent spirits being cheap and plentiful were almost exclusively used for the purposes of intoxication. They thought it best to pledge themselves not to drink ardent spirits or offer them to others. To give strength to their movement they diffused information showing how injurious these distilled drinks were to the health and morals of the people, and the best interests of their country. This was the origin of Temperance Societies. Reports from the United States led thoughtful men of all sects and parties to form Temperance Societies in England. Some of the leading clergy took a prominent part in their proceedings. As information was diffused, the sympathies of the more enthusiastic were excited, corresponding efforts were made, and great hopes were entertained of valuable results. But success was not immediately achieved to an extent at all commensurate with the hopes and efforts of these energetic men. This failure they attributed to the limitation to the use of ardent spirits of the pledge taken by members; and having unshaken faith in the force of a pledge, they warmly contended that all alcoholic drinks, whether fermented or distilled, ought to be forbid, and all drinking of these whatever, discountenanced by the opponents of drunkenness. A controversy now arose in the Temperance Societies, and at last, about 1832, the more advanced members seceded and formed themselves into Total Abstinence Societies.

The division thus made had both good and evil results. The evil was, that the moderate men fell away as a society from the cause. The immediate and more beneficial result, was a very careful inquiry into the effects of alcoholic drinks upon the human body in health and disease, with a view to the solid establishment of the principle that those drinks are worse than useless as articles of diet, and ought only to be used as medicines, if at all. Public attention was thus directed to the question, as one of health and science, as well as morals and religion, and although few of the higher and more intelligent classes formally took the pledge, these classes benefited largely, and do still benefit by the knowledge thus collected and promulgated. I am glad for one to have this opportunity of

gratefully acknowledging my own obligations in this respect to what may be termed teetotal science. "Abstinence Societies have explained the *rationale* of intemperance in its compound character as a disease and a sin"—(I quote and adopt the words of an eloquent advocate of the cause, the late Mr Kettle) and in doing that, have laid the foundation for a solid reform in morals generally, for they thereby established a great moral principle.

In developing the necessary measures and modes of action, two classes of antagonistic principles have been at work in the Societies. The original temperance society was of a purely lay character. It was moral but not religious. It did not originate with the clergy, nor was it ever intended to be a part of the church system. The church had in fact proved unequal to its duties. But in the Total Abstinence Societies, the question was quickly discussed in its relations to religion and the clergy, and finally schism on this point took place. The British League adopts the religious principle, as the predominant; it repudiates any pledge whatever, and designates the old societies as "godless." In the same way arose the question whether the pledge of abstinence ought to be limited to alcoholic drinks—were not tobacco, snuff, and opium, as injurious drugs as alcohol? No one (it was argued) could say that they were not; the pledge in consistency ought therefore to include them. On this point, too, the British League differs from the older Societies. But to be consistent, itself, that League ought to advance still further, for does not Christian Faith require Christian men to be abstinent as to all fleshly lusts? There may be excess in food, sleep, clothing, and all kinds of worldly pleasure, as well as in alcohol, tobacco, and snuff,—why then not be consistent and extend the operations of the League? It is plain that the logical development of its principles must end in asceticism; but that has already been tried and found wanting.

The other antagonistic principles were the old combatants on a new field—they are freedom of judgment and compulsion—tolerance and intolerance; in teetotal phrase "moral" and "legal" suasion. The original society had no political objects; it aimed only at changing men's conduct through their convictions. The promoters believed that if the true action of alcoholic drinks was fully comprehended by the people, the use of them would cease as matter of course. Much may be done through the convictions, but nothing is more certain than that men may know the right and yet the wrong pursue. The judgment and will are often weak; the love of pleasure must be satisfied by at least substituted pleasures, and there are morbid conditions of the body which irresistibly overrule the moral and spiritual nature. All this the abstinence societies have discovered, and have therefore, not only to instruct the people, but to provide substitutes for the alcoholic pleasures, and to remove these physical conditions which give rise to the morbid desire.

The original pledge contained within it the germ of restrictive measures, or "legal" suasion. It not only required the taker to abstain himself but it demanded that he should exercise what may be termed a moral coercion on all those who, differing from him in opinion, came into social intercourse with him. He pledged himself not to use ardent

spirits in the exercise of hospitality or kindly feelings. This limited restriction might have been tolerated by society generally, but so soon as it was extended to all alcoholic drinks whatever, the keeping of the pledge was found to be a most irksome and most difficult duty. It was therefore proposed to curtail the pledge—have a shorter,—so as to make it applicable to the individual only. A controversy arose on this point; a schism again took place, and the total abstinence societies, although diminished in numbers, held fast to the principle of at least moral coercion.

But all principles if acted honestly out, work inexorably to a logical conclusion, both individually and in societies, and no matter of what kind they may be. Thus it is, that so soon as a man yields the right of private judgment in matters of opinion, he has bound his neck to the yoke of a tyrant;—whether he be a pope or an emperor, a despot or a mob, we will not stop to inquire. Now this yielding of the judgment in questions of diet is in fact demanded from those who associate with pledged abstainers in domestic or friendly intercourse. It imposes upon them practically, the alternative of submission to the abstinent opinions of the host, or excommunication from his hospitable table; unless indeed the guest would humiliate himself to ask toleration of his habits on the plea of dietetic or medicinal necessity. The step from this moral or more strictly social coercion to that of the law was natural and logical,—and the total abstinence societies soon began to seek the means of more efficient coercion in the secular arm. In this way Sunday drunkenness and dram-shops were first attacked; but of course the principle would not stop there.

The great truth is that all societies constituted of aggressive reformers of morals, contain men who, combative in their nature, and endowed with an energetic will, appeal instinctively to physical force. They find moral coercion impracticable; they therefore appeal to physical coercion; failing in converting people to total abstinence by example and persuasion they would compel them to it by total abolition of the traffic in the drinks. They practically argue that the source of the vice is in the thing, and not the desire for it. They would convert the nation to the pledge, if not by the weapon of Mahomet, yet by the policeman's staff, with the sabre in reserve. With entire confidence in its efficacy, they appeal to the secular arm for assistance against the vice of drunkenness; nay, even ridicule the idea of checking it by moral means. They say, (I quote their words), "nothing but the powerful arm of the law can tear up by the root the upas tree of drunkenness, and lay it prostrate it in the dust." They have in fact practically determined that all men should be forced by law to yield submission to their opinion, which is, that the use of alcoholic drinks for dietetic or pleasurable purposes, is injurious to society and ought not to be permitted, but restricted by the strongest enactments to medicinal or mechanical purposes.

We have now before us, then, the main elements of the several machinery in operation for the suppression or abatement of drunkenness. The Church, the opinions and influence of individuals privately expressed and exercised, and the principles of action of the leading associations. Let us take as dispassionate a survey as we can of the merits and demerits of

these opinions and principles, and of the modes of action flowing out of them. Least in importance, because the rudest, the simplest, as experience has shewn the least effectual in the long run, and not without danger, are all kinds of denunciations, meddling restrictions, and irritating police laws. Let us examine why they are so, and in doing this grapple at once with the fundamental principles of government and law.

We have seen that the Divine Governor of that great society—the world of living things which he has created and placed under law, to the end that all things may work together for good,—has endowed man with the faculty of enjoyment of life and of the exercise of his powers. The desire to secure and continue this enjoyment is that by which the Creator governs the world, and carries out his great designs. But he has also ordained that pain be felt when his will is not fulfilled, to the end that man may do those things which fulfil his will. He thus substitutes one motive—the desire to escape pain—for another, the desire to secure pleasure. This principle is therefore the foundation of all law, whether human or divine. Revenge is the desire to inflict injury, which arises in the mind of a man when pain or injury has been inflicted upon him by a fellow-creature. It is often a desire to kill, and carried into execution on a brother-man, it is murder. Now the law checks this desire to kill revengefully, or to murder, by substituting the apprehension of not continuing in life, or the fear of death, for it enacts death to be the punishment of murder. The selfish instinct to appropriate another man's goods or valued things leads to theft and robbery. This is checked and antagonized by the instinctive love of free action among his fellow-men, or in other words, by the fear of losing it by imprisonment. The law imposes a fine of five shillings for drunkenness; in other words, it endeavours to antagonise the desire for excessive gratification by the use of alcoholic drinks, by the fear of losing the pleasures and conveniences which that sum represents. The law then is founded on fear, and the principle would be sufficient to restrain, if it had always the effect intended of leading man to deny himself. But it has not. Man seeks to avoid an object of fear by fraud, or to attack and destroy it by force, but he will still gratify his desires. Consequently the law in many cases has not the effect of repressing evil passions; on the contrary, it serves to stimulate others into vigorous play, such as fraud and violence, and these again require the restraint of fear. It follows, therefore, that in substituting one desire for another, we must take care that our plan has not the defect of awakening into activity, passions as bad as those we propose to restrain, and that without gaining the proposed end. This defect is in fact the fundamental defect of all penal law, and of all training by punishment. Christ came into the world to substitute another and more effectual law; that is a law, which in its practical operation would awaken into activity all the good feelings of our nature, while at the same time it restrained and quenched the bad. This is the law of love,—it casteth out fear. It is founded on the desire both to feel and communicate pleasure. Now let us apply these principles to practical questions. What do we do with our criminals? We appeal to the fears of their nature; they answer that appeal according

to that nature. We provide physical force in the police; cunning or fraud in the detective. The robber and thief do not cease from their pursuits, but they meet force by force, and cunning by cunning. Further, since there is a pleasure in the active gratification of the instincts of our nature, the thief or swindler has fully as much pleasure in his pursuits, as the speculative merchant, the sportsman, the gamester, the philosopher, the philanthropist, in his. And whilst on the one hand the pleasure of active exercise increases with the gratification of the instincts, the restraining motive, fear, diminishes on the other, in proportion as the effect of fear becomes better known or familiar. The criminal thus becomes irreclaimable. The excitement of the pursuit calls all the faculties of his nature into play; he is very earnest, very ingenious, and often very successful. He brings science and philosophy to bear upon his calling, and sometimes plans and executes his foray upon society, with a patience, a genius, and a skill, which if directed to great objects would make him a hero.

Apply these principles to the restrictive measures carried out and proposed with a view to suppress the sale and use of alcoholic drinks. You require in the first instance a special detective police—police dressed as other men, that they may not be known to be police—because the fear of penalties excites cunning attempts to watch and evade the ordinary agents of the law. Now these detectives are simply hired spies or informers, men who by their dress and conduct are living personations of falsehood and duplicity, who practice fraud as a calling. They excite fresh attempts at evasion, cunning is now used to out-scheme the detective, and thus demoralisation takes place on all hands. This is why espionage is shunned as much as possible by a free people, for that demoralisation tends inevitably to render government by spies more and more necessary. I am very ready to accept at their full estimate the statements which are made from time to time as to the value and success of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, in the suppression of gross drunkenness and flagrant Sabbath desecration. I do not think they need be questioned. But there is a counterbalancing evil produced, rendering it at the best but a temporary measure. It is like an actual cautery in surgery, or a powerful medicine in a terribly painful or dangerous disease; it cannot be admitted as a permanent remedy for a social evil. Abundant experience shews that the real operation of all such acts upon the people is to familiarise them with habitual and systematic evasion of the law. Unlicensed retailers will sell drink, and set up shebeen shops; drinking clubs will be established; spies will watch the spies; children will be trained in trickery and lying; perjury and false testimony will be common; bribery and corruption of the police and detectives will be practised. These have all resulted already; to what extent no one can ever know, because secresy is the root of the whole. I can state, however, that since the Forbes Mackenzie Act came into operation in Edinburgh, perjury and criminal prevarication have increased five fold. All this is surely bad enough if it happen on one day of the week. Would it be wise to have it going on every day?*

* At the conclusion of this lecture Mr M'Laren rose to defend the police of

And yet this is what a Maine Liquor Law would inflict upon us, but in a degree tenfold more intensely than a Sunday act only. Conceive such a law vigorously enforced in this country. The police force would have to be doubled at once; informers would be spread over the whole land, from the metropolis to John o' Groats' and the Lands' End. They would sneak about every village, they would watch every house, they would pocket bribes on all hands. Every creek and landing-place would be the haunt of numerous smugglers, and the coast-guard would have to be indefinitely increased. The information alone against contraventions of the act would be so numerous, that the courts would never cease sitting. In the metropolis only, with its two and a half millions of people, there would not probably be fewer than 3000 trials at the Old Bailey per month. And when the detectives were detected, as they surely would be when they had to give evidence, and it was found that hardly without exception they were but a congregation of the sneaking rascality of the nation—what then? Physical force would be applied pretty freely to them I suspect; and the law must draw the sword in defence of spies. But this Maine Liquor Law is no new thing in this country; it has been tried before under much more favourable circumstances than the present, and the legislature was too glad to get it repealed in hot haste. About a century ago, spirits were as cheap, if not cheaper, in England than now in the United States. As a consequence, drunkenness was fearfully prevalent,—far more so than at the present time, bad as it may be. A strong attempt was made to suppress so horrible a state of things by legislative means. A prohibition of the traffic was practically decided upon by requiring every retailer to pay L.50 a year for his license, and 20s. duty was laid on every gallon sold. Only two licenses were taken out, but ardent spirits were sold everywhere. In a few months the jails of London alone contained 350 offenders, 21 per cent of whom perished in prison. Within two years there were 13,000 convictions under the act in the metropolis only. Yet at this very time men were invited to become drunk for a penny, or dead-drunk, with straw to lie on, for two-pence. There is no hope that a Maine liquor law will ever be enacted in this country; or if enacted, continued in execution for three months. But let me remark, that the public advocacy of such a law is an ominous warning to every lover of his country, and of civil and religious liberty. The enactment of compulsory religious and moral observances, and a submission to them by the people, are two of the surest signs of national degeneracy. On the one hand they show that the politician has ceased to have faith in truth; on the other, that the practice of religious duties has publicly become the most debased hypocrisy. But while the people are bowing their necks to the yoke which has taken the place of moral teaching and conviction, they are cherishing secretly in their coward

Edinburgh from the imputations which he alleged I had cast upon them. He denied that they would lead men into crime, and then betray the criminals as I had hinted, with more of the same kind. I need hardly say that I made no reference to any special body of police whatever. A spy may be an honest man—in his way; a *professional* detective may even be a gentleman, if he will.

hearts a thirst for vengeance against the representatives of law, religion, and morals, who thus coerce them. For the quarter of a century before the great French Revolution, the compulsory observance of religious duties was vigorously carried out in France, so that even Voltaire himself was made to go to confession. When, therefore, the advocates of a Maine Liquor Law adduce its success in the United States as an argument for its introduction into this country, I must either doubt wholly the truth of the allegation, or if conceding its truth, must see in the fact the other terrible truth, that our trans-Atlantic brethren are already, in both the north and the south, on the very verge of a fearful social catastrophe. The advocacy of a Maine Liquor Law will, I doubt not, do a large service to the country, by calling the nation back to a consideration of the great principles of religious truth, and of civil and religious freedom; and I trust that a powerful party will soon be organised for the purpose of carrying out social reforms on the basis of those principles. National drunkenness must surely be included in the number of social evils requiring reform.

I do not intend in all this to argue against any legislative restraints whatever; I speak of principles; those restraints are questions of expediency, and must be considered as to whether they are safe and practicable. But let us even in these appeal to men's reason and sense of justice rather than to their fears. Is it reasonable or just that a man should take advantage of the weakness of another and help to make him drunk? That is a crime as wicked as hocussing with other drugs. No publican should permit drunkenness in his house on pain of losing his licence; and, in particular, no one should be allowed, whether publican or not, to turn a drunken man out of his house into the streets, without sharing the responsibility of his acts, or sending some one to take charge of him. Every means should be adopted to encourage respectable men to engage in the trade, so that they might have higher motives than fear to restrain them from evasions of the law; for respectability is a submission to public opinion. Every man committing a crime when drunk, should be considered more guilty than if he had done it when sober, for he has added the crime of destroying his own power of self-control to the other. If he plead the weakness of habitual drunkenness as an excuse, he must be treated as a man who puts in a plea of irresponsibility; and all habitual drunkards should be liable to a judicial inquiry as to the amount of their power of self-control, and sent to an institution for their special management, if thought necessary.

Perhaps a reduction in the retail strength of ardent spirits might be worth consideration. All attempts at adulteration should be met with a withdrawal of the licence; for the drugs used to adulterate, by inflaming the stomach, and enfeebling the nervous system, increase largely the temptation to drink, and aggravate the effects of the poison.

These suggestions will appear but helpless attempts at palliation to those who are very hopeful and enthusiastic. Nevertheless I mention them, and I will venture to say further, that a more temperate line of policy on the part of abstainers will be much more effectual than that which has been followed lately. If the temperate crusade originally

commenced in 1828 against ardent spirits exclusively, had been steadily carried out, not only would the consumption of them been greatly checked by this time, but probably a law of stricter regulation of the sale much more practicable, and the habits of abstinence from fermented drinks more general. That policy would have been perfectly consistent with the inquiry into the effects of alcoholic drinks, and with other measures of enlightenment and counteraction adopted by abstinence societies.

I will next inquire into the value of pledges and vows of abstinence as checks to drunkenness. Man is a being swayed by a wonderful variety of impulses or forces; they are known as the instincts, emotions, passions, motives of his nature; they all have desire, or aversion as a fundamental element. Those of the understanding and the sentiments are motives,—those of the organisation are instincts and passions. Thus the desire to please God, or the love of God, is a motive,—the love of life for its own sake is an instinct. The maternal love of human nature is equally an instinct, an emotion, a passion. Man is a social, a moral, and a religious being, and has corresponding desires and motives. He has desires for the love and sanction of his fellow-men, and for the approval of his own conscience and of his God. Vows and pledges derive all their restraining power over the passions from these desires or motives. But it is obviously necessary to the vows being effective, that there shall be actually operative in the pledger a regard for the opinions of his fellow-men, or for the approval of his conscience or of his God. Now that regard, if habitual, constitutes of itself, in the healthy state, a motive sufficiently powerful to restrain the desires against which it is directed. As to one's fellow-men it is the powerful controlling force of public opinion,—as to God it is the strongest feeling—the religious—of our nature. It follows, therefore, that the man who feels this regard is already a moral and religious man to the extent of the feeling, whatever that may be. A sincere pledge is only taken after these motives have operated on the mind; it is, therefore, in fact the manifestation in action of the motives. Hence it is that sincere total abstainers, are usually moral and trust-worthy. But the pledge may be worse than useless; as when it develops fear and its concomitant—fraud. All religious profession implies a pledge to abstain from certain gratifications,—and open indulgence in these leads to loss of character for consistency. It is so with the abstinence pledge. If a man desires to enjoy both the forbidden gratification of the desire, and the good opinion of his neighbours, he indulges in secret; in public, is remarkable for an apparent consistency. This is hypocrisy—a more dangerous vice than drunkenness. In the higher classes of society, and amongst abstainers, drunkenness is equally a disgrace, and can hardly be practised in secret. But another drug can be substituted for alcohol, namely opium. Now it is well known to the drug-trade that the consumption of opium, as a substitute for alcohol, has increased much of late years, and is still increasing. It is a fact that Laudanum and solution of Morphia are ordered by quarts for private consumption. I have heard lately of a person with a limited income spending £70 a-year on opium. Now in all this I do not question the utility of pledges. A pledge is a bond of union, as the expression of a creed,—that

is its main use. Doubtless the desire to be consistent often counterbalances desire to drink,—then also it is useful. And in those cases in which the mere taste or smell of the liquor is an irresistible temptation, a pledge of rigid abstinence is necessary, and cannot fail to be useful. But then these, as compared with the great mass of the public, are exceptional cases. Wisdom is the principal thing for restraining men. Wisely said the wise man, "with all thy getting get wisdom;" and this brings me to the most valuable method of all adopted by the Temperance Societies for the abatement of drunkenness.

The Governor of the world teaches wisdom; his school is experience. All created things go to that school. Every animal is a quick scholar too —much more apt than man. Yet to man no teaching is proverbially so effectual as experience. Now all human knowledge is but the accumulated experience of mankind; all science is only experience reduced to a portable form,—all art the application of that knowledge to practical uses. It is in the collection and diffusion of the experience of mankind as to the effects of alcohol on man, and the practical application of that knowledge to the abatement of drunkenness, that the great glory of the temperance societies consists. It is a fact unique in the history of mankind, —a work likely to last as long as the pyramids. To do justice to the labours of the temperance societies in this particular, would occupy too much of our time; I will say no more than this, that they are multifarious and incessant. The practical question is,—are they sufficient to attain the object aimed at? Are voluntary associations, however powerful, equal to the mighty undertaking? I think not; and, therefore, more effectual means should be attempted.

If it be true that drunkenness is a great social and political question,—and of that no man who has examined the subject can doubt,—the diffusion and practical application of the knowledge that would abate it ought to be a national concern. I would suggest, therefore, to abstinence societies, that steps be immediately taken to this end, and I can conceive no more effectual method than making a knowledge of the pernicious effects of alcoholic drinks, a part of that knowledge of common things which every British child ought to possess. Many years will not elapse before a national system of education will be established in this country: established, I for one trust, on a religious but not a sectarian basis. Preparatory to that grand epoch of social development (for it will be as momentous in its results as the discovery of printing has been), we must be ready with some simple methods of communicating to the youth of this country such knowledge of the conditions under which they exist as they will be able to comprehend; leading them onward from simple but great truths to more interesting details. And in mooting this plan, I cannot but ask permission to say, that we ought all to view with great satisfaction the efforts of Dr Hodgson in this direction, who, although not medical, is, I doubt not, a painstaking and valuable instructor of youth in the principles of Human Physiology; and I trust that every school in Edinburgh will carry on this most important reformation in teaching.

But, as bearing strongly on this point, I would here revert to those

physical conditions which, by exercising a banefully depressing influence on the general health, so strongly predispose to drunkenness. I am a very old worker in the cause of sanitary science and the public health; many a miserable home have I investigated,—many a hard day's work of statistics have I encountered. Having thus had full experience of sanitary matters in all their bearings, I may be permitted to express an opinion on the subject, without troubling you with details. It is this. We never can carry sanitary laws into effectual execution, however just, however simple, however well devised, unless the people—the whole people—are instructed in the conditions necessary to healthy existence. It is knowledge alone that will lead the people to co-operate in the execution of the sanitary laws, and it is this knowledge which will lead the people to do that which no law can reach, and no law compel them to do. It is now an admitted truth that physical and moral degradation stand in the relation of cause and effect. Those, therefore, who would strike at the root of the moral degradation of the people, must attack at their sources those conditions which degrade the people physically. And acts of parliament cannot effect this unless the convictions of the people as to their justice and importance go along with them. But to right national convictions, national knowledge is necessary,—to national knowledge a well devised system of national education.

Now I do not mean to say that we should halt at all in our attempts to establish model lodging-houses, wholesome cottages and dwellings for the poor, baths and wash-houses, and all the various sanitary measures the advocates of temperance desiderate. On the contrary, I would rather express a hope that measures of this kind should be more decidedly, and more prominently brought before the public. Why should the cities and boroughs of Scotland be without an active and efficient officer of health? Why should not the temperance societies call the public attention more frequently to the consideration of sanitary measures, and advise the people as to the dangerous condition of the common-stairs of the houses of Scotland,—to the bad habit of sleeping in bed-closets and ill-ventilated rooms,—to the need of training the children in habits of scrupulous personal cleanliness, as a foundation for purity of soul as well as of body,—and to the over-crowding of the people, whether in their places of labour or their dwellings. Many a right-minded employer would shudder at the thought of the evils he inflicts on his work-people by neglect in this respect, if he were better informed; many an intelligent workman would, if thus instructed, seek those employers at even less wages, who placed him in conditions such that he was not selling his health and life together with his time and toil. Instruction in matters of life and health would tend to make the British workman self-reliant and self-dependent, as a free man should be; that is, knowing and able to secure for himself the conditions necessary to healthy life, which are not merely daily bread, in the limited sense of the word, but all that, like food, is a necessity for sound bodily and mental existence.

Yet existence simply is hardly worth living for; man, however debased, desires more than that; and if he can secure no more, then he is debased even below the level of the brute. Pleasure he must have, and

the higher the better. Now amongst the sagacious measures adopted by abstinence societies to abate drunkenness, that of substituting other pleasures for the sensual, is one of the most efficient. But I would ask permission to throw some light upon this matter, especially with reference to the kind of pleasures that may be substituted.

What pleasure, which being entirely innocent and beneficial, is the most like that excited by alcoholic drinks? I answer, the pleasure excited by the natural stimuli to the vital functions. These are, pure air, abundant food, plenty of sunlight, exercise and play of all the limbs. Who has not felt that delightful exhilaration—that absolute sense of physical enjoyment—which a day spent in the country affords? And who does not know that the poor man, of all men, delights in little pets that tell of life and nature—a fuchsia or geranium in the window, very dusty and very sickly it is true, yet still beloved,—or a caged bird singing as if for very life. Now is it not worth a strong effort to attain the boon for our town's people, of a day's run into the country as often as practicable? I know well that the abstinence societies organise excursion-trains for this purpose, but they are, I think, poor substitutes for what is needed. Why should there not be an excursion-train every day, and to suit all classes? A day's visit to nature as she is "at home" cannot be made amidst a crowd. She is far more charming in solitude or with one or two companionable friends. Crowds belong to towns and cities, not to her. Next to, or co-equal with, the pleasures of nature, I would place domestic pleasures. Lectures, soirees, and amusing speeches, music and capital songs may be all very good in the absence of anything better; but there is no place like home. When the Roman emperors desired to keep the people quiet, they provided bread and shows. Corn was brought expressly from Egypt, and magnificent amphitheatres, brilliant with gold and marble, accommodated thousands. Far otherwise is British civilization. Its roots are in the pleasures of home and its social enjoyments. Now what sort of a home has the artizan, and what pleasures has he there? Nay, what *can* he have?

If you would carry out the principle of substitution, you must create new desires, by education, as well as offer new sources of pleasure; and at the same time you must offer ample freedom of choice. The picture-galleries and museums are open on holidays it is true; and it is most gratifying to find that 100,000 persons visited the Museum of Natural History last year, being an increase of 99,000. But we may have something more than this. A taste for arts, for botany, and for natural history must be diffused through the mass of the people (I don't know why we should not include chemistry and physiology); and then the crowds would do something more than look with curious wonder at the objects before them. There are several sedentary and mechanical occupations very favourable to meditation, and quiet, simple, scientific research. Gardeners, ploughmen, shepherds, tailors, shoemakers, masons, have occupied their minds ere this with matters of thought in every department of culture, and have won themselves a name among men. And I am quite sure that in this direction there is much latent genius, or at least capacity for mental culture, if there were but a time and a

place for their minds to work in; and therefore much has to be done in the way of providing new sources of higher gratification for our general population. Here, then, are untouched stores of antidotes to drunkenness. The season of youth is that of the greatest temptation, and youth requires pleasures of its own. Asceticism suits age; it blights the youthful heart. Those games which give free play to the muscles in the open air have always charms for the young. All that is required as to these is to regulate them judiciously. Music, light reading, social intercourse of the sexes, are natural pleasures of the young, and it is a vain attempt to wholly forbid their use. The mind is only turned to attempt a fraudulent indulgence, or to seek in secret more illicit pleasures. In other words, it is but training in hypocrisy. I don't know whether I shall be pardoned for alluding to dramatic representations, so attractive to the young. I will venture to say, however, that deprived of their meritricious accessories, and purified from what is coarse and indecent, they may be made available to withdraw our youth from the cider-cellar and the gin-palace, and to give literary refinement and culture. With regard to the less educated classes, as well as to the young, we too often commit the practical error of offering to them such sources of amusement as we prefer, forgetting the difference of tastes, and that we must meet their desires and not our own.

I could add much more on this head, but time presses, and I will therefore proceed to sum up, with a view to practical results. We have seen that man is bound by the will of God to certain conditions, and that those conditions must be fulfilled, if he would attain the happiness here and hereafter designed for him by God. We have seen that the scheme of divine government is wholly moral, and aims at leading man to the highest objects of his existence, the knowledge and love of God, by changing both his physical and moral nature according to a certain plan; that the desire for pleasure is the great spring of all man's actions, and that the pleasurable feeling termed love is the essential element of his best and holiest impulses. Without this there can be no moral elevation. As compared with this force, all legal enactments are but as stubble. But we have seen, too, that man is bound down by the laws of his terrestrial existence,—the flesh; that physical conditions which derange and degrade his corporeal nature, affect in like manner his moral and spiritual; that these must be obviated if we would obviate the moral depravity thence arising which impairs the efficacy of the law of love; and that this can only be done by a knowledge of the will of God in our creation and preservation, as well as in our redemption.

Now this knowledge, so necessary to man's moral nature, is scientific truth and revealed truth. It may be communicated by the schoolmaster, or by the clergyman; it may be developed by the statesman and the physician; it must be applied to the wants of humanity by them all. And the question is, How can all this be accomplished? The truths of science, as to health of body and mind are so simple that they may be easily taught with any other branches of human knowledge. They are much more simple than doctrinal truths; equally simple as those of the mixed sciences. The habits that ought to be formed to put those truths

into daily practice are very easily contracted during the period of youth. Nothing more is required than daily training according to a well digested plan. So much for the school.

All great social and political truths have been taught to the people by continuous and repeated discussion in Parliament; and all great political movements have been executed by the force of public opinion so formed. A zest is given to the study of the question by the feelings that are aroused, and the interests—party or otherwise—that are at stake. The discussion is carried on simultaneously in the journals and public meetings, and in private societies. It would be useful thus to discuss, not only the abatement of drunkenness, as one of these great political questions, but also the management of criminals, the principles of education, and the all important subject of sanitary laws. Now I do not think you will ever have these questions properly debated until the requisite knowledge is more universally diffused, and with that, the conviction established, that medical science (the science of human nature) and the medical profession ought—in the interests of the people—to be represented in both Houses of Parliament, as all other branches of human knowledge already are.

How can this all-important knowledge be most effectually diffused? After academical institutions, I think we might look to the clergy to assist in this great work. We have seen that all these social questions, involving humanity in its twofold aspect, are necessarily religious questions. Now the nation places one-seventh of its whole time in the hands of the clergy, that they may appropriate it to the moral and spiritual advancement of the people. In the early period of civilization, sanitary laws were part of the laws of religion. They were therefore both taught and enforced by the priesthood. A considerable portion of the Mosaic law enjoined sanitary regulations, having for their object the protection of the Jews from communicable diseases. So wise were they that that people to this day experiences the value of them. Now, after the captivity, these sanitary laws were read in the synagogues with the other sacred books on the Sabbath day; as they are read in our own churches and chapels. Is not the example worthy our careful consideration? I do not presume to decide categorically what the clergy should do in this matter. I only earnestly commend it to their notice. But I will venture to say, that as the people advance in knowledge, they will place a far higher value on the Sabbath as a day set apart for instruction and social reform. What, let us ask (as they shortly will), is the money worth of that seventh portion of the national time, devoted to religious purposes? The national income has been estimated by the Liverpool Financial Reform Association at 650 millions. If we take the national time to be equal in value to the money results, this makes each of the six days of labour worth nearly 110 millions. But let us value the Sabbath at less than half, and each one is equal to a million sterling at least.

But besides the time, there is the plant and staff of the Establishment maintained by the nation for the application of the time. There are the 45 thousand clergy in the United Kingdom, constituting a large militia

embodied expressly to control vice, and there are the 40 to 50 thousand churches and chapels,—all for the Sabbath business of the nation. The annual cost of these,—that is, maintenance of clergy, interest on capital sunk, wear and tear, &c.,—cannot be less than twelve millions. Add to these Sunday schools and other Sabbath works; and I think the clergy and the people—no matter of what sect or denomination—will all agree at least in this, that the uses to which the Sabbath may be put are too momentously important not to deserve the most serious consideration. How is it that about one-third of the people never enter a sacred edifice? Is it because the services of the church are not suited to their needs? How is it that so many spend the day in dissipation and drunkenness? Is it that there is nothing to occupy their minds between the whisky-bottle and the church? What ground for serious reflection in the fact, that means and opportunities so immensely valuable should be thus wasted!

I apprehend there is great scope for reform here; and if so, to the clergy the duty falls of doing the work. Could they not, I would venture to ask, make the Sabbath much more available to the diffusion of a knowledge of human nature? Would not information for the people as to those physical agents which affect the moral element and lead the weak erring flesh into a snare, be appropriate to the day? Now, I know that I lay myself open to the charge of great presumption in thus attempting to point out any change in the course of clerical duty. I hope, however, that I shall be pardoned these suggestions in consideration of the magnitude of the interests involved, for I believe, ere long, the very framework of society will be rudely tried, and I am sure it is only religion that can knit it so solidly together as that it shall resist the trial. Having these convictions, I will venture to add further, that if the clergy are to teach the twofold nature of sin, and its connection with disease and deformity, it is necessary to success that they become students of human nature in its twofold aspect. Hitherto they have avoided this, in so far as its practical developments in medical culture and art are concerned. The spirit has had almost their exclusive attention; the flesh has been almost forgotten. Nay, I believe that not a few have been repelled from the study of mental physiology by the fear that their faith might be corrupted and their souls' health endangered. It is, I know, a popular opinion in the religious world at least, that the study of medicine tends to irreligious, and materialistic and infidel views. All this is a fallacy, and unhappily of the most mischievous kind. The imputation is not only entirely unfounded, but the converse is the fact. Modern medicine is, in truth, one of the peculiar institutions of Christianity. The medical profession have the task assigned to them of imitating the example of Christ in his love for the bodily welfare of mankind. Like him they go about healing all manner of diseases as their daily occupation—and as to many in the spirit of their master. The Lord Provost, at a Meeting of the Edinburgh New Town Dispensary held the other day, acknowledged in very handsome terms the gratuitious services to the poor of the Medical officers, adding that he believed it was a peculiarity of the profession in Edinburgh.

His Lordship will, I am sure, excuse me saying that it is the peculiarity of the entire profession of the United Kingdom, in regard to medical charities. And even when the services rendered to the poor are professedly renumerated, as by poor law authorities, the pittance awarded would be altogether insufficient to secure the necessary care and kindness, without the sympathising feelings which animate the majority of the profession. A modern poet, Barry Cornwall, has done justice to this trait in the character of the "Parish Doctor," and I will ask permission to read one or two verses of his poem :—

"I travel by day, I travel by night,
In the blistering sun, in the drenching rain,
And my only pleasure, in dark or light,
Is to help the poor in pain.

"The parish Magnificos pay me,—What?
Were it only the money I would not roam,
But enjoy the little that I have got,
By my own fireside at home.

"But hunger, and thirst, and pain, and woe,
Entice me on. And they pay me well,
When I beat down the devil disease, you know,
'Tis for that my old age I sell."

One more illustration I will give of this kind. Sanitary principles apply medical science to the health of the people in all their relations, and aim particularly at extinguishing all pestilences. You know what they have achieved already. They are the result of three commissions of enquiry. Now all the essential particulars necessary to the success of that enquiry, have been supplied gratuitously, with one or two solitary exceptions, by medical practitioners, and that mainly because of the deep sympathy they feel for the preventible sufferings of mankind. I believe I am quite correct in stating, that the sum disbursed amongst the medical profession, in return for their very laborious services in this respect, (extending over several years), is not equal to one-tenth of the annual payment made by this country for the support of ecclesiastical establishments in the West Indies. Yet unborn myriads of mankind, will hail that movement as the grandest of modern civilization. But the study and practice of medicine has even a more beneficial influence than this. By revealing how much of the sins and offences of men are due to the infirmities of their nature, it lays the foundation, in knowledge, of that law of mutual forgiveness and forbearance, which is the law of Christ. It thus carries a conviction to the heart of the great philosophy of that law. It shows that the prayer "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us," is not an appeal to the justice and mercy of God only, but that it implies also the exercise of Christ-like sympathies in the supplicant. That knowledge also assures us, how confidently we may appeal, when utterly broken down with grief and misery, to the sympathising love of Him who was a Man of sorrows and acquainted with griefs. And he in particular who has a practical knowledge of that bodily mental pain which leads to despair and suicide, re-

ferred to in my last Lecture, can comprehend more fully the terribly human distress which led our Saviour in his agonies to utter that despairing cry, "My God! my God! why hast Thou forsaken me!" I will venture to occupy your time with one special illustration of the beneficial results of medical science, in developing a practical spirit of Christian charity, because it is one which both illustrates perfectly the operation of the so-called materialistic and infidel views of medicine, and the powerful effects of moral suasion. At the close of the last and the beginning of the current century, the lunatic was treated in all essential particulars as a criminal. Theology had for 1000 years done nothing to ameliorate his unhappy fate. He had his keeper and his cell; his manacles; fetters; cords cutting deeply into his flesh; he was scourged and tortured by elaborately ingenious contrivances; he had his dark dungeon and his damp dirty straw. A spectacle to the curious, he grinned like a wild beast through the bars of his cage; or a poor butt for the ribald, who laughed at his maniacal fury when irritated, and at his impotent attempts to revenge himself on his persecutors. Up to that time medicine had trod with the Church in the footsteps of Aristotle, that old Greek whose philosophy has corrupted Christianity for many centuries, and that was the result. In the very agony, however, of the revolution in France, when religion was utterly prostrated, and the goddess of erring human reason was openly and impiously substituted for the God of Eternal truth and love, Christian faith and science won one of its noblest achievements. There arose amid that hurly burly, a Christian physician, who went alone, unarmed, into that den of cursing, raging maniacs, the Salpetrière of Paris, his faith firm in the truths of medical science; his heart imbued by the love of Christ. Taking them one by one, he spoke words of consolation and love to the sufferers; he struck off their fetters; he cut the cords from out their flesh; he bound up their festering wounds; washed, dressed, and fed the poor outcasts; —and ah! what a triumph of love and truth was that—all became peace. For many years since the lunatic has been treated not only like a human being, but like a rational creature. In a well ordered asylum, no mechanical restraint is now used; the government is wholly moral; it is founded purely on a warm sympathy for the infirmities of the man. The true cause being known, he is forgiven his violent conduct and brutal language; his waywardness; his disobedience: and yet he is more effectually controlled by this scientific forbearance, patience, and gentleness, than by force. Now, such should be the treatment of our prison population, for the same principles which control and humanise the incorrigibly insane, will equally humanise and control the incorrigibly vicious.

I could multiply illustrations like these, of the practical religious value of a knowledge of human nature, as developed by medical science, but I trust I have said enough to induce the clergy and schoolmasters, especially the younger and more active, to abandon any fears as to the materialistic influence of human physiology, and to come over to us and help us. We will welcome them all right cordially, and teach them all of

our knowledge that may be useful to them in as practical a form as we can. A beginning I know has already been made by some; let me suggest to them a higher philosophical ground. I rejoice to know that Edinburgh has had the honour of establishing the first Medical Missionary Society; I trust it will be the first to apply the science of human nature to the spiritual and moral welfare of our own great country.

This then must conclude my exposition of the remedies for drunkenness. And allow me to impress upon your attention the fact that the best are all moral means; and that they all aim at a common object, namely, that of placing the labouring classes of the people as nearly as possible on an equal level as to matters of education and useful pleasures with the more educated. And permit me to compare these means with those recommended by others. I stand firmly amongst the advocates of moral suasion; you have heard what I mean by that; you have lately had an opportunity of hearing what legal suasion means. Well then, let us compare the two. We, the advocates of moral suasion, rely upon truth, applied by the enlightened schoolmaster, and the minister; legal suasion relies upon acts of parliament, clever "detectives," and a multiplied police. We think our plan is at least the cheaper. A good schoolmaster is surely worth three policemen, and as easily kept as two, and we have the clergy into the bargain. Legal suasion advocates the paternal principle of government—the apology and the necessity of trembling tyrants; we advocate the principle of self-reliance founded on self-knowledge—the power and the pride of free nations. Legal suasion ends in legal convictions and the contaminating atmosphere of police-courts, and prisons; we would bring men to moral convictions by the healthy influences of Christian charity. Legal suasion attacks intemperance in alcoholic drinks only; we attack intemperance of every kind. Legal suasion attacks but the thing alcohol, to the substitution of other stimulants, as opium or tobacco; we attack the desire for them all by raising men to a higher sphere of enjoyment. Legal suasion may,—in the opinion of many—must fail in its solitary object. If our method do not attain all we desire as to the entire suppression of drunkenness, it will attain ends nobler even than that. And why is this difference? Not otherwise than because that method termed moral suasion, is founded on the power of God and the wisdom of God; legal suasion on the power and wisdom of man as manifested in acts of parliament, the policeman's truncheon, and the detective's cunning.

I have thus completed the duty I have been invited by the Total Abstinence Society of Edinburgh to perform. If I have hurt the feelings of any man by what I have said I very heartily regret it. Let me offer this excuse, however, that I have appeared in this Hall from a sense of duty, and so appearing, I could not honestly proclaim another man's convictions to be my own, unless they were so; nor could I conceal that which I believed of sufficient importance to the public welfare to be made known.

THE UNITY OF THE BIBLE; OR, THE IDENTITY OF THE PATRIARCHAL, JEWISH, AND CHRISTIAN DISPENSATIONS.[1]

When one considers the characteristics of the age in which we live, as these are exhibited in modern Christendom, it matters not whether we glance at its Political or Ecclesiastical condition, we find war to the knife loudly declared against all "shams" which reverberate hollowness or betoken insincerity and consequent instability. Redeem us from the curse entailed upon us by our political and ecclesiastical predecessors, is the watchword that blends its diversified yet harmonious notes, into a voice that peals its ominous thunder across the firmament of Britain as well as the continent of Europe. Earnestness—thoughtful earnestness—stamps the knitted brow of man in the 19th century of the Christian era. Shall the prescriptive arbitrariness of parchment enactments, it is indignantly asked, eternally dispossess free-born man of the rights to which nature—*i.e.* the God of nature—entitles him by birth? And who, we ask, shall forge the adamantine chains, that shall fetter the onward course of Humanity? Nay, let us rather boldly enquire, where is the coming man that shall strike the fetters from the limbs of those who are conscious of the mission they are called on to accomplish,—the destiny which they must fulfil?

Aggression,—and aggression, let it be observed, characterised by the resolute bearing to which we have referred, thrusts itself on our notice at every step we choose to take over the surface of Christendom. Religious fanaticism,—armed with a combination of barbaric power and innumerable hordes of "whisker'd pandoors and fierce hussars," unwitnessed since the incursions that carried devastation and destruction to the declining Empire of Rome,—religious fanaticism threatens to bathe its inexorable sword in the blood of the outraged justice and liberty of the West. Romanism,—that emerged out of the seething sea of blood which deluged the Latin Earth, as if reinvigorated by the scent of the coming slaughter,—has rallied and remarshaled her scattered forces, and stealthily prepares to pounce on those she foolishly deems her destined prey. Hydra-headed infidelity rears its crested front in the van of the embattled hosts, that lay siege to the citadel of Truth, and darts its deadly virus from its envenomed fangs into the heart of hearts of the Body-politic. In a word, the Spirit which presides over the present age is the Genius of Destruction,—a Genius which once and again has been evoked from the unveiled

[1] **The Mosaic Dispensation Considered as Introductory to Christianity. Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, at the Bampton Lecture for the year 1856. By the Rev. Edward Arthur Litton, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College. 8vo, pp. xix. 367. London: Hatchard. 1856.**

The Unity of the New Testament. By Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A. Macmillan & Co. Cambridge.

Christ as made known to the Ancient Church: An Exposition of the Revelation of Divine Grace, as unfolded in the Old Testament Scriptures. By the late Robert Gordon, D.D, F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter. 1854.

Christology of the Old Testament, and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions. By E. W. Hengstenberg. Edinburgh: T. & J. Clark, George St. 1854.

penetralia of the palace of Divine wisdom, to execute the mandates of heaven's high King in the Universe—a Genius which pitilessly immerged the sensualised inhabitants of the older world with a watery deluge, which has oft-times bathed its besotted people in bloody and fiery baptisms, and which, abominating as it does all systems of fraud, falsehood, and hypocrisy, can neither extend to them toleration nor endure their existence.

But is it to be imagined that we blench before the approach of the terrible destroyer? or that our hearts die within us—

> "For the Angel of Death spread his wings to the blast,
> And breathed on the face of the foe as he pass'd?"

Forbid that we should! Are we,—the hereditary successors, by "divine right," of the apostolic defenders of the faith once delivered to the saints,—not firmly persuaded that "the King of kings and Lord of lords" is a God of order and not of confusion? That the law of love is steadily, and though progressively, not the less certainly acquiring supreme and paramount ascendency in the Universal Divine Kingdom, which has been established in the earth? Has it been recorded in the annals of history that a surviving family rode victoriously over the ruins of a submerged world, and was ushered out of the ark, as from the cradle of a second and fresh creation? And that a Christian brotherhood survived the bloody destruction of Jerusalem by escaping to Pella,—a social brotherhood which within its expansive and all-comprehending grasp has girdled the wide world of Humanity with the bonds of love? And shall doubt blend with our settled conviction that the ultimate reconstruction of society and the restoration of the church will demonstrate that order and harmony are the results of the conflicting principles that in our day struggle as of old for supremacy?

Our readers do not require to be informed, that that thorough-going earnest spirit of aggression which characterises modern man, is displaying itself in the most inveterate antipathy, and bitterest hostility, to the religious creed of Christendom. And never did a louder cry emanate from the devoted enquirers after truth, demanding the solution of the problem that has taxed the mind of the race, since the dawn of its intellectual day. The Early Fathers,—whom a reverence for antiquity has clothed with the possession of intellectual stature—sagely intimated their surmises regarding the theory which affords a satisfactory explanation of the difficulties that encounter the student of the scheme of Providence. Papal authority however, silenced the "questionings of nature" as well as of religion, in the minds of "faithful sons of the church," taught to yield meek and humble submission to the vicar of Christ; but even the minions of the inquisition could not deter a Galileo from exclaiming, "Il muovo,"—"It moves." And certainly the intellectual strides which the unfettered mind of Europe took at the reformation, amply confirmed the surmises of previous enquirers, and enabled later writers to sketch the vague outlines of the progress of humanity,—as has already been executed in attempts to educe a philosophy of history.

Infidelity has proffered an hypothesis, purporting to account for the gradual development of mankind in accordance with which a return of

the golden age of the heathen mythology is anticipated as the fulfilment of the longing of the human heart,—an hypothesis contradicted by the experience which meets our eye in the stereotyped mental infantility and imbecility of nations and peoples whose ancestors marched in the vanguard of the ancient world.

Romanism,—a romanised disciple, at least—for with a subtlety characteristic of a system pervaded by a spirit of *pious frauds*, the fisherman's seal is withheld while Rome reaps the advantage that accrues from individual labourers in her service,—Romanism has tendered the world a "theory of development" that deliberately accounts for and sanctions the worship of "old bones and old rags," as well as of "the King of kings and Lord of lords."

Protestantism,—the sole aim of whose dauntless advocates is the elimination of godlike truth,—has indeed coped with the difficulties of the world problem, with greater success. It has been shewn, that just as "God brings every man through that kind of discipline best suited to his constitutional peculiarities, and to the production of those results which it is his pleasure to have produced; so the world itself has been brought through a similar course of moral and intellectual culture preparatory to the coming of Him who was manifested to destroy the works of the devil and bring in everlasting righteousness:"—that a succession of philosophical, moral, political and religious creeds, demonstrated by their signal failure to regenerate Humanity the clamant necessity for the spiritual and universal Christian creed, which eventually supplanted and superseded them; and that the advent of Christ occurred at a period,—"the fulness of times"—the most approprate in the history of the world, subservient to the attainment of the grand object of his mission to earth.

Nay more; such an exact and unbroken parallelism "has been shewn to be maintained between the 3 cycles of revelation"—*i. e.* between the periods dating from the Creation to the Deluge,—from the Deluge to the destruction of Jerusalem, and from the destruction of Jerusalem to the end of the current present age,—that scepticism itself has been compelled to admit the existence of "a supreme adapting hand" in the harmonious scheme of providence.

But while we gratefully acknowledge the value of these contributions to Theology, and that they have augmented to no inconsiderable extent the cumulative argument in favour of the divine origin and authority of the Word of God,—that "Christianity is the direct work of providence,"—we do not apprehend that we lay ourselves open to the charge of detracting from the merits of these, or of other apologists of Christianity, when we assert that the age in which we live demands a line of proof different from that which has hitherto been pursued on this all-engrossing subject.

Maurice,—not to mention others of the school with which he is generally associated,—has awakened a spirit of enquiry which no antiquated method of treatment will suffer either to exercise, or to charm, to indolent and inconsiderate repose. Voluminous as are the essays and discourses that have poured from his fertile pen, and ranging as these do, over the vast extent of surface comprehended within the poles of our theological

system, we must presume upon an acquaintance with their general character; and while sedulously guarding ourselves from subscribing to those views which attach to them their *peculiarities*, we do not hesitate to heartily admit that the object which is steadily pursued throughout their productions, viz., to withdraw the minds of men from contemplative speculations regarding the kingdom and church of the future, and fix their attention on the discharge of those social and religious duties demanded of them in their varied relationships as members of a present Universal Divine Kingdom, deserves, as we believe, it has generally received, the warmest commendation.

In the work which stands at the head of this article, he addresses himself to the elucidation of those "principles concerning the relation of the Jewish and Christian economy" which he has deduced from a single epistle,—viz., the epistle to the Hebrews,—lectures on which were published in 1846,—and proceeds to shew that these are "also the principles which connect together the other books of the New Testament, and that these in fact constitute the Christian religion, which Bishop Warburton, who founded the course which he (Maurice) was delivering, had desired his lectures to prove, by the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old and New Testament in the history of the Christian Church.

But let us listen to the statement of his object in his own words, which are as follows:—

"Instead of beginning from our Lord, considered simply as the man of Nazareth, it seems to me, that the first three Gospels, just as much as the fourth, begin with assuming Him to be the Son of God and the King of men. To shew how he fulfilled these characters is their object. All the discourses and acts which they attribute to Him are simple and natural upon that hypothesis, unintelligible and incoherent upon any other. It will be the purpose of my first lecture, to make good these assertions, first, from a consideration of those facts, which are common to the three Gospels, then by an examination of their characteristic differences. In the next lecture I shall endeavour to shew that the epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. Paul, illustrating and illustrated by the events recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, exhibit the Gospel of the Son of God and his kingdom in another stage, and under three distinct aspects; but just as personally, just as livingly as the Evangelists themselves do. Finally, that the Gospels and Epistles of St. John harmonise those aspects of this Kingdom which we have traced in the other Evangelists, and in the other Apostles, and that the Apocalypse conducts the history to a crisis, while all the other books have been prophesying of a crisis, which is the full manifestation of the Son of God and his kingdom, and shews that as it was the kingdom which fulfilled the meaning of all Jewish institutions and prophecies, so it would be the real foundation of all human society after these institutions were dissolved. If the facts looked at, in the most simple manner should seem to bear out these conclusions, the arguments which Baur and his school have used to prove the diversity and contradiction of the New Testament books, will establish their unity. The arguments which Strauss and his school have used to prove that they embody the conception of something transcendently human,

will shew that their basis is essentially divine. Finally the belief of their authority will not depend upon an acquaintance with old traditions, or upon our power of understanding ingenious special pleas, but upon the testimony of eighteen centuries, which will declare whether such a kingdom as that which the New Testament says would come into existence has come into existence or no."

Now deep as is the impression that remains stamped upon our minds after a perusal of this valuable treatise, that mankind are the subjects of a Universal Divine Kingdom,—that the Son of God who was "manifested in the flesh" 1800 years ago, is that universal king whose beneficent rule dates from the ever-retiring accession to the ministry in the government of this terrestrial sphere, and who equally conducted the administration of divine affairs during the patriarchal and Jewish, as he at present administers them during the rolling course of the Christian economy,—we say, deep as is this impression, does it, after all, obtrude the difficulties that encompass the consideration of the world's problem? Does it really reduce to silence the plausible objections of modern scepticism? Is the rationalist who rises from the contemplation of the "unity of the New Testament" less ready to exclaim that "the high poetical and moral value of the choicest Hebrew literature, is tarnished by an arrogant nationality, and an uncharitable feeling towards the rest of mankind; and if a few prophets pleaded nobly in favour of sincerity and justice, their precepts were neutralised by precedents which under the name of religion justified treachery, exclusiveness, and cruelty?" Or less inclined to adopt the language of modern scepticism—"Have we any right to say that the Christian church is a mere expansion of the Jewish nation, a perfect flower coming out of a bud? Are not exclusion, war, persecution, extermination, set forth as principles of the one; comprehension, peace, forgiveness, regeneration, of the other? Is it possible to speak of the same Being as the author of both? Is it possible for any one heartily to sympathise in the fruits of the Gospel, who does not shrink with a kind of horror from the acts enjoined by the Israelitish law?"

We at least, trow not,—and while we would neither wish to undervalue or ignore the existent "evidences of Christianity" as they have hitherto been presented to the minds of men, we do in common, we believe, with a numerous and increasingly augmenting class of the intelligent community, desiderate a course of demonstration, adapting itself to the tendencies of the age, that will in fact prove a counteractive to the crudities and plausibilities ever and anon emanating from the pen of the disciples of what is commonly designated the school of progress.

"The most capable argument hitherto offered," says an accomplished living writer, who himself has added a "new tribute" to theology, "is undoubtedly that arising from the *consecutive nature of the three dispensations.*" Nor do we deny that Maurice has succeeded in discerning a succession, of which preceding apologists have availed themselves in defending at once the doctrines of Christianity and the articles and constitution of the church to which they belonged. It requires but the most cursory glance at his writings to convince one, that in his estim-

ation a succession of dispensations was demanded, by the education which the All-Father of humanity was imparting to his "giant pupil"—the world.

"Adopt our view of it," says he, in a passage selected at random, in which he is referring to the Sermon on the Mount, "and we see the eternal grounds of the precepts in two principles, alike involved in the constitution of man *each developed in its due season*, (one by the teacher who had the veil over his countenance, the other by him who came to shew forth the express image of God in human flesh,) each to be upheld for the sake of the other, each losing its own stability when the other is forgotten."—(Kingdom of Christ, pp. 340–1.)

Not only so; "these documents," we find him stating in another passage, in allusion to the Bible, "profess to reveal a constitution which is declared to be the divine constitution for man. It is revealed first to a particular family, then to a particular nation, then through that family and nation to mankind. But this revelation is a history. The acts of this family and this nation, and the acts by which their possession becomes an universal one, embody the discovery. The oppositions which arise without and within this family and nation to the principle upon which they are founded, explain to us the contradiction between the will of man and the order in which he is placed. They make us conscious of the existence of two societies, one formed in accordance with the order of God, the other based upon self-will."—(Ibid. pp. 225–6.)

It would betray the grossest ignorance as well as injustice, to question the fact that Maurice has discovered the clue which will eventually lead to our escape out of the labyrinth of dreary tortuosities and difficulties into which preceeding enquirers have plunged their credulous disciples. We shall not be deterred however by such a frank acknowledgment from pointing out the defects of the system which he has so elaborately wrought out, and in doing so, we shall not attempt what our limits do not admit of, a detailed review of his writings, but present our readers with the system which we deem it quite possible to construct from the materials scattered through the scriptures of truth.

Before addressing ourselves to the immediate subject in hand, we regard it as an indispensable preparative to its full comprehension, that we should allude to the law of development, which we may unhesitatingly assert pervades the universe.

"Man is a microcosm," has become such a trite observation, that we run the risk of sacrificing the depth of meaning which is stored up in its laconic brevity. Were it possible to apply the most microscopic capabilities of observation, to the tedious tardiness of the development of the physical and mental constitution of man; find *e.g.* that at the termination of every septenniad of human existence the particles which formed the *materiel* of the physical system had given place to a similar yet a new *physique*, and that coincident changes had been effected in the opinions, sentiments, fears, and hopes, *i.e.* in the mind of the individual, in accordance with certain invariable laws; we say were it possible to construct a sort of graduated scale of the physical and mental development of the individual man, we should have sketched the outlines of human

progression, to the full comprehension of which sociology, the man, Science,—the real "science of sciences" must yet address itself. When the professions of the various -ologies, -onomies, and -osophies, shall have presented the world with the facts cognisable by their respective sciences, as well as with a tabular view of their classifications, then, but not till then, may we expect to raise the superstructure which requires such a massive and secure foundation, and then, but not till then, will we comprehend the full significancy of the golden saying, "man is a microcosm."

Rudimentary as is the present condition of this noble science, and dependant upon the previous evolution of the subordinate sciences for its perfection, we are yet not wholly ignorant of the foundation principles on which it rests. However incompetent it may be as yet for us to arrange with anything like mathematical precision a detailed chart exhibiting the continuous development of the material and spiritual constituents of the mundane system, we must gratefully acknowledge the partial efforts that have already been made to arrive at "a consummation so devoutly to be wished."

Starting from the solid terrestrial ball,—the analogue of whose development is furnished by the *physique* of the individual man,—not to mention the earlier formative process by which in accordance with the nebular hypothesis, it assumes its spheroidal shape, the geologist has exposed to view the sedimentary strata and rocks, deposited in the course of ages, to adapt it for the residence of its future inhabitants, and his conclusions beautifully harmonise with the concise narrative of our earliest historic records. Passing to the spiritual sphere, the ethnologist satisfies the presage which the progressive development of the material system inspired, by laying before us the series of epochs,—golden, silvern, brazen, iron, &c.,—into which the historic life of the past has been divided. It is impossible for the veriest tyro in history to survey the past, and mark the states of infancy and adolescence through which humanity has passed to maturity, without being convinced of the correctness of the general views we have indicated; and no philosophy of history can be attempted to be foisted on the world which does not conform to the tendencies of opinion in this new direction, in confirmation of which assertion we require only to refer to the "theory of human progression."

To which kingdom of nature—to what art or science— to which philosophy—shall we refer that does not exhibit the operation of the fundamental principles of development? Turn we then, to the animate or inanimate, the material, the vegetable, or the animal kingdom of nature, and doesn't every tiny blade that clothes the clammy clay with its verdure, every tinted flower that displays its loveliness, and every stately tree that adorns the earth with its umbrageous foliage, every body, biped or quadruped, of an animal, rational or irrational, bear testimony, while they are gradually, yet not the less "fearfully and wonderfully, made," to their subjection to this universal law?

Turn we to the arts and manufactures; and doesn't their history,—a history in which we learn that the wigwam of the child of nature has been superseded by the palatial mansion,—the wild beast's skin by the

silken drapery of the 19th century,—the tedious pack horse by the fiery rapidity of modern locomotion,—bear witness to the operation of the same all-pervading principle of progress?

Turn we to the philosophical sciences, and need we state that the evolution of ideas as exhibited in the history of philosophy, systematised as it has lately been in the "elements of psycology"—alone illustrates and is explained by the law, in accordance with whose operation its expounder is "enabled to see in the intellectual phases of the infant, the child, the youth, the mature man, a continuation of the same law, which pervades the universe at large?"

Or turn we, in fine, to political science; and has'nt the heart-rending annals, which a retrospective survey of the life of humanity offers to our contemplation, recording as they do the emancipation of mankind from arbitrary despotism, and the attainment of freedom as experienced in the self-governing commonweal of the new world, at once produced the conviction that principles must be written in blood, and borne indisputable evidence to the omnipotence and universality of the law of development?

Now on extending our contemplation to the science of theology, should it reasonably excite our astonishment, that in perusing the history of religious opinions and doctrines, a similar progress is observable? Or that in offering an explanation of the facts of revelation, we should have recourse to the operation of the law, in accordance with which an extensive induction authorises us to infer that the physical and moral government of the universe is administered?

Having adverted as briefly as possible to the foundation principle, on which indeed any science whatever can be based, we shall proceed to shew its application to the elucidation of the scheme of providence as revealed in the history of the world and the church, recorded in the Old and New Testaments.

Co-extensive, as necessarily is the field of our survey with the world, embracing the whole course of time from the hour when the earth rolled out of the past, until the moment when it shall be immerged in the abyss of the future eternity, and "from the history of the mightiest empire down to the vicissitudes of the very humblest of the human race," we conceive it will greatly tend to a clearer and more adequate apprehension of the one grand and comprehensive divine design, should we, preliminary to the discussion of those multitudinous points of detail, which will encounter us at every step we advance in the elimination of what we desire in all humility to designate the Christian world-system, trace the *summa fastigia rerum*, the bold outlines of that scheme that strike even the most careless observer.

Habituated in this mechanical and mercantile age, as are too many minds, to the divison and subdivision of labour, and frequently incapacitated for grasping in their mental span, the ideas of the universe, we are well aware that the theory we offer may be assailed by the objection that the history of humanity presents the student with a heterogeneous mass of incoherencies and inconsistencies. It is gratifying however to find in an "Introduction to the history of the 19th century," emanating from

the continent of Europe, that the truth has dawned upon the mind of the modern and talented historian, that "all events of history viewed in short periods of time, move in one course, resembling other equally short periods in their general character; and are the result of certain prevailing influences. Longer periods taken together, present the appearance of constant oscillations between opposite impulses. They resist the predominance of any one idea, of any one leading power or action; but in the survey of the great course of centuries, we cannot fail to perceive the alternate ebb and flow of a stream in a certain direction, and the progress of a guiding principle."

Nor did it afford us less gratification to meet with a passage in the writings of a celebrated living divine bearing a marked coincidence in sentiment with the decided conviction of the historian, sanctioning as it does the general correctness of the views we are advocating. Let us adorn our pages with the apt quotation.

"Let the march and movement of a mighty and majestic river, be traced as it rolls in widening stream over miles of chequered and broken, country, now chafing itself amid rocks,—anon ruffled into ripples and cross currents,—and again sweeping along in deep and silent grandeur, free, copious, unembarrassed and unimpeded, with all its manifold vicissitudes, amid light and shade, field and forest, gloom and gladness, it holds on its steady and protracted course, tardily upon the whole, and even tediously as if no violent crash were to be apprehended. But suddenly, when its waves are at the stillest and the smoothest, the rapids are abruptly reached; onward hurries the impetuous stream in deepening tide, with fearfully accelerated speed; until one restless rush over the headlong precipice, as with thunder-roar and lightning-flash, ends on the instant the entire career it has been running; makes short work indeed of all its past flow of waters; and clears the way for the new start and the fresh race that are to follow. After some such analogy as this the providence of God over individuals and communities and the world at large seems to proceed."

It is with less hesitancy that we now approach the threshold of our task and proceed to define those leading epochs into which the divine annals are naturally divided and the culminating points of which constitute their *summa fastigia*,—their natural boundaries.

"The history of every individual man" it has been no less ingeniously than profoundly remarked, "should be a Bible." This is simply the repetition in a different and perhaps more Christian form of the philosophic aphorism, "man is a microcosm;" which again is varied by the Poet, thus—

"Every man is the first man to himself."

And what does this imply but that the history of the individual man finds its counterpart in the history of Humanity? This is no transcendental doctrine, the application of which affords a clue to guide our steps through the labyrinth of difficulties into which this subject has been plunged. It must suffice for our present purpose to sketch the outlines of the history of the individual, as well as of Humanity, and as we are

anxious that the correspondence between the two should be carefully observed, conceive of them ranked in opposite columns, as in the following classification :—

The Individual.		*Humanity.*
Infancy.	corresponding to which is	Normal Paradisaic Era.
1. Childhood in Family,	"	Patriarchal Era.
2. Youthhood in Community,	"	Jewish National Era.
3. Manhood under influence of Cosmopolitan Christian principle.	"	Universal Christian (proper) Era.

We do not of course affect to mark off with the square and rule of precision the corresponding periods in our classification ; nor have we ventured in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, to state the proportional extent of time that appears to us to have been allotted to the course of the respective epochs, though we are persuaded, seeing the conviction has already arisen that "God works by geometry," that future enquirers may, by dint of calculation and the persevering study of those analogies that pervade the universe, arrive at the conclusion which we only anticipated. But assuredly that man must be devoid of common intelligence, fettered by no ordinary amount of prejudice, biassed to no slight extent by his education, or hampered by the system which in his estimation is solely entitled to orthodoxy, that will not acknowledge the correctness of our classification, a classification, indeed, which is based on the very genius of the language in which we hold daily intercourse and communication with each other, as might easily be proved by a study of the convertible and metaphorical use of words, especially in the Bible itself.

Doesn't infancy, sweetly smiling infancy, on whose unconscious (comparative) innocence we look back with gladness, beautifully correspond to the guileless golden age and prime of the world's paradise? Doesn't childhood, placed under domestic government in the family circle, afford a correct counterpart of the patriarchal age, during which period the church and nation were circumscribed by the limits of the household, and the parent was at once hereditary priest and prince? Doesn't youth-hood, requiring the watchful guardianship and counsel of a parent or mentor, exactly tally with the community of the children of Israel, privileged with the peculiar protection and favour of their divine Father-King? Doesn't manhood, transformed under divine influence into a "new creature," present a close correspondence to the "fulness of times" when the genial rule of the gracious gospel of love effected the new creation of humanity.

Could we by any possibility have selected a single individual as the representative of Humanity, whose life and character would not exhibit those peculiarities and idiosyncrasies which in fact constitute individuality,—a disqualification therefore which is unavoidable,—we might have shewn from the study of his biography that his life was a Bible, in other words, that an intelligent study of his life and character would evince

as marked a progress of opinion and of religion in the soul, as is observable in the history of humanity as recorded in the Word of God.

Suppose, for the sake of illustration, in the absence of any such representative specimen of humanity, we regard the "man Jesus" as the type of the race, a supposition which we are perhaps justified in making, once we are satisfied that Paul regarded Christ as "the ground and pattern of the visible and invisible creation," in whom "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," "the Image of God," "manifested in the flesh," and to which revelation the previous economies had been subservient teachers. Let it be distinctly understood that while acknowledging His divinity, in the present instance we contemplate Christ Jesus as "the man," the model man, if you will, who reflected "the image of God" in the eyes of mankind, and exhibited that life and character to which he wishes humanity to be conformed and assimilated.

Now, if, as men of science teach us, there be a type in accordance with which the development of plants and animals takes place, and if amidst the multifarious complexities and complications that characterise the several kingdoms of nature, they can trace a unity of purpose and plan which enables them to "rise from nature up to nature's God," are we not entitled to anticipate the existence of a type of humanity, and the discovery of a principle that will harmonize the beginning, middle, and end of the great world-drama? We apprehend that "the man Jesus" offers the divine type, image, idea, model, which is *embodied* equally in the life of himself, of individuals, and of humanity.

Mark then, those periods in the life of Christ, which in the estimation not only of the Evangelists, but also of the Apostles, formed notable eras in the accomplishment of His Divine Mission, and we obtain a classification exhibiting a correspondence between the Crises, Critical, or Transition-periods in the history of the Individual, and the culminating points observable in the history of Humanity, as follows:—

Individual.		*Humanity.*
1. Baptism, ...	corresponding to which is,	The Deluge.
2. Crucifixion and Resurrection,	"	Destruction of Jerusalem, and Rise of Christianity.
3. Ascension, . . .	"	Commencement of Millennial State.

In order that we may be able to view "the man Jesus," as the general type of humanity, we must of course divest Him for the nonce, in imagination, of those *specialities* which shed a halo around Him who is "the brightness of God's glory and the express image of His person," we mean, that when reference is made to the Baptism, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension of the individual, we must exclude those circumstances which, in the case of "the man Jesus," invested them with their *extra*-ordinary and *super*-natural character, and restrict our attention to them in the sense in which they are applicable to mankind generally; e. g. to Baptism as the initiatory and dedicatory ordinance of the Church, and to the others as synchronising with those periods when a

man "crucifies" his affections and lusts, "rises" with Christ to "newness of life," and "and sits together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."

We are by no means palming our peculiar notions upon our readers, as those most intimately acquainted with apostolic language will be ready to allow, though they may not have been accustomed to such a systematic presentation of the views, which are undoubtedly not only sanctioned but adopted by the writers of the Sacred Scriptures.

Acknowledged by interpreters of Scripture as is the well known passage in the third chapter of the First Epistle of Peter, to be a *nodus vindice dignus*, they are not less unanimous in declaring that the deluge is there alluded to as a "like figure" to Baptism. It need not be denied that the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple affords a striking counterpart of the Crucifixion of Him, who Himself said, "Destroy this temple," (speaking of his own body) "and in three days I will raise it up." We do not profess, so far as our memory serves us, that the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ are employed to denote the Rise, Progress, and Universal Reign of Christianity in the world, and the future glory of the Millennial Church on earth, in any other portions of the Word of God, except in the symbolical representation of the Revelations, which, however, we deem quite sufficient to authorise our making the application of them that we have done.

Combine now the two classifications which we have offered, and it will be observed, that the latter provides us with what we may term either the ends, terminations, consummations, or transition-periods of the respective eras or epochs into which the life and history both of the individual and of Humanity, are divided by the former. Perhaps we cannot convey a more correct conception of their conjoined classifications to the minds of our readers, by which a "bird's-eye" view may be obtained of the consecutive and correspondent epochs referred to, than by requesting them to conceive of three circles increasing in their dimensions by geometric progression. Elevating "the Man Jesus" to the throne in the centre of our system of the universe, as the type and moded of the human race,—"the Son of God," also, let it be remembered, the Father of all, who "made of one blood the nations that are on the face of the earth;"—the innermost circle comprehends the era during which both the individual and humanity are placed under Paternal and Patriarchal Government;—the youthhood of the individual in the community, as well as the Jewish national period, is circumscribed by the second,—while the outer or third circle embraces within its vast circumference, the manhood of the individual under the influence of Cosmopolitan Christian principle, and the correspondent epoch of the history of humanity, when Christianity proper was promulgated as the basis of spiritual and universal brotherhood throughout the wide, wide world.

We have designedly avoided the consideration of the paradisaic era, to which the fleeting period of the comparative innocence of the infancy of the individual corresponds, regarding it, as we are entitled to do, as the *normal* condition of man, the evolution of which was precluded by the rebellion and fall of Adam,—a rebellion productive of those discor-

dant evils for the remedying and rectification of which, that course of education and discipline has been rendered necessary, against which the reason of man is ever and anon anew revolting, but which the nearer humanity is approximating that assimilation and conformity to "the Image of God," the destruction of which was effected in Eden, the stronger is becoming the conviction of its necessity, and the greater the praise that redounds to that God of wisdom and Father of love, by whom it was originated and instituted; so much so indeed, that even already we anticipate the time, when it shall be proclaimed, "the mystery is finished," and the sons of men shall intelligently blend their joyful voices with the angelic hosts in the celestial song,—"Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and goodwill to men."

Such then are the epochal circles of the world-system described by the hand of Providence on the surface of the history of humanity, from whose centre the beams of "the Sun of righteousness" have radiated through the *media* of the family and the nation, till they penetrated "in due time," to the utmost circumference of the circle of the universe;—pervaded throughout, as will become apparent in the sequel, by harmonies as beautiful as wonderful, and pealing forth in notes as unmistakeable in their signification as "the music of the spheres," the trinity in unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

In addressing ourselves to the task of tracing the *identity* of the three consecutive economies under which humanity has been reared, we propose pointing out the more prominent *characteristics* of the three cycles of revelation, in the course of which investigation, we shall necessarily have recourse to the principles of development, the application of which we anticipate will at once unveil the origin, and afford the correct explanation of those misconceptions and misconstructions of our opponents regarding the mutual connection and relations of the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations. Cursory and condensed as must be the sketch we propose giving, we trust that it will at least suggest to a train of thought in the mind of the earnest and enquiring youth of our age, which will carry them to a region of rest and repose.

There are two volumes comprehended within the boards of "the Bible," stamped at once with the impress, and giving expression to the mind of divinity,—demanding and entitled to be regarded as the Revelation of the Will of God,—acknowledged as the standard of the Christian Creed, and moulding the outlines of the Christian character,—these two volumes are the Old and New Testaments. Communicated, as have been their collected contents, "at sundry times and in separate parts," in condescension doubtless to the capacity of humanity at these respective periods, distinguished from each other by a broad line of demarcation, into the Paradisaic and Patriarchal, the Old Jewish and New Christian economies,—presenting too, the strongest contrasts, and exhibiting no less striking similarities, the essential Unity of Purpose in the revelation of one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, which characterises each portion equally with the whole, proclaims, and attests, that they have emanated from the "One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all."

If then the proposition with which we have started in asserting, be established as the basis of everlasting truth,—if Christ be "the image of God,"—the prototype of humanity,—in the sense we have defined, we should anticipate the possibility of tracing the essential identity of Christianity amidst the "diversities of administrations," that have characterised the history of revelation and religion; and we trust we should be able to shew that the principle which we have posited, presents us with the *rationale* of the three consecutive dispensations.

Let it be borne in mind, that we restrict our survey to the Shemitic race; but we wish it to be distinctly observed, that there are two other cotemporary courses of generic development carried on in the world, viz., the Japhetic and Hamite, or Canaanite, to which we cannot, on the present occasion, more particularly advert, and the investigation of which would be demanded in a philosophy of history. We shall merely state that the triple course, diverging from the family of Noah, blends into unity, at the period of the proclamation of the universal polity at the Christian era, when Jew and Gentile, i. e., Asiatic, European, and African, merged into Christian; and that these races, hitherto isolated and separated by physical barriers and boundaries in the old, may be observed incorporating and amalgamating in a new race in the new world.

We are introduced *in limine* to the history of the normal constitution of humanity, which has received the distinctive appellation of the Paradisaic or Edenic dispensations, the evolution of which was abruptly terminated by its Adamic violation. Slender as are the materials provided by the concise narrative of the sacred historian, we may yet discern in the general features of the primitive condition of man as delineated by his inspired pen, the counterpart of that innocence of infant-hood which characterises the life of every child of humanity.

The elegance of unadorned simplicity, "unmanacled by form," of pastoral life and manners, and the veriest simplicity of the injunction imposed as a test of obedience, at once authenticate the reality of the history, and attest the Fatherhood of humanity—the God and Father of love. Treading that terrestrial Paradise glowing with the richest bloom of gorgeous foliage and brilliant flowerage, man, graced with the mien and majesty of a scion and son of Divine royalty, and radiant with the glory of peerless perfection, basked in the balmiest sunshine of the smile of his father and his God. Robed in unsullied purity,—another and lovelier self,—woman, his friend, his society, his world,—a bower in Eden his home,—the earth provided her semi-spontaneous productions as offerings for his table equally as for the altar of their common Creator and Benefactor. Happy children! Devout worshippers! Such were the happy pair on the fleshly tablets of whose holy hearts were inscribed the Revelation of God, and to whom were originally assigned the "dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over everything that moveth upon the earth,"—at once kings and priests to God. To them the fair face of Eden, variegated with the rich mosaic of nature's drapery, was the vast floor at once of a palace and a temple, domed and canopied by the blue etherial expanse, and fretted with the

sparkling stars of heaven, every spot of which was consecrated to the worship and adoration of that Father, King, and God, whose gentle law was the law of love. To them the hallowed Sabbath afforded a season of cessation from grateful toil, for sublime and serene contemplation, for awful and intimate communion with "the Word" of the Lord God that walked in the garden.

> "But Adam lost Paradise—eternal tale,
> Repeated in the lives of all his sons."

We must not suffer the host of questions that start themselves for discussion, or passing from the normal to the remedial, educational, and restorative constitution of humanity, to divert us from the prosecution of our present purpose, baffling, as they mostly do, the futile attempts at comprehension or explanation. We accept the facts, as they are faithfully recorded, we doubt not, in all their stern and severe literality of accomplishment. We track the footsteps of rebel man and woman from heaven to earth. Alas, how fallen! We behold paradise blighted, blasted, and beslimed by the trail of the old serpent, the devil,—humanity ravaged by ruin, trampled by destruction, harrassed and harrowed in heart by restlessness and remorse, divested of immortality, and debarred from the tree of life by "Cherubims and a flaming sword," and war to the death proclaimed on the battlefield of a late tranquil and peaceful world. We hail with as mingled satisfaction as it must have been welcomed by the first guilty pair, the Προτευαγγελιον, the first gospel of glad tidings that fell on the ears of fallen humanity on the eve of the expulsion, which synchronises with the commencement of what is generally termed the patriarchal dispensation.

It is quite evident that the personal communications of "the Word of God" to Adam in paradise, obviated all necessity for the employment of those subordinate methods to which we are indebted for the acquisition, whether of divine or human knowledge. But when man had rendered himself obnoxious to the curse of the violated law, and had thereby interrupted the close communion which he had been privileged to hold with divinity, his altered condition demanded a new revelation, his rebellious nature and alienated affections, the dire result of his disobedience, an education, discipline, and training; accordingly we find that humanity in childhood is placed under a new *regime*, viz., under domestic government in the family, under which it remained until the patriarchal merged into the Jewish national dispensation.

Domestic government is the first, equally in the infancy of the child as in the infancy of the world, whose influence is brought to bear upon their destinies. It does not appear that magistracy in its several grades, existed in the antediluvian social system, a fact which may serve to account for the impunity with which a Cain sheds the blood of an Abel, and a Lamech, one of his descendants, boasts of having slain a young man, while he retains all the privileges of citizenship, and for aught we know to the contrary, the respect and esteem of his wives and cotemporaries. The family, indeed, constituting as it does the type of the church and kingdom of God on earth, is the primitive institution estab-

lished for the restoration of that order disturbed by the fall, and in which childhood is trained to habits of filial obedience and educated for immortality and heaven. It cannot fail to be observed that the church and kingdom of God were circumscribed by the limits of the family circle, during the course of the Patriarchal dispensation, and that the Father combined in his own person the offices both of priest and king, the respective duties of which he discharged in his household.

But what were the duties, what the mode of worship entailed upon humanity in accordance with the new revelation graciously vouchsafed in the "First Gospel" under the remedial constitution? We apprehend it will not be disputed that an avenger, deliverer, or restorer was promised to mankind in that brief and primitive revelation in which it is declared that the seed of the woman shall bruise the head of their deceiver and destroyer? Now if Christ be at once proto-type and anti-type of the deliverer, as authentic history bears ample testimony, in what manner shall the revelation of this great fact be intelligibly expressed and imparted to the childhood of humanity? Such was the problem that offered itself for solution to the divine wisdom, at the origination of that scheme of salvation by which mankind are restored to the possession of the forfeited original rights and privileges of sons in the family of God.

When we assert that vicarious and piacular animal sacrifice was the divine institutional expression of the fundamental and essential idea of Christianity,—the atonement of Christ,—we doubt not that we embody in language the fact which commends itself as the basis of the religious faith and creed of Christendom.

Could we by any possible means discover and stereotype the religious creed of Childhood, we are confident that while ignorance blended with superstition in its crude and imperfect construction, it would present a view of the nature of the Deity consonant to truth and closely corresponding to the creed of the patriarchal period. We do not profess to have transcribed a child's creed from the tablet of its youthful heart; but we appeal to the earliest recollections of our readers, if the conception that they formed of their God was not a being of human form, clothed with at least the attributes of omnipotence aud omniscience, an almighty Father indeed, their Maker, the remembrance of whose invisible presence filled their hearts with superstitious fear, and at the voice of whose thunder they crouched in terror and dismay? And was not "the almighty God" the name that he assumed to himself in his communications with the patriarchs? And were not the exhibitions of his almighty sovereignty and righteous rigidity of divine retribution in barring all egress to paradise by a flaming sword,—in blighting the earth with his curse,—in the institution of bloody animal sacrifice with its harrowing and heart-rending associations,—in course of time by sweeping away myriads of mankind into a premature and watery grave by the deluge, and by overwhelming Sodom and Gomorrah in a lake of fire and brimstone; we say, were not exhibitions of his almighty sovereignty such as these calculated to strike awe and terror into the minds of the children of humanity? Be that as it may. Contemplate the creed

which by implication is professed in the very observance of vicarious sacrifice, the nature and character of offended Deity, the confession of guilt equally as of penitential submission to the will of God as the part of the offerer, the self sacrificing obedience of faith, in a word to which it gives emphatic and unmistakeable expression, and shall we hesitate to recognise the patriarchs, who "by faith" offered "the Lamb of God" on their rough-hewn altars, as "Sons of God," the true "primitive Christians," to whom the gospel was proclaimed in its pristine purity and originality? And may we not trace the personal identity of Christianity, in the reflection of "the Image of God" in the lives and characters of that royal roll of saintly heroes of the covenant, inaugurated by the proto-martyr Abel, and to be completed on the accession of the last son of God to his throne in the kingdom of heaven?

We shall not stay to demonstrate the perversity of intellect which those philologists and critics display, who deny the patriarchs the knowledge of the all-Father of Humanity, their relationship to Him, as well as their prospects in an immortality of future weal or woe. Did we astutely blind ourselves to the statements and comments of inspired penmen of Scripture, as *e.g.* that "they confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth," that they desired "a better country that is an heavenly," and "looked for a city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God,"—we might possibly rank ourselves amongst the disciples of Warburtonianism, though we doubt much whether the recollection of the sacrifice and resurrection of Isaac "in a figure," and the translation of Enoch, would not stagger our misbelief and redeem us from the depths of stubborn infidelity.

There is one feature which stamps with peculiarity the Patriarchal in common with the Jewish, and which disappeared at the introduction of the Christian economy,—we refer to the *ministration of angels.* We certainly have been accustomed to regard the ministry of the angel-world as extraordinary, accidental rather indeed, to the earliest dispensations of Christianity; yet we make bold to maintain, that arranged as the remedial constitution of humanity manifestly is, in harmony with the laws which we observe operating in the microcosmic child, as well as in the universe, its absence would have been considered as an *anomaly.* Let it never be forgotten in prosecuting our investigations on this subject that the Divine Teacher, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," who opened his mouth in parables to the incipient manhood of humanity, has not displayed a less amount of wisdom and skill than his human representatives, that He has adapted and accommodated his communications and instructions to the capacities of those world-pupils upon whom he was bestowing his divine education.

We do not deem it necessary to tread upon the patience of our readers by adducing evidence at length in support of the doctrine that Christ is "the Word of God," "the Angel," and "Messenger of the Covenant," who held communication in an incarnate form with man in paradise, patriarchs, prophets, priests and kings. The divine authority which that august personage wields, the titles which he assumes, and the worship which he regards it no robbery, no blasphemy, to receive, all clearly

testify that no subordinate ambassador of Heaven has been commissioned to treat with the revolted and rebellious family of God on earth.

Now, withdraw the presence of the Father,—the representative of God to his child,—from his family, and cast it into orphanage, and is it not tantamount to plunging its members into homelessness, friendlessness, wretchedness, ignorance, oft-times into prodigality, criminality, ruin and death? And could you, ye sciolists, ye hierophants in modern Christendom, prognosticate the horoscope of this *dis*-guardianed world, had it even in its unlettered childhood, hugged the completed Old and New Testaments in its youthful bosom? Had you as its "tutelary Deity," reclined in state on the inaccessible summit of some Olympian cloud-land, and surveyed with the *sang froid* and nonchalance of father "Pan," the fatherless and friendless family breathing their piteous wail into the heartless atmosphere, would the scene of your desperate and indignant children flagellating your marble image, have excited your astonishment?

But a noble career and an honourable destiny awaited humanity, and the Divine Teacher himself,—the Word of God,—did not disdain to assume his office in *propriâ personâ*, in the critical period of its childhood and nonage, and orally instilled into the minds of his patriarchal pupils that revelation which gladdened them in their pilgrimage on earth, and emboldened them to dis-entabernacle themselves for immortality. But we must pass on, and content ourselves with the suggestions we have thrown out on this interesting and important topic.

Pursuing pastoral occupations as did those great forefathers of our race, and nomadic in their habits, the rites which their religious worship demanded were kindly adapted to the primitive simplicity of their manners and mode of life. Pitching their tents as they did on the first green *oasis* that offered pasturage and waterage for their flocks, beneath the plumes of the stately palms that waved their Creator's welcome of hospitality to the "Pilgrim Fathers," they reared with ease an altar of stones on which they laid their morning and evening sacrifice to their paternal God. Was the remedial constitution designed to restore the order infringed by rebellion, and the image of God erased by the foul breath of the destroyer? Let the scene exhibited by a patriarchal family be our practical response. Behold in that Abrahamic household, in which the church is commensurate with the kingdom, the kingship with the priesthood, in its fatherhood, in its brotherhood, and in the ties which unite them in the bonds of love and communion, the faint and imperfect copy of the divine original of paradise! While the vast earth was the home, it was synonymous with the Altar of the Universal Father of the Patriarchs, "in whom all the families of the earth were blessed." This universality which is so eminently characteristic of the patriarchal, painfully contrasts with the particularity of the Jewish National dispensation to which it gave place, in the great cycle of providence.

EGYPT: ANCIENT AND MODERN.[1]

In these two works we have one of the most ancient and interesting countries in the world brought us, at widely distant epochs in its history. In the first we have the Egypt of to-day, and in the second we have the Egypt of three or four thousand years ago. From whatever point of view we regard Egypt, it must ever be invested with the deepest interest. Not that its soil is classic like that of Greece and Rome, nor that its scenes are sacred, like the hallowed spots in the Holy Land. It has given us no philosophers, poets, or historians, whose writings we are called on to study and admire. And although many mighty miracles were wrought there in days of old, yet were they miracles of wrath and vengeance. Notwithstanding the absence of sacred and classic associations, still Egypt has an interest of its own, in its extreme antiquity, in the vastness of its ancient monuments, in its climate, customs, language, and in the light which recent discoveries in its tombs, temples, sculptures, and hieroglyphics, have thrown on the Sacred Scriptures.

The object of the first of these two works is to show us that Egypt possesses a remarkably mild winter climate, and that it is worthy of becoming a place of resort to those who dread the rigours of our insular home. By steam communication, Egypt has been recently brought within the distance of a fortnight's journey from this country. All the travellers who have published their observations on the country, have never failed, whatever else they saw to dislike and condemn there, to praise its exquisitely pure air and delicious climate. In ancient times it was esteemed by the Roman physicians a highly beneficial resort for the delicate, and the character which it possessed in former days is now in the fair way of being fully revived in consequence of the increasing facilities for reaching it. The excellence of its climate, and its comparative exemption from consumption and some other diseases, have been admitted by several of our first physicians. The book is written in a clear and unpretending style, and the facts which Mr Rhind adduces in support of his position are of great importance. The hints which he gives to intending travellers in Egypt supply us with some interesting information respecting the modes of travelling, and the state of things existing generally at the present day in Egypt:—

"I feel the more bound, therefore, having professed to discuss the character of the climate, to supply the data for judging of it also in this connection. If, in doing so, I should mention some things already made familiar by the many popular books of Eastern travel, it will be in the course of describing what at the *present time*, is the state of matters with regard to the every-day life awaiting the visitor to Egypt. In any case, I shall not incur the criticism of wishing to intrude on the broader field already so successfully occupied; but by confining myself chiefly to the humbler details hitherto very generally omitted, I shall hope to be allowed the credit of at least attempting to be useful.

[1] Egypt: Its Climate, Character, and Resources, as a Winter Resort. By A. Henry Rhind, F.S.A.

Egypt and the Books of Moses, by Dr E. W. Hengstenberg.

"On landing at Alexandria after a sea voyage, all will be disposed to rest there for a day or two, especially as the hotels are sufficiently comfortable; but there is no inducement to make any longer stay—indeed, rather the reverse, as the air will be found, in October and November when strangers usually arrive, close and oppressive to a degree less appreciable after moving to the drier and lighter atmosphere of Cairo. Up to last spring it would have been decidedly advisable to engage a boat for the winter's voyage at Alexandria, and to have used it as the means of conveyance to Cairo; at least such would have been the prudent course for any one to whom it was an object to avoid a night passage in the crowded cabin of a steamer, hot to suffocation, and stifling with the smoke of perhaps twenty pipes—an ordeal sufficiently trying to men of ordinary stamina, but positively dangerous to the less robust, especially as it not unusually terminated by a torch-light landing at Boolak (the port of Cairo) at three in the morning. Now, however, after interminable delays, the railway is open all the way, and trains profess to make the journey in about seven hours; but unfortunately the full benefit of this improved means of communication is seriously curtailed by the incessant inconvenience and annoyance arising from the capricious management consequent on the Pacha persisting in retaining the control of the line, instead of leasing it to European capitalists, who would find it their interest as well as duty to facilitate the comfort, and consult the obvious rights of their passengers. At present there is a total disregard of anything of the sort, arising, not it is conceived from any absence of effort on the part of some of the principal officials, who will courteously sympathise with justly-complaining travellers, but from the want of organization and the constant interference of the hangers-on of the government, or the Pacha, who, true to the spirit of Eastern rule, looks upon all men and things within his sway as existing for his sole gratification and use. While individual European wayfarers, few and solitary, might raise their voice in vain, and suffer long under this misrule, there is surely some chance, if no improvement speedily takes place, that it will be hastened by some strong remonstrance of a political nature, called forth by the necessity of smoothing the highway to India, at the only point where uncalled-for obstacles are now interposed."

The remarkable equability of the temparature, and the uniform dryness of the atmosphere, are justly remarked by the author as the causes of the extraordinary preservation of the water-colour paintings in the tombs of Egypt in their original freshness to the present day. Even Egyptian corn found in the hand of a mummy has been so well preserved after the lapse of thousands of years, as on experiments, to germinate and produce fruit. Writing paper kept in the upper country will, at the end of three years, begin to shrivel and crackle. A piece of wet cloth or other retentive substance loses its moisture with great rapidity. From thermometrical tables and meteorological notes of the utmost correctness and of undoubted authority, the author comes to the conclusion, that the uniformity of atmospheric phenomena in Egypt is almost unvarying. Ancient authorities cited are in entire harmony with this conclusion. In the time of Herodotus, the father of history, the equability of the climate was a matter of praise. Diodorus, Strabo, and Pliny, add their testimony to the same effect. Tibullus says, that in Egypt the plants do not pray to Jove for rain. Modern authorities are to the same effect. Sir James Clark says, that those requiring an atmosphere dry and warm, can in no part of Europe find "those qualities prevailing in so eminent

a degree during the winter, as in Upper Egypt." The Rev. Dr Barclay, who left England suffering from severe chronic bronchitis in its most aggravated form, describes the sudden change which at Chizeh came over him, "as if by magic, so that, at the end of a month, he returned to Cairo in perfect health." Captain Burton, a recent traveller, is quoted as declaring that the invigorating purity of its atmosphere, "puts to flight a dire cohort of diseases." Lord Haddo, it is well known, has derived signal benefit from his recent sojourn in Egypt. In a word, it is a well ascertained fact, that the natives of Egypt and Nubia suffer from phthisis to a remarkably small extent. Going down to Egypt for help, will therefore, it may be expected, soon become much more frequent and fashionable than going to Madeira ever was, or going to Italy now is.

Many authorities besides those already cited, concur in praising the exhilarating and healing effects of the climate. Our author has brought forward enough to establish his point. But similar testimony on the part of other Egyptian travellers, will no doubt occur to most of our readers. Lana, for example, says that the climate of Egypt during the greater part of the year is remarkably salubrious, adding, moreover, that the climate of Upper Egypt is more healthy, though hotter, than that of Lower Egypt. St John quotes the monks of Negadeh, as saying that it is almost impossible to die there, the climate is so healthy. Sounini, in like manner, praises the healthiness of the climate. The Englishwoman in Egypt, says the equality of its seasons is most remarkable, and that it is seldom disturbed by any frightful natural phenomena, such as hurricanes, and the like. All that Mr Rhind says about the dryness and lightness of its atmosphere, its power of imparting gratification to the mere act of animal existence, its invigorating purity, its sanative influence, can be borne out by the testimony of all who have been in Egypt. The natural conclusion from all that has been already said, may now be given in the author's own words:—

"For those invalids who are to leave home, and particularly to leave Britain, for the south of Europe, in search of a warm and equable winter, it would apparently be the prudent course where other objections are not present, and especially where a sea-voyage of greater or less duration might be deemed desirable, to cast their eyes towards a climate the best attainable and the nearest approach to ideal perfection, perhaps, that exists. In particular, it seems rather anomalous to go such a distance as Italy, and stop short of the very country to which the old Roman physicians, finding it superior in curative advantages to their own, were in the habit of sending many of their patients. Indeed, with regard to the Italian Peninsula, it might not be difficult to endorse the opinion of Matthews, in his once celebrated *Diary*, 'that to go there with the hope of escaping the winter is a grievous mistake.' Nor, on the other hand, is it unworthy the attention of those who contemplate a more distant pilgrimage, namely to Madeira, one of the West Indian islands, or elsewhere equally remote, whether Egypt might not judiciously be substituted. . . . For there are to be found conditions of atmosphere so exquisite and equable, that they are not only admirably adapted to soothe and strengthen irritable respiratory apparatus, but are also singularly calculated, both by their own properties and by the concomitant opportunities which they afford, to aid the improvement of the

general health, and so to strike at the root of the evil. In the first place, the absence of any excess of humidity, the balmy, but not unfrequently, and especially in the desert, gently bracing air, form a combination exceedingly favourable to the building up of the frame; and when it is considered, that with scarcely a variation the same characteristics are constantly present, that day after day, with probably no exception, the whole time from eight or nine o'clock in the morning to sunset, may be spent in the open air, with just as much exercise as may suit the ability or inclination of each person—that the attention is always agreeably occupied by the wonderful monuments, the novel features of the country, or the incidents of the voyage—when all those circumstances are considered, it will be seen that it is not easy to conceive of any series of practicable conditions move conducive to the establishment of health, and certainly, that no such series can be met with at home. . . . . There should be good accommodation in the deserts near Cairo, where invalids could stay from the end of October to the first of December; and further, there should be a similar resort at Thebes, also beyond the cultivated land, to which they could betake themselves from December to the middle of March, returning then for another month to their former quarters. With regard to such an establishment at the latter place, Dr Cumming has already hoped that it may one day exist for the benefit, as well of Indian as European invalids; and another traveller of livelier fancy, Mrs Romer, has sketched the Thebais, studded with the winter villas of migratory Englishmen, drawing more fully on her prophetic faculty by adding descriptive advertisements for the use of the future auctioneers and house-agents, to whom the possessors of those airy mansions shall intrust the disposal of their property."

Leaving this subject, it is worth observing how much every description of Cairo, its narrow streets, its donkeys and donkey-boys, and a thousand other things, interests all classes of readers. You wonder if it was through similar narrow streets and crowded bazaars that Sinbad the porter hurried to meet the Sinbad the sailor; and Haroun Al-Raschid wandered in the disguise of a Mosul porter, if it might be within some latticed interior like that before you, that Scheherezade told her thousand and one stories, or at some door-step like this that Alnaschar sat dreaming over the future wealth he was to derive from the basket of crockery at his feet, and which he in his proud dream so contemptuously kicked to pieces. Walk along and you will presently hear grand old Scriptural names pronounced, such as Suleiman, Yacoob, Daood, Haroun, Ibrahim, Youssouff. But commend us to the cries of Cairo. In them you have truly noble poetical flights. Syacomore figs—Ho, grapes! Odours of Paradise—Ho, Maidens, flowers of the henna! Consolation for the distressed—Ho, water-melons! Fresh roses! Spring-blush of the hill-sides—Ho, straw-berries! Fine sour limes—God make your purses light by making you buy them!

But how has Egypt become politically the basest of kingdoms! Go into a village and hear the curses, not loud but deep, which are breathed forth on the head of their Turkish oppressors. Think of a Bey when he visits a village levying a tax on his departure, called tooth-money. They give him the best of eating and drinking while he is with them, but that is not enough. He not only devours them up, but actually makes them pay for being devoured up, by imposing this tax of tooth-money, that is,

for the wear and tear of his teeth while he has been among them. A curious story is told of the unchecked violence and gross injustice practised by the rulers on this unoffending people. A Turkish magistrate exercised his power in such a brutal manner as to clip mens' ears, not only for trifling transgressions, but even for no offence whatever. He once met an old man driving along several donkeys laden with water-melons, and pointing to one of the largest of these fruits, asked the price. The old man, by way of reply, put his finger and thumb to his ear-lap, and said, "Cut it, Sir." He was asked again and again the same question, and gave the same answer. The magistrate, angry, but unable to refrain from laughing, said, "Fellow, are you mad or deaf?" "No," said the old man, "I am neither mad nor deaf, but I know that if I were to say the price of the melon is ten fuddahs, you would say, 'clip his ear;' and if I were to say five fuddahs, you would say, 'clip his ear;' or one fuddah, you would say, 'clip his ear;' therefore, clip it at once and let me pass." His humour saved him.

No wonder that under such an atrocious system of government, the intellects of the people are dwarfed. They have some curious notions on the subject of the superiority of the builders of the pyramids and temples and the excavators of the tombs and catacombs of their country. There were giants in those days they think. Men were then a hundred cubits high and ten broad, and lived hundreds of years. But their stature and length of days have both gradually diminished to the present standard. But that is not all. Their theory is that the process is still going on, and that the time will come, when ten of their descendants will be able to go into an ordinary shoe of these days. "Then" say they, "this little race, will find one of our shoes, and will make the circuit thereof, and climb over it, and huddle inside it, and will observe, wondering one to the other, 'This is a shoe of the people of old times.'"

The physical conformation of the country is an anomaly. All the way above the Delta, from Cairo to Nubia, the kingdom of Egypt consists of a strip of territory hundreds of miles long, and yet only half-a-dozen miles broad. Following the windings of the Nile, the tract of arable or pasture land annually inundated by the overflow of the river, and rendered fertile, is in general not more than four miles in breadth on each side of the river. What a curiously shaped country it is in this respect! The villages on the banks of the river are, however, abodes of filth, poverty, and misery. But this is a characteristic of Egypt not confined to the upper country. Even in the rich and well-watered Delta, in the villages of Lower Egypt, the same scenes of poverty and wretchedness are everywhere visible. Thus, although blessed with one of the finest climates in the world, possessing the richest soil and the fairest scenes, placed as to its geographical position under the most auspicious skies, Egypt is yet to this day labouring under the bitterness of a heavy curse—it is now "the basest of kingdoms." There is "no more a prince of the land of Egypt." For many ages it has been like India, subjugated and ruled over by one conquering race after another. And not only is it politically, but morally also in the lowest depths of debasement. When Abbas Pacha took a tour through the kingdom after the

death of his grandfather, and saw the crowds of boys whom Mehemet Ali had collected by his tyrannical and high-handed measures, in schools and factories, with the intention of training them up to modern and European ideas of civilization, he said, "What is the use of all this?" One half of them were forthwith formed into a regiment, and the other half transferred to the harem. Things meet the eye in Egypt which to the European traveller are painful evidences of the utter debasement of the people. In many eastern countries the common decencies of life are to all outward appearance carefully observed, and this too under the degrading and impure influence of heathenism. But such is not the case in Egypt. The shameless nakedness of the common people in the fields and villages is disgusting. If only their heads and faces are covered, they appear to think they have done all that is necessary. Mohammedanism, being a monotheistic religion, might be expected to exert a purer influence than Paganism. In Egypt, however, all that is low and sensual in the system seems to have taken hold on the minds of the people. At the same time, it is believed that some monstrous vices once fearfully prevalent are now less common. The introduction of European ideas of morality and civilization, which has taken place to a considerable extent within the last few years, has no doubt effected some improvement. Old prejudices are gradually giving way. The dictum of the Caliph Omar, who burned the books at the taking of Alexandria—700,000 volumes it is said, the richest collection of Greek and Roman classics, besides the sacred Egyptian and Jewish books, which the world ever saw—seems to be now doubted, if not disbelieved in by the Turks. The anxiety shown by many Egyptian and Turkish youths to obtain a European education, shows that they no longer believe that the Koran contains all that is necessary to be known. Bigoted Ulemas may still insist that all other books in the world are, if agreeable to the Koran, unnecessary, and if contrary to it pernicious. The common people may still curse the Franks as infidels, and console themselves by thinking that if we possess the superiority and power which learning and science give, they at all events shall have a monopoly of the joys of paradise. They even affect, while consoling themselves in this style, to find for us also a source of consolation in the same arrangement of Providence, to the effect that as we are certainly to be shut out from the joys of paradise in the next world, Allah has made up for it by giving us our good things in this world, and, by way of compensation for our melancholy fate, has disclosed to us, inveterate and unbelieving Giaours as we are, the secrets of nature and the riches of knowledge and science. Railroads and telegraphs through the heart of the country from Alexandria to Cairo, and across the desert from Cairo to Suez, will do much for Egypt and the Egyptians. Christian schools have already been established both in Cairo and Alexandria, and in both these places missionaries are now at work. Religious bigotry and the prejudices of race may rear themselves up against the introduction of western ideas and Christian truth. They may present themselves as a more formidable barrier than the Chinese wall itself, but "who art thou, O great moun-

tain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain." One remarkable fact in the history of the Turks is that they have already as a race almost universally abandoned the use of Opium. This statement is especially true and remarkable of the Turks in Egypt. And since so striking a reformation in morals as this has been already effected, implying the abandonment of a national vice, what may we not hope for in the future? Base as Egypt has been in ages past, still we have no reason to believe that it shall ever remain so. If, in the Providence of God, it has become so in fulfilment of ancient prophecy, let us remember that there are other prophecies respecting it yet to be fulfilled. Egypt may yet look up, although it can never be even the shadow of what it once was. And if it should revive somewhat, and look up and improve to some extent, no prophecy of Scripture will be in that event falsified, but, on the contrary, other prophecies at which we have already hinted will thereby be verified. "The Lord shall smite Egypt," it is said, "he shall smite and heal it; and they shall return even to the Lord, and he shall be entreated of them, and shall heal them. In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. The Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord. In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria. . . . The Lord of hosts shall bless them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people," &c. Take all these prophecies together, and it must be admitted that there is something very remarkable in them. Some, we doubt not, will see in the new Nile railway, and in the projected Euphrates valley railway, the dawning fulfilment of the passage about "the highway out of Egypt to Assyria."

As travellers to Egypt are likely to become more numerous every year, it will necessarily happen that our information respecting it, its people, its antiquities, and a thousand other things, will go on increasing year after year. Every invalid, who, following Mr Rhind's advice, goes out to live in the desert, will bring us home his testimony not only to its balmy yet bracing air, and dry equable temperature, but also to the charming beauty of its mirage illusions. No man will by and by be ignorant of the point of Mohammed's saying respecting the mirage. "The works of unbelievers are like the Serab in the plain, which the thirsty imagines to be water, till he goes and finds it is nought." The beauty and propriety of the image employed by Isaiah, to show forth the blessings that should prevail under the happy reign of the Messiah, is remarkably illustrated by a reference to the same phenomenon. "In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert, and the *serab* (mirage) shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water."

Great was the importance which Egypt had acquired in the eyes of the ancient world. Her early civilization, gigantic monuments, and great power accounted easily for her fame. But let us only think of the fact

that Thebes lay in magnificent ruins, long before other great cities of antiquity had been founded. Let us reflect for a moment on the possibilities imagined by Horace Smith, with so much truth and humour in his "Address to a Mummy," that it, or any other individual mummy in our museums, may have hob-nobed with Pharaoh, dropped a half-penny in Homer's hat, doffed his own to let Queen Dido pass, held a torch at the dedication of Solomon's temple, walked about the streets of Thebes three thousand years ago, and was certainly dead, buried, and embalmed long before Romulus and Remus were suckled. While the world lasts, the interest in Egypt will never die, a thousand circumstances will contribute to this. The ring of Cheops, the builder of the great pyramid, is now in the possession of the British Consul at Cairo. The bones of Mycerinus, the good and wise king who built the third of the three pyramids of Ghizeh, and whose memory was embalmed for ages in the affections of the people, now lie in the British museum in London. Cheops and Cephrenes, who built the other two pyramids, were inhuman oppressors, and their bones have been torn from their sepulchral chambers, and long ago scattered to the winds of heaven, while the remains of Mycerinus, who put an end to the misery under which the people groaned in the days of his predecessors, have been preserved even to our days, and have found a resting-place worthy of him, and his body—"now rests more securely," says Bunsen, "than it did 5000 years ago—in the world-ruling island which is protected by the might of freedom and civilization, still more than by the waves which encircle it—amid the treasures of every realm of nature, and the most sublime remains of human art."

We have left ourselves but little room to speak of the important acquisitions made to Biblical lore, and of the striking confirmations of Old Testament Scripture afforded by hieroglyphical inscriptions and pictorial representations in the tombs, temples, and monuments of ancient Egypt. We the less regret this on the present occasion inasmuch as if we were selecting a guide for ourselves in these investigations, Hengstenberg, in his "Books of Moses illustrated by the monuments of Egypt," would be about the last that we should choose. The book is suggestive, and that is about as much as can well be said in its favour. We do not care to follow him in all his absurd theories and crude interpretations. He is a good man and an evangelical Christian, we believe, but from this book it is very evident that he has not breathed the neologian atmosphere of his native country without being infected to some extent by its poisonous influence. Before leaving the subject, however, we cannot help calling the attention of our readers to a very remarkable sculpture recently discovered on the walls of a temple in Thebes, representing King Rehoboam, with a hieroglyphical inscription on the oval or cartouche of the figure, the well-ascertained interpretation of which has been found to be the "King of Judea." Certain indications, the pointed beard amongst the number, for the Egyptians shaved their beard, shew unmistakeably that this figure is Jewish. It is one of three captive or conquered kings whom Shishak is represented in the bas-relief in the temple at Karnak, as presenting before the gods on his return from his

warlike expedition. A good and cheap representation of this sculpture has recently been made by the Working Man's Union, London. Let any one refer to 2 Chron. 12, and compare the Scriptural narrative with the facts now stated, and it will be seen at a glance how striking a corroboration is thus given to the truth of the Word of God.

NINA: A BALLAD.

I.

Upon the giddy summit
  Of a steep rugged rock,
Where birds of sea-dipt plumage
  In stormy weather flock:

II.

There sat a lovely maiden,
  All friendless and alone;
And as she sat,—her shadow
  Fell on the flinty stone.

III.

Her look was sad and pensive,
  Her face was pale and wan;
Adown her cheek, the tear-drops
  In gentle current ran.

IV.

She gazed upon the ocean,
  Whose white waves lashed the shore;
She listened to the breakers,
  Which on the rocks did roar.

V.

She gazed upon the heavens,
  The pale-orbed moon to see,
Whose struggling beams fell slanting,
  On ocean, rock, and lea.

VI.

Around her form so fragile,
  The wild winds piped and raved;
And with her flaxen tresses,
  In wanton sport they played.

VII.

But aye the tearful maiden
  Gazed forth upon the main,
Her thoughts were of her lover
  She ne'er might see again.

VIII.

Long since from her he parted,
  With sad and fond embrace,

Upon the trackless waters
His outbound course to trace.

IX.

To steer for sunny climate,
Where palm and plantain grow,
Where through the tangled forests,
The Ganges' waters flow.

X.

But of his ship no tidings
Have ever crossed the wave;
And now she fears her lover
Has found a wat'ry grave.

XI.

And as the forlorn widow
At eve doth often stray,
Into the grassy church-yard,
To weep there and to pray;

XII.

So from her lonely cottage,
She comes down to the shore,
The loss of her fond lover,
With sad heart to deplore.

XIII.

And aye across the waters
She looks with wistful eye,
Perchance upon a billow
His floating corse to spy.

XIV.

Thus sat the lovely maiden
Upon the bare bleak rock,
Where birds of sea-dipt plumage
In stormy weather flock.

XV.

But, lo! hard by the light-house
A tiny barge is seen;
It peers upon the billow,
It sinks the waves between:

XVI.

And nearer, and still nearer
It stretcheth to the shore,
And larger, and still larger
It seemeth than before.

XVII.

The sound of distant voices
Is borne upon the gale;
A gleam of hope doth kindle
The maiden's face so pale.

XVIII.

With brawny arms extended,
  The stout crew ply the oar;
And nearer, and still nearer
  The barge bounds to the shore.

XIX.

It dips its dark prow in the wave;
  It sheers the seething foam;
Like white-plumed bird that sports and plays
  Upon its azure home.

XX.

It shuns the angry breakers,
  It clears the sunken rocks;
The red light phosphorescent
  Gleams with the oar's sharp strokes.

XXI.

And now the keel strikes proudly
  Upon the welt'ring strand;
Up rise the eager sailors
  And leap upon the land.

XXII.

Forthwith the Captain calleth,—
  A tall stern man was he,—
"Unship the oars, brave comrades,
  The barge haul to the lee.

XXIII.

"Since now at length delivered,
  From dangers of the deep,
From famine and from shipwreck,
  A merry cheer let's keep:

XXIV.

"We'll taste the sav'ry viands,
  Stored in the Orient clime,
When birds were sweetly warbling
  'Mid foliage of the lime.

XXV.

"We'll raise the song and pass the jest,
  The flowing bowl we'll drain,
In honour of the loved ones
  We soon may clasp again."

XXVI.

A frantic shriek the maiden
  Sends from the rocks so near;
For, 'twas the voice of Conrad
  That fell upon her ear.

XXVII.

Adown the cliffs she scrambles,
All dangers she defies,
And to the shore she hastens,
Love beaming in her eyes.

XXVIII.

She treads the briny sea-weed,
With her light fairy feet;
While o'er the shells and pebbles
She speeds, her love to greet.

XXIX.

And now she stands before him,
In wild dishevelled charms;
And as he gazed, the maiden
Fell panting in his arms.

XXX.

Pleased was the gallant Conrad
Once more his love to see,
On her his thoughts all centred
When doomed far off to be.

XXXI.

Upon the sandy sea-beach,
He laid her fainting form,
And spread the dripping canvas
To shield her from the storm.

XXXII.

And stooping down so fondly
He kissed her o'er and o'er,
And vowed to leave her never
While ocean's surges roar.

XXXIII.

From out her dreamy slumbers
The maid at length awoke;
She gazed upon her lover—
In accents faint she spoke:

XXXIV.

"How strange this happy meeting:
Yet doomed so short to be:
Farewell,——In storm and sunshine,
Dear Conrad, think of me."

XXXV.

Forth o'er the maiden's eye-balls
A glazy film is spread;
A stifled groan she uttered,
Like lily drooped her head.

XXXVI.

Upon the sandy sea-beach,
  A lifeless corse she lay;
While on her face the moonbeams bright,
  Gleaming through the dusky night,
In silv'ry radiance play.

XXXVII.

This is the tale of Nina,
  Who sat upon the rock,
Where birds of sea-dipt plumage
  In stormy weather flock.

FREUND'S CLASSICS.

Q. Horatii Flacci Opera. Edited by Dr William Freund, author of "Latin Lexicon," &c., and John Carmichael, M.A., one of the Classical Masters of the High School of Edinburgh. T. Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh, London, and New York, 1857.

The delay that has occurred in the publication of Freund's Classics is accounted for in the able preface which introduces this, the second, volume of the series. It has been deemed expedient to remodel the plan on which that series was originally projected. Instead of a bare text detached from its notes and commentaries, each volume of the set will in future comprise a separate author with all the matter necessary for his complete elucidation:—

"It is my purpose," says Dr Freund, "to lend the student all those aids by which he may be enabled to comprehend and appreciate the classical authors thoroughly, as the pillars and representatives of the past; so that when Cicero speaks he may imagine himself to be standing before the rostra in the Roman forum; or when Horace sings, that he may transport himself in thought to the shades of Sabinum or to the cascades of Tibur; that he may himself live over again with Livy through the dark era of legends, as well as that which was brightened by the mighty deeds of real heroes;—in a word, that the various authors may not only themselves become to the student living witnesses of ancient times, but may even set the past before him with such vivid reality, that he may for the time suppose himself also to be a personal observer of the scenes or events described or recorded by the old annalists and poets. With the view of exhibiting a livelier representation of the subject-matter, the lives of the authors, arguments or summaries of their successive writings; excursus illustrative of antiquities, history, and geography; and engravings of classical objects have been carefully prepared for this series, and the best authorities consulted, such as W. A. Becker, Marquardt, Bernhardy, Boeckh, Grote, Hermann, O. Muller, Niebuhr, Welcker, &c. With such appliances as these, the student can have no difficulty in bringing the author personally before his intellectual eye, and will soon find himself at home in any district of antiquity to which his attention may be invited."

There can be no doubt that the plan, as thus recast, is infinitely superior to that which it replaces; while for school purposes it is the only one that can ever be made really and practically useful. The results of experience, it must be remembered, are all in its favour. The school-

classics that now enjoy the widest circulation, all profess to be constructed on these principles, and the degrees of excellence attained by each vary with the care and labour bestowed in reducing these principles to practice. The editors of the Horace now before us have, therefore, done wisely in falling in with the plan commonly followed in books of the same class and with a similar end in view. The special claims of their work to acceptance will be found to rest mainly on the superior skill with which they have used the same appliances as other labourers in the same field. No school-classic that has issued from the Scottish press for many years, combines in so eminent a degree all that is most recent and valuable in scholarship with so much literary accomplishment and artistic finish, and at the same time so careful an attention to the actual wants and requirements of the student. Nothing will be found in the book that ought not to be there, while the editors' assurance that they have turned to account all the latest labours of the best British and foreign scholars in the Horatian field will be found literally and strictly true. This remark applies as truly to the Life, Notes, Arguments, Index, and Excursus that have been drawn up by Mr Carmichael as to those parts of the work for which Dr Freund is immediately responsible. The idiomatic English and the fine literary finish of these portions of the book, even though we were not informed of the fact, are sufficient to mark them out as his,—and it gives us a peculiar pleasure to draw attention to them, both for their intrinsic merits, and because they afford the best possible refutation of the out-cry about the decline of classical scholarship in Scotland, or at least in its metropolitan grammar-school. The man that can do these, can also do better things, and we should be happy that he were encouraged to continue those labours in the classical field for which he has already shown himself qualified in so uncommon a degree. A few more efforts of the same kind from him and the young scholars of Scotland, and Professor Blackie's occupation will be gone. The most popularly written and generally interesting portion of the work is perhaps the life, which gives one of the freshest and most faithful summaries in brief space, both of the poet's *personnel* and of his writings, that we have ever seen. Had our space allowed, we should have quoted some passages from it which we had marked for citation. We prefer, however, to devote the little room we have left to some of the more purely scientific parts of the book. We select almost at random the Excursus on Roman Satire, pp. 218–19–20, of which we have nothing to say further than that it may be taken as an average specimen of the writing in the book, though of course only in the same degree that a single brick serves as a sample of an entire house:—

"*Satĭra*, according to the ancient mode of spelling, *satŭra* (properly the femin. of the adj. *satŭr*, full, filled, satisfied), meant originally—with the substantive *lanx*, a dish, either expressed or understood—a dish made up of all kinds of ingredients, and especially a kind of sausage. It was afterwards used as a law term, with the substantive *lex*, expressed or understood, and signified a law containing various clauses. Lastly, it was employed as the general term for a kind of poetry, which, in the most ancient times, resembled popular comedy or farce, but was afterwards elevated into moral composition of a humorous and sarcastic character.

"According to Livy's account, dramatic satire, like the Fescennine comedy, *originally* consisted in humorous scenes, contrived for the occasion, without any regular plot or definite form, but differing from the Fescennine plays, in having an accompaniment of flutes and pantomimes.

"After the better development of the legitimate drama, which had been introduced by Livius Andronicus, (about 514 A.U.C., 240 B.C.) the popular satires, which originated among the people themselves, generally formed the conclusions or interludes (*exodia*) of the Oscan farces (*Atellanae Fabulae, Ludi Osci*, or *Ludicra Osca.*)

"The gradual advancement of Roman literature, and especially the influence exercised on it by the Grecian models, tended powerfully to improve the quality even of that Roman satire which was the natural product of the Roman mind. The arbitrary nature, both of its plan and style, was consequently somewhat modified. The poet Ennius seems to have been the first who followed certain distinct rules in his satiric composition, which may therefore be regarded as the connecting link between the oldest specimens of the art and those which were afterwards produced by Lucilius.

"The second of the Roman satirists in order of time, C. Lucilius, was born at Suessa Aurunca, in Campania, 606 A.U.C. (148 B.C.) He belonged to an equestrian family, was the friend of the Scipios, and deeply versed in the literature of Greece and of his native country. He possessed, moreover, superior talent, and uniformly maintained a highly moral and independent character. To Roman satire he imparted an entirely new form and direction, and was therefore regarded as the creator and inventor of this species of poetry in its latter and permanent form. From low buffoonery, in the shape of a drama or dialogue, fitted merely for the amusement of the mob, satire now became the medium of stern reproof to all ranks of society, and did not spare even individuals occupying the highest stations, at a period when the Roman character was already losing much of the purity and dignity by which it had been distinguished in ancient times. The moral censure of Lucilius, however, is not bitter, but rather humorous and playful; the diction is easy and fluent, but the hexameters are sometimes so carelessly framed, that the style approaches more nearly the language of prose, or of ordinary conversation, than of poetry.

"In this respect, the satire of Horace must be considered as a decided improvement on that both of Lucilius and his predecessors. Its form is far more elaborate; the cast of expression is infinitely more correct and sustained; while the subject-matter, like that of the Lucilian verse, consists of witty, humorous, patriotic, and indignant comments on the vices and weaknesses of the poet's countrymen. But now, of course, it was no longer the ancient republican virtue which was held up as the ideal of excellence, or the model for imitation. The author merely selects a few of his own contemporaries, whose moral defects he exposes, in their ridiculous, unnatural, and unbecoming character, not so much with the intention of inculcating the principles of moral truth and duty as of indulging his own humour, by the graphic delineation of prevailing absurdities and foibles. In the great variety of topics, in the vividness of portraiture, in the acuteness of the reasoning, in the animation, the exceeding elegance, and apparent artlessness of the style, and the easy flow of the versification, we discover the secret of that charm by which the Horatian satire have entranced the refined and thoughtful intelligence of all ages. In the perfect combination of these rare qualities, the satiric compositions of Horace not only surpass those of his predecessor Lucilius, and his followers Persius and Juvenal, but stand alone in the history of literature."

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

"Grants in Aid."—Debate in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 25th March 1857.—The question of "Grants in aid" of the Church of Scotland's schools in India, which it was thought had been set at rest for some time by the last General Assembly, was resuscitated at the last meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, under an Overture calling on the next Assembly to "re-consider the whole of the subject—to adhere to the deliverance of the General Assembly, 1855—and, finally, to pronounce a judgment in harmony with the views which the Church has always held on the subject of education generally, and in accordance with the principles on which alone our Missions in India can be conducted as an evangelical enterprize for the conversion of the heathen, and approve themselves to the prayerful sympathy and continued support of an enlightened Christian people."

The debate in the Presbytery of Edinburgh was long and animated. The Overture was brought forward by Dr Macfarlane, late Convener of the India Mission, and supported by Dr Veitch, the author of "Reasons against affiliating our Christian Mission on the Secular System of Government Education in India," on which we felt it to be our duty to animadvert in terms far from commendatory, either as regarded its arguments in themselves, or the spirit in which they were set forth. The transmission of the Overture was opposed by Dr Bryce, who objected to it as unconstitutional, disrespectful, and rebellious in its language towards the last General Assembly,—and calling on the Presbytery of Edinburgh to stultify itself by asking the next Assembly to reverse as "obnoxious in principle," "and fraught with evil to the propagation of the truth as it is in Jesus," the very deliverance which, not twelve-months ago, they had themselves demanded and obtained from the last. The amendment was seconded by Dr Barclay in a very powerful speech, in which he adverted in language of the strongest kind to the "Reasons" of Dr Veitch, to which Dr Macfarlane had called the attention of the Presbytery, as embodying the arguments that ought to guide it to the support of his motion. The motion was supported by Dr Grant, Dr Muir, Dr Veitch, and others,—and on a division, was carried by 16 to 8.—Dr Barclay entered a *dissent*, that, as stated, he may escape the censure which he had no doubt awaited the Presbytery, when such an audaciously disrespectful Overture went up to the Assembly. Dr Bryce joined the *dissent*, and craved leave to add a *complaint* to the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. This was opposed by Dr Grant, who urged that it was incompetent, and expressed his conviction that his friend would admit it to be so. Dr Bryce said he would rather follow the *example* set to him by Dr Grant in a late case, than his *advice* in this; but he would be satisfied should the Presbytery think his complaint incompetent, that it should be minuted that the leave to *complain* was refused. This was agreed to.

The position in which the Indian Mission Scheme is now placed is not a little remarkable, and certainly not a little unfortunate. For many years after its establishment, it occupied the very foremost place among the great Christian Schemes of the Church; and contributions towards its support flowed into its treasury in liberal abundance. In looking into the returns of collections for last year, within at least the metropolitan Presbytery, it will be seen that the charge brought against it by anticipation in Dr Macfarlane's Overture, that it would cease to approve itself to the prayerful sympathy and continued support of an enlightened Church and people, has so far been made good. Nor perhaps looking at all that has lately occurred in its history is this to be much wondered at. It may not, therefore, be without its advantage, that we advert a little to the causes that could in one wealthy congregation, as that of St Stephen's, have converted an average collection of seventy or eighty, into one not exceeding the very moderate sum of seven or eight pounds.

The attention of the General Assembly was first called to a Mission in India by a Memorial from the Rev. Dr Bryce and the Kirk-Session of St Andrew's Church, Calcutta, which will be found in the records of the Assembly, 1824–5. In this Memorial a plan of operations was set forth, for the erection of an Institution at Calcutta of a more pro-

perly Collegiate character, contemplating the reception of such native youths as had by this time received an elementary education in the English language, and had advanced considerably in European literature and science, and this with the special view of carrying them on in the knowledge of Christianity, its history, evidences and doctrines. When the subject was finally taken up in 1826 under the zealous and able direction of the late Dr Inglis, the result was the establishment of the "School and Mission" now in operation,—an Institution taking up native youths from their earliest years, and giving them an elementary education through the English and vernacular languages, accompanied by and based on instruction in Christianity, both as a "branch of knowledge" and "a mode of belief." When Mr Duff arrived at India in 1829, he proceeded under the instructions given to him to open what was properly a "School," but he had not been many months in the country until he became so far a convert to the original plan of Dr Bryce and his Kirk Session, as to extend his operations to the embracing of that body of Native Youth, whom that plan had specially in view; and there is now before us a letter from Dr Duff to Dr Bryce, in which he expresses his conviction, that, without of course, relinquishing the more *elementary*, there was a manifest call for operations in the more advanced field that had been opened up. At the distance of more than twenty years, Dr Duff, in his evidence before the late Committee of the House of Lords on "Indian Territories," bears testimony to the facts, on which the Memorial of the Kirk Session of St Andrew's Church had proceeded, and the grounds of the plan proposed by them, namely, that the English education by that time given to the Hindus under the newly erected Hindu College and other institutions of the kind, had raised up a body of Native youth, in whom all belief in Hinduism was overthrown; and when asked by Lord Wharncliffe, "Was there nothing done at this time to substitute a true belief in the place of the superstitions which were destroyed by this system of education?" he tells the Committee, that soon after his arrival, he instituted along with the present Bishop of Madras, then a Chaplain of the English Church, and with others, a series of Lectures for the special benefit of this class of Native Youth,—the subject of the Evidences of religion, natural and revealed falling to himself.

In 1834, while the Missionaries were vigorously prosecuting their lecturing labours along with those in the more elementary departments of duty, Dr Bryce called the attention of the General Assembly to the expediency of a still further step in advance,—that of constituting a *Presbyterial Body* at Calcutta, empowered to license such of the Natives as might become converts to our faith, to go forth as Preachers of the Gospel to their countrymen. The fear that the Assembly might be proceeding too fast in the good work, made it not a very easy matter to obtain the enactment sought by the Member for the Church in India, but the measure was at length agreed to, and on Dr Bryce returning that year to his duty in India, the first *Presbyterial Body* was duly erected. In 1841, and consequently before the Institution under his charge ceased to be connected with the Church of Scotland, Dr Duff, as he informs the Lords' Committee in 1853, was able to convert it more and more from an elementary school to a properly Collegiate Institution, having always as its great end and object the ultimate conversion of the Natives to our holy religion. It cannot be denied that the *Secession* which took place in 1843, in the Church at home, extending so far as to carry out the whole body of Missionaries in India, tended not a little to disturb operations in Cornwallis Square, Calcutta; but this shock the Church in India, as at home, was able to survive. The Presbyterial Body created at Calcutta in 1835, and whose operations appear to have been suspended for a time, was resuscitated with enlarged powers by the Assembly, 1854, before the question of "grants in aid" arose; and similar bodies instituted at Madras and Bombay. And had not a very remarkable change taken place in "Native Education in India," to which we must next advert, our Institutions in that country would doubtless have at this day been pursuing the "even tenor of their way" undisturbed by such unhappy broils as now prevail.

It is well known, that since the year 1817 or thereabouts, the question of Native Education has been taken up by the Supreme Government of India, forced perhaps upon its attention by the

Act 1813–14, setting apart a portion of the public revenues for this purpose. After various modifications on the plan of carrying out the object of the Legislature, through "Boards of Education," or "Committees of Public Instruction," on which it is unnecessary here to enter, a system has at length been organised under the now well known "Despatch" of the Court of Directors of 1854, erecting Universities at each of the Presidencies, with the natural and necessary appendages of Normal and Model Schools; and the Government, while still strictly adhering within its own Institutions to the principle of *neutrality in religious instruction*—meaning thereby the not giving instruction in the dogmata of any religious creed, whether Christian, Hindu, or Mahomedan, as a mode of belief—have called on the Missionary and other Schools to assist them in the object they have in view,—the bestowing of a sound, intellectual, moral, and scientific knowledge on their native subjects. This they are invited to do, by sending up their pupils to compete and qualify for the honours and rewards which they hold out. To this "affiliation," as it is called with the Government System, as now modified, the last General Assembly agreed,—while a minority, certainly not very large, however influential, dissented and protested against this co-operation—some of them, as appears from their published views of duty, on the high and broad ground, that such affiliation would violate the injunction of Holy Writ, "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers."

The points now dividing the Church, if confined to the question whether it would not be better to narrow operations to those of a purely Theological Institution, leaving the department of elementary education to other bodies, might be argued and settled one way or another with little difficulty; and we are persuaded those who think the elementary department a very important branch of missionary labour, would not hesitate now to relinquish it, were it found that the funds furnished by our congregations at home, were unable to carry on both without the offered aid of Government—the acceptance of which might be conscientiously objected to by some in the Church. But the important question now being raised under such Overtures as that before the Presbytery of Edinburgh is this,—how is the Church to act where a *minority* regard any co-operation with the Government System of education as "obnoxious in principle," and "fraught with evil to the propagation of the truth, as it is in Jesus," and whose adherence to these grounds, in face of a *majority*, who take the very opposite view of the question, cannot fail to damage the Indian Mission Scheme, by drying up resources on which it depends? We leave our readers to answer this question. We content ourselves with placing before them the elements necessary to guide them to a deliverance. For our own part, we are quite prepared to say, that the right and proper way with men acting in a corporate capacity, yet differing in opinion, is for the *minority* giving so far way to the *majority*, as not at least to act the part of "the dog in the manger." We are quite aware, however, that other solutions of the difficulty may be propounded. Say some, shut up your "Schools" altogether, and confine yourselves exclusively to sending missionaries to labour in the itineracy or preaching field; and thus forego the advantages of rearing up a *Native Ministry* properly educated in the Science of Christian Theology. But let not this be called the "primary object"—in any sense of the initiatory machinery employed by the Church of Scotland in India; and let it be kept in mind, that when our Church struck into the "teaching" path, as distinct from, although by no means antagonistic to, the "preaching," which had so long been followed, her example was soon followed by almost every Christian body in India labouring for the evangelization of its natives. As nothing can be imagined more obvious to common sense, than that her *educational* through Schools and Colleges, as an instrument in the hands of men, and the *preaching* in highways and bye-ways, as a mode by which men, as in the days of the Apostles, may be brought by the grace of God within the Messiah's kingdom, are but means towards the same end, so nothing can be more absurd, or more truly antiscriptural, than to regard such promoters of the Evangelization of India, as fighting under adverse banners.

Ordination.—The Presbytery of Kirkcaldy met on Thursday the 26th ult., and ordained Mr James Simpson to the ministry and charge of Port Brae Church and district.

Buccleuch Church.—The Rev. Alex. Maclaren, M.A., was ordained on Thurs-

day the 5th ult., by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as minister of Buccleuch Church. The Rev. Dr Fowler, Ratho, preached and presided on that occasion.

Ordination.—The Presbytery of Perth met in the West Church there on the 5th inst., and ordained the Rev. Robert Milne to the pastorate of that church and parish.

Church Patronage.—Mr Anderson has been appointed by the Presbytery of Stirling to the *quoad sacra* Church of Haggs.

The Rev. James Anderson, Wallacetown, Dundee, has been chosen by the parishoners of Forteviot, to be their pastor.

Presbytery of Kirkwall.—This reverend Court met on the 26th ult., in St Magnus Cathedral, for the purpose of moderating in a call in favour of the Rev. William Gordon, to be minister of the second charge of Kirkwall and St Ola.

Ordination in Canada West.—The Rev. Hugh Niven, late of Gartmore Chapel, Presbytery of Dunblane, was, on the 17th ult., ordained minister of the conjoined congregations of Saltfleet and Birebrooke, Presbytery of Hamilton. The call was unanimous; and the settlement most harmonious.

MACPHAIL'S

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NEW EDUCATION BILLS AND PAMPHLETS.[1]

THE education campaign has again opened. The social problem of the age is again demanding a solution. The discussion in the mean time has been transferred from parliament to the hustings. The education question has formed one of the most prominent topics in electioneering tactics, and candidates have been strictly catechised on this all absorbing topic. The turmoil of elections may mask, but cannot altogether conceal, the real feelings of a nation, and the indication of such times of excitement is by no means to be overlooked in determining the direction in which a nation is moving. We have, however, more tangible evidence in the thoughts embodied in the pamphlet, and the Parliamentary Bill. Let us enquire what is doing in this line, and let us endeavour from the enquiry to indicate a path of safety for the Church in these perilous times.

The first pamphlet on our list, written by the Rev. William Milligan, Minister of Kilconquhar, is one that displays much philosophic thought, fine literary taste, and a warm and earnest interest in the cause of education. His hearty earnestness contrasts strongly with the cold logic of

[1] The Present Aspect of the Education Question in Scotland: A Letter to his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, by the Rev. William Milligan, M.A., Minister of Kilconquhar. Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox. 1857.

A Practical Plan for Furthering Education by Enlarging the Present System of Grants. By Jelinger Symons, Esq. London: Groombridge & Sons, Paternoster Row. 1856.

Prussian Primary Education: its Organisation and Results. Edited by William J. Unwin, M.A. Principal of Homerton College. Ward & Co., Paternoster Row.

A Lecture on Education, by the Right Rev. Bishop Gillis, Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District in Scotland. Edinburgh: Marsh & Beattie, 13 South Hanover Street.

the mere polemic, and imparts an interest to the pamphlet, which controversial discussions do not usually possess. It is especially free from dogmatism, and indicates the progress of a mind that is not ashamed to confess that it cannot yet reach a complete solution of the problem. If the pamphlet disappoint in not laying down definitely any practical line of action, it, on the other hand, exhibits a fine example of a candid enquirer seeking more settled convictions. It indicates a phase of mind, which every thinker must have gone through before arriving at a definite conclusion. Who is there who does not confess to a secret admiration of some grand national scheme of education in which uniformity will be the grand characteristic? There is something fascinating in the idea of Government acting as a parent, putting all the children to school, training them all after the same model, and obliterating all distinctions of sect. What a blessed consummation would it be! if all sects could agree to lay aside their sectarianism and train their children under the same roof and the same master, so that the innocent period of childhood might be free from the heart burnings and distractions which now agitate society. What a beautiful spectacle is presented by Prussia and Austria! where, under a paternal government, every child must attend school, and where every school is under the direct control of government officials. There is something fine in all this; and we confess that it was with a pang similar to that of the author of this pamphlet, we turned from the theoretical, to the practical aspects of the question. However, it does not by any means follow, that the practical solution is not based on some theory. In most such cases it will be found that it is practical, just because it is true to some deeper theory. A practical system does not violate theory, though it does not maintain a rigid uniformity. The higher unity is one that embraces diversity in its uniformity. It is a superficial theory of education that ignores the diversities of sects. An adequate theory must recognise such diversities, and make room for them in the adjustment of the question. A leafless tree in the depth of winter presents a uniform whole, but its unity is of a higher order when in summer it bursts into the diversities of leaf, and flower, and fruit. We must not, in devising educational systems, throw out of account the various organic forms in which the Christian life of the nation has embodied itself.

The solution of the education problem would be an easy one if we had the data of our own choosing. It would be a very easy thing for an engineer to construct a railway of matchless excellence and cheapness, if he could change the country to suit his views; but he must take things as they are, and instead of adopting a straight cut across an imaginary dead level, he must accommodate himself to the undulations and sinuosities of the ground; and it is in effecting this well, that the triumph of engineering skill consists. The problem of education, if it is to be solved at all, must be solved on the data furnished by the actual conditions of society, and one of the most important of these conditions is the diversities of sect. We are glad to find that Mr Milligan, while advocating some comprehensive system that would embrace all sects, deprecates strongly any tampering with the constitution of the parish schools. He regards with favour the adoption of the privy council grants, as calculated to meet the

wants of the parish schools, while retaining them in connection with the church—the church apparently being shut up to this alternative if she would not peril the very existence of her educational institution. He also very clearly exposes the danger of centralisation; but the Privy Council system is the only one that obviates this evil, while at the same time government control is, to some extent, admitted to be expedient. Isolated local committees, unconnected with any religious communion, would form a feeble barrier to the centralising tendency; but, in the Privy Council system, each denomination, acting as a body, presents a guarantee for the full right of local management. We would have no fear for our parish schools, and the religious character of the general education of the country, if we had a few earnest spirits in the church like the author of this pamphlet, ready to grapple with the difficulty, and seeking a solution in some other way than by mere barren protests. We hope that the pamphlet will command a wide circulation, and awaken the church to the emergency of the case.

The next pamphlet is by Jelinger Symons. It is in the form of a letter to Lord John Russell, with whom he appears to be on intimate terms. His object is to shew how the objection to the partial working of the Privy Council system may be removed—how it can be so modified as to meet the wants of the poorer localities where subscriptions cannot be readily got up. This Mr Symons is, we think, the same gentleman who gained much notoriety some months ago in reference to the rotation of the moon. He was by no means successful in convincing the public or the British Association that the moon does not rotate, his science being evidently at fault. But the greatest philosopher may be found tripping when straying from his own special line of pursuit. The great Berkley seemed to have lost all his characteristic acuteness when he began to treat of the virtues of tar water. Education, and not astronomy, is evidently Mr Symons' forte. He is quite at home on the subject, while his ideas are remarkably judicious, and if Lord John listens to his counsels he will be kept in the right course. Mr Symons takes it for granted, as all parties are disposed to do, that a national system of religious education can only be constructed on the basis of the Privy Council Grants, but he warns Lord John, and most justly, that the combination of local rates with the Privy Council Grants would be the ruin of the whole scheme. The Privy Council at present gives to the various denominations aid proportionate to their own voluntary contributions, but were it attempted to substitute local compulsory rates for these denominational contributions, sectarian strife would at once be stirred up. The churchman would grumble at being taxed for dissenting schools, and the dissenter would reciprocate the grumble, and if both schools were to be aided there would be a fierce strife as to who would have the largest share. The matter would end very likely in compromising the matter, as in America, by expelling religion altogether from the school. Mr Symons also recognises the great fact, that the educational life of England is of a religious character. It is through the instrumentality of Christian Churches that England is, at this moment, chiefly educated, and this zeal is advancing at such rate with the aid of the Privy Council grants, that the work will most likely be done before theorists

have settled *how* it should be done. He also vouches for the fact, that the denominational system has extinguished those bitter sectarian feuds that used to distract and impede the religious zeal of the country. Each denomination, having now an unrestricted and independent field of its own, and being aided in proportion to its own voluntary efforts, has nothing to complain of, and does not come into collision with rival sects. The church-and-school system, or, as it has been misnamed, the denominational system, has in this way accomplished one grand object of a national system —harmony of working.

Mr Symons, while shewing the harmonious character of the system, admits that it has some difficulty in meeting the wants of the poorer districts. At present the rule is that the Privy Council, up to a certain limit, grant a sum equal to the voluntary subscription. Mr Symons would not have the fixed relation of equality. He would have a sliding scale by which grants would be proportioned to the poverty of the district. He would determine the degree of poverty by the element of poor rates, population, and ratable value of property. There is considerable ingenuity in the plan, but no system could work with such minuteness. No national system that could be devised would be absolutely free from the charge of partiality. The question is one only of degree, and the principle of capitation grants reduces the hardship of the system to the lowest possible point. By this regulation, in poor localities a grant is given proportioned to the number of the scholars instead of to the amount of subscription.

The next pamphlet is edited by Mr Unwin, Principal of Homerton College. Our readers will recollect how frequently he was referred to in the important debate on Sir John Russell's resolutions. His authority was quoted by Sir James Graham, Mr Henley and others, as bearing out their position in reference to the present working of the Privy Council system. Mr Unwin's authority is important in this respect, that though not an advocate of the Privy Council System, he establishes facts on which that system is best defended. The great basis of the system is the spontaneous activity of the Christian Churches of the land. Mr Unwin thinks that this spontaneity is of itself sufficient, and is gradually overtaking the ignorance of the land. The Privy Council System recognises this spontaneous action as the basis of its own operation, but proceeds on the supposition that it may be aided by state grants, leaving the exclusive management in the hands of the various churches. It is curious that in England the conservative character of the Privy Council System is so well understood, while in Scotland it is only slowly beginning to be recognised. The great supporters of the system are the High Church party and our most conservative statesmen. They, almost from the first, saw that it was to prove the grand bulwark of the Church, and the best guarantee for the religious training of the young. The Church of England so eagerly laid hold of the boon, and so industriously worked the system, that it now rests on the firmest basis. No one now talks of any system for England which is not based on this system.

It is difficult to say how the delusion of what is usually meant by a national scheme of education arose. It is most probable that the contagion was caught from Prussia; at least, for many years back, a national

scheme has always been supported by appeals to continental countries. It has been the fashion to take our philosophy from Germany, though our home growth is much superior, and the strangest point of this servile imitation is, that the new phase of philosophy is out of fashion in its own country by the time it is in full vogue with us. Now this is the case with the schemes of education too. The Prussian system, which has been so much lauded, has lost its repute in its own country, and all earnest thinkers are sighing for a system such as ours, which is the spontaneous growth of the country, and the nursery of independent vigorous thought. The great truth has been demonstrated that a national system of education is the most powerful engine of despotism. Despotism has but half done its work while it limits itself to outward subjection; its triumph is complete when the mind as well as body is enslaved. The grand feature of the Prussian system, and it must be that of every so called *national* system, is the supreme central authority of government. Local and spontaneous action is entirely merged in the supreme authority, and the school is regulated by the same military rule as the parade ground. The life of the church is ignored,—the school exists in antagonism to the living church,—all influence must emanate from the cold iron rule of government. Can we wonder then that religion should be banished from the school, and that while the church doctrines were formally taught the school should be the hot-bed of infidelity. The convulsions of 1848 awakened Germany to the volcano that had been slumbering under her institutions. And what was the great lesson proclaimed by that warning? Was it not that the bonds of society could not be held together while the church is divorced from the school. This much lauded system was found so utterly wanting, in all the essentials of sound education, that it was necessary to remodel it entirely in 1854. Theod. Goltzsch in his work "The constitution and plan of instruction of a village school," a work published under the sanction of the minister of public instruction in Prussia, writes as follows: "Modern pedagogy, which even up to this time has been popular, which has had sole sway in our schools, had respect merely to form and contour; it was ignorant of the essence even of education itself. The State, the Church, and the community, lavished their treasures upon it; to it were entrusted the educational establishments, to it the direction of the masters, and yet with all this it did nothing for the development of the moral life of the people. It is high time that this pedagogy should renounce the place it can no longer occupy. To expect that its pompous promises will receive the confidence which they did half a century ago, and that its threats will excite alarm is sheer folly. It has exhausted its resources." Again the Prussian government in 1854 officially declared: "The elementary schools followed the intellectual impulses of the country, in which they were remodelled and received the widest extension. Inasmuch however as we have reached a point in our times at which a decided change has become necessary, and indeed an actual fact, our schools, if they are not to remain inefficacious and perish by cleaving to exploded principles, must enter into these new and legitimate movements of the age, receiving vitality from them and in turn contributing to their vitality. The idea of a universal humanistic culture by means of a for-

mal development of the process of the mind in connection with undetermined subjects of instruction has been proved to be inefficacious and injurious."

This then, is the upshot of a system which we have been accustomed to laud as the model for all national systems of education. But it may be argued, that defective as it may have been in some points, it has at least brought home to all the blessings of education. The most startling fact however, is that it has signally failed in its attempt to make education universal. The proportion of uneducated persons, after a prolonged trial, is found to be much greater than in countries where there is no national system and where no compulsory measures are resorted to. By recent official statistics, quoted in Mr Unwin's pamphlet, it appears that the Prussian population are deplorably low in the scale of education. The educational returns in question have reference to the Prussian army. In the year 1851–1852 it was found that out of every 100 soldiers there were 10·40 that had no education whatever, 45·29 that had a defective education, and that only 44·31 had a satisfactory education. In the province of Posen things were still worse; there 20·67 had no education, 31·31 had a defective education, and only 48·02 had a satisfactory education. How is this? How is it possible that such a lamentable state of things should exist in a country where the law enforces education on every child? The explanation is very simple. The compulsory element has so completely eradicated the spontaneous, that the people instead of struggling for education as a blessing regard it as a piece of state policy. They look upon the school much in the same light as the barrack yard, and they try to evade the school compulsion as much as they would a conscription. The parents who can benefit by the wages of their children look upon the school as a heavy tax,—mere gratuitous education is of little moment when it is not valued, and when far more than an equivalent can be gained by the labour of the children. The consequence is, that throughout the whole country there is a spirit of resistance and evasion, so that it is utterly impossible to enforce the law. The case is something like the Maine liquor law, which demonstrates that it is utterly impossible to enforce a law by mechanical restraint in opposition to the feelings of the body of the people. In Prussia the government and local authorities wink at the evasion just because they see how hopeless a matter it would be to impose the letter of the law upon the people. No demonstration could be more complete, that it is utterly hopeless to educate a nation by mere compulsion. This much lauded scheme then fails in the very first essential of what is usually understood by a national system of education, viz., the universality of its bearing. We have seen that the quality of the education, both in a secular and religious point of view, has been acknowledged to be wholly defective. It is curious to mark the esteem in which the English system of education is held in Prussia, while we are in turn thinking of casting away our own system in favour of the Prussian one, which has been found wholly wanting. The following is a quotation from Dr Ludwig Wiese, Prussian Privy Councillor, and member of the Ministry of Worship: "The theory, or rather the intuitive consciousness, that the education of the child is one of the divine rights and

duties inherent in a parent, and only subordinately to this a matter for church interference, is widely spread and strongly impressed in England, so that the State is obliged to abstain from all direct interference, or, rather I should say, is happily able to abstain and confine itself to auxiliary support and encouragement. I say, the State is *able* to abstain from interference in this respect, more than is the case with continental governments, because, if there was nothing else, the corporate instinct alone, so strongly felt by English citizens, would make them unwilling to abandon this duty, from the fear lest State interference should involve State superintendence." Can any warning be more emphatic than this? Let us pause before we abandon the well-tried system of our own country, which has, on the whole, worked so well, in order to adopt the delusive systems of the continent which have signally failed in educating the people. The grand feature of the education of this country is its spontaneous element, emanating as it does from the religious life of the people at large, instead of the political necessities of government. We do not mean to say that it is a form which repudiates State aid, but it is one in which State aid can only be supplementary to the spontaneous action of the Christian people. The parish schools form the most perfect model of the spontaneous form of religious education. The parish school system is not a creation of the State. It was evolved from the religious life of the church, and the State did nothing more than give legal sanction to what was already done by the people in connection with the Church. We are glad to find that Lord Derby, in the great speech delivered just before the dissolution of Parliament on the present political crisis, entirely comprehends the educational necessities of the times, and the safe line of action for the friends of the Church. He regards the Privy Council system as the only one calculated to aid the spontaneous efforts of the Christian people of this land, while leaving to each denomination the most unfettered control over its own schools. It is this system alone that can, in his opinion, reconcile the two elements of State aid and local independence.

But let us now turn briefly to the educational Bills that have already been introduced. We shall first advert to Sir John Pakington's "Borough Education Bill." This Bill presents a totally new aspect in the education movement. We have here an attempted compromise between the secularists and the advocates of a religious education, and the most significant point of the Bill is, that it recognises the Privy Council system as absolutely essential to a settlement of the education question. The secularists, who have been the bitterest opponents of the system, as being the one best fitted to develope the religious life of the nation, have seen how utterly hopeless it is to supplant it, now that, by the strenuous exertions of the Church of England, it has taken such deep root in the country. They therefore are willing to accept the system, but they wish to impart an element utterly irreconcilable with its working,—we refer to the combination of local rates with government grants. They would substitute a rate laid on the community at large, to supplant the subscriptions that are at present raised by the religious bodies that support their respective schools. The Bill would in the

meantime recognise all existing schools, whatever body they be connected with, and each church would have the liberty of enjoining religion in its own way. But this could not continue under a system of public rating. The rating body must be the governing body, which in this case would consist of people of all sects or of no sect. The consequence would necessarily be, that in order to avoid the constant contention that would arise, in apportioning the rates among the different sects, a resolution would be formed to grant aid only to secular schools. Pure secularism is the necessary correlative of a public rate, and this is all the more certain to be the case, when the religious convictions of the people are strongest. It is in such a case that the necessity for the expulsion of religion to secure peace, will be felt most strongly. We need not enter into the religious provisions of the Bill, to show how utterly ineffectual they must be to give anything like a sound religious education. The grand guarantee is awanting, the connection of the school with the church. It is only the jurisdiction of each church over its own schools, that can give a sure guarantee to the religious element in education.

When we turn to Scotland, we find that Lord Kinnaird has not yet lost heart, and that he is, once more, resolved to extort from Parliament the reasonable concessions which his various Bills have embodied. There is something chivalrous in the devotion of this warm-hearted friend to the church. He has on this point broken off from his own political friends to stand by the church in this hour of peril, and he has never listened to any compromise calculated to loosen the bond between the church and the school. We acknowledge this with all the deeper gratitude, because of the alarming revelation of the Lord Advocate in a recent electioneering speech in Leith. It had been whispered before, that our parliamentary friends, last session of parliament, proposed to the Lord Advocate virtually to surrender the whole question, by cutting the connection between the church and the school, and to substitute for this bond, some doctrinal test which would admit dissenters. The thing, however, appeared so utterly incredible, that few were disposed to believe it. With what dismay, then, must every friend of religious education have learned from the Lord Advocate, that such a compromise was actually proposed, but indignantly rejected by him. We have been standing all this time on the brink of an abyss, though unconscious of our danger. We have escaped by a mere hair's-breadth. We owe it to the consistent hostility of the Lord Advocate, that we have our schools still in connection with the church. Had he yielded to the proposal of our political friends, we would have no school establishment to contend for. We have been grumbling at the necessity of adopting the Privy Council grants, while we were on the brink of having no educational institution to grumble about. Do we then accuse our political friends of treachery? Have they been untrue to the Church in making such a compromise? Far from it. The position they took up in reference to the Church, was this. You insist upon parliamentary aid as a *sine qua non*. You say that you cannot support your schoolmasters, who are now reduced to starvation, without parliament coming to your relief. We have acted on this principle, we have asked aid, and aid on the most favourable terms to the Church; but still the best

terms imply a surrender of your exclusive jurisdiction. You have given us a problem to solve, and we have proposed to solve it on terms most favourable to your interests, but these terms, favourable as they are, imply that the school must no longer be regarded as the peculiar property of the Church of Scotland. With all this now clearly brought to light, what ought the attitude of the Church of Scotland to be in reference to the momentous trust committed to her? Ought it not to be self-reliance? We are again going to sue parliament for favours, and it would, after what has passed, be far too sanguine a view of matters to think that Lord Kinnaird's Bill can be passed without modifications. But what are these modifications to be? If we only occupy the same position as formerly, we may feel assured, that these modifications will be in the way of abolishing the Church's jurisdiction. But are we prepared for this? Is it come to this, that the Church, which in former days, by her own exertions, procured endowments for these schools, cannot now make the slightest effort to save them from the destroyer? Can we not take the attitude of saying to the legislature, that rather than relax in the slightest measure the jurisdiction of the schools, we are willing to provide ourselves the requisite funds for the maintenance of the schoolmasters. Were this position taken up by the Church, our friends in parliament would not be forced to make fatal and disgraceful compromises,—and what, after all, would this obligation to support the schoolmaster amount to. At the very most, an annual collection of £1000 would effect all that is required. Only £8000 is required to keep up the salaries of the masters to the old statutory amount, and almost the whole of this sum has already been subscribed by the heritors, so that £1000 would probably be quite adequate to meet the cases of all defaulters. With this voluntary subscription, Privy Council grants would be secured to an amount, that would place the schoolmasters in a much better position than the Lord Advocate's Bill proposed to do.

With much practical sagacity, Lord Kinnaird has seen the bearing of the Privy Council system, and has framed his bill, so that the voluntary increase of the salaries of the heritors may secure grants from the Privy Council. The provisions of the bill are most favourable to the church and the schoolmaster, but if these are to undergo modification, and it would be folly to go on the supposition that they may not require modification, it should be clearly understood, that instead of compromising in any way her jurisdiction, she is willing rather to make concessions that would throw upon herself greater obligations in the way of supporting her own institutions. Let us not abandon an institution, the sacred trust of which has been committed to us, merely because, in standing firm to our duty, we must put ourselves to some trouble, and make some little sacrifice. Nothing would strengthen the foundation of the Church of Scotland more than the demonstration that she can help herself and maintain her own institutions. The Church of England has set a noble example in this respect. Instead of wasting her strength, in vain appeals to parliament, she has set to the work, and with the aid of Privy Council grants she will soon have raised England to the most enviable position in point of education. A secular system of education is now impossible in Eng-

land, because the ground is already occupied by a religious one. We can do the same for Scotland. With a similar self-reliance we could, in a few years, not only put the parish schools, but the great mass of the subscription schools, beyond the reach of hostile legislation. The longer we stand with folded hands, the more hopeless does the case become. It is impossible to say as yet, what is to be the complexion of next parliament, but as far as can be already learned, there can be no mistake as to the Church's watchword—self-reliance.

The other Bill of Lord Kinnaird is entitled "an Act to provide for the instruction of young persons engaged in labour for hire." The object of the Bill is, to make education the condition of employment, and his Lordship has great merit in recognising this as the most likely mode of enforcing education on the population generally. In Prussia, the obligation is between pupil and teacher, and the parents, if regardless of education, have no motive to fulfil the obligation. In Lord Kinnaird's, the obligation is between employer and employed, and of course, the strongest motive is presented for fulfilling the obligation. This mode of enforcing education has already worked well in our factories, but factories are easily dealt with, and evasion is impossible. The question comes to be, can the proposed condition of employment be enforced on every tradesman who hires labour? While admitting that compulsion is admissable in such exceptional cases as the criminal and factory population, the experience of Prussia suggests very grave doubts, whether a general compulsory system might not retard, instead of promote the cause of education. Instead however, of aiming at universality, the principle of the Bill might be, with advantage, gradually extended to such employments as urgently demanded such a remedy. It would be a great error, merely for the sake of uniformity, to supplant the spontaneous appreciation of education, already so widely extended, by any compulsory enactments.[1]

THIRTY FIRST EXHIBITION OF THE ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY OF PAINTING, SCULPTURE, AND ARCHITECTURE, 1857.

An eminent critic,[2] has declared that there are only three pleasures in life pure and lasting, and all derived from inanimate things—books, pictures, and the face of nature. But if the pleasure derived from the second of these be great and general, it becomes increased, and intensified, when, year by year we are in the habit of watching the progress of a certain school in which we take an interest, and with which we are connected by the ties of citizenship or of country. We enter the exhibition of such a school, anxious, eager, and excited, ready to hail with

[1] As a proof of the disposition of the Committee of Council on Education to accommodate their system to the wants of the parish schools, we refer the reader to the correspondence between Lord Melville, the Rev. Messrs Leitch and Williamson, and the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, which has resulted in an important concession, viz., the removal of the restriction in reference to the holding of the office of Heritors' Clerk by schoolmasters in the receipt of Privy Council Grants.

[2] William Hazlitt.

pleasure every sign of progress, to welcome the first appearance of rising genius, and to greet, as old valued friends, the established favorites of former years. Such, at least, were our feelings on entering, some weeks ago, the 31st Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, whose progression and steady improvement, we have long watched with equal interest and pleasure.

One very prominent feature of this year's Exhibition, is the presence of several pictures by some of the most eminent masters of the French school, kindly sent by the Emperor Napoleon. These are, "*Christ's Charge to St Peter,*" by Ingres; "*The Barrière de Clichy,*" by Horace Vernet; "*The Princes in the Tower,*" by the late Paul Delaroche; and "*Jewish wedding in Morocco,*" by Eugène Delacroix. They afford admirable specimens both of the romantic and eclectic schools of modern French painting; and, from repeated exhibition and engravings, they have acquired a European reputation, so that in a short notice like the present, any detailed description would be out of place, more especially as this has already been admirably supplied by M. Thèophile Gautier, in his brilliant volumes entitled "*Les beaux arts en Europe.*" At present we merely propose to glance at some of the principal pictures in the various departments of art, contributed by members of the Scottish school to the exhibition of 1857. Upon the whole, we do not think the present equal in point of excellence to the two immediately preceding Exhibitions. There are, indeed, many admirable portraits, delightful landscapes, and charming *tableaux de genre*, but there are also more indifferent and disagreeable pictures than usual, and none of such marked and striking excellence as some of those which adorned the two former Exhibitions to which we have alluded. In portrait, the President of the Academy has not acheived his usual success. His best portraits are those of *Mrs Campbell of Monzie*, and of *Dr Farquharson*, which are excellent both in point of likeness and of handling. Mr Graham Gilbert contributes an admirable portrait of *Mrs R. Macfarlane*, warm and harmonious in coloring and natural in attitude; he has also a capital picture of *Mr Brown Douglas*, but one of the hands is out of drawing. Mr Colvin Smith is this season favorably distinguished by the high character of his portraits, which are marked by vigorous drawing, harmonious colouring, and correct resemblance; those of *Mr Graham of Gartmore* and of *Mr Andrew Buchanan of Auchintorlie*, are perhaps his best. But by far the finest portrait in the exhibition, is that of *Colonel Sir James Dalrymple Elphinstone*, painted by Mr John Phillip, a young Scotchman, born, we believe, in Aberdeen, though now for many years resident in London. It is particularly good in point of color, the tones are admirably blended, and there is a breadth, vitality, and power of expression about it which we have not often seen surpassed by any modern artist. Mr Daniel Macnee's portraits are worthy of his reputation; among the best is that of *George Baird, Esq. of Strichen;* it is painted with great freedom, and the pose of the figure is very natural. Mr Swinton contributes a graceful but somewhat sketchy picture of *Lady Claude Hamilton*; and Mr John Faed's "*Portrait of a gentleman,*" *No.* 293, is full of character and cleverly painted.

No artist manifests a more marked and decided improvement then Mr

Herdman, whose recent visit to Italy has been productive of the happiest effects. His drawing was always correct and masterly, and to this he has now joined a charming style of coloring, bright without gaudiness, and warm without glare; his tints are beautifully blended, and his contrasts well chosen. He has also succeeded in catching the brilliant hues of Italian skies, and the warm glow of Italian complexion. His best picture, quite a little gem, is entitled "*Giovinella*"; a chubby faced, bright eyed Italian girl, is leaning against the base of a column, her beautiful roguish face overshadowed by a fanciful head dress; there is an atmosphere of youth and freshness pervading the whole picture, and the coloring is clear and harmonious. The "*Morning of the Festa,*" with the youth and maiden preparing for enjoyment, is also excellent; and "*La Trasteverina*" is a fine specimen of Italian beauty, instinct with the buoyant voluptuous life of the south, full-formed without coarseness, and with that glowing warmth of complexion that sparkles on the canvasses of the great masters of Venice. Mr John A. Houston, another Scottish artist, also lately returned from a visit to Italy, has a clever and carefully painted picture, entitled "*Un Giorno Magro,*" a scene in the fish-market of Pisa, where an old withered crone, bent by years, and with a skin like shrivelled parchment, is driving a bargain with a handsome young Italian fish-woman. The contrast between the fresh, bright, early youth of the one, and the withered decrepid age of the other, is well brought out, and the accessories of the picture, the fish, matting, jars, vegetables, and distant landscape, are very cleverly handled. Mr. William Douglas has a powerful and most elaborately finished painting, one of the best in the Exhibition, entitled "*The Alchemist.*" Within a large apartment, half library and half laboratory, at the end of a long table covered with books, medical preparations, chemical apparatus, weapons, armour, and rich tapestry, is seated an elderly man, pale and emaciated from long study, and bleared and wrinkled by the heat of the furnace whose red glare is visible behind him. Before him is an open book, and he is anxiously examining the contents of a crucible, to see if yet the elixir of life or the powder of transmutation is likely to reward his lengenthened toils; while through the window that opens beyond him is seen the twilight sky, and the bright evening star shining in upon his fruitless labors. The conception of the picture is admirable, and the numberless details are finished with an accuracy and fidelity that reflect equal credit upon the patience and skill of the artist. Mr George Harvey, who, in a recent article upon "Art Unions" in one of our principal periodicals, is somewhat rashly preferred to Sir Edwin Landseer, placed at the head of the British School of Historical Painting, and declared to have few if any superiors in Europe, is represented in the present exhibition by two pictures, "*John Bunyan selling tag and stay laces at the door of Bedford Jail,*" and "*Ferragon, Perthshire.*" In the first, Bunyan, clad in a close fitting dress, and a broad-brimmed hat, stands at the jail door, chained to his prison walls by a shackle fastened to one of his ancles; leaning against him is the blind daughter to whom he was so tenderly attached; beside them a young girl is engaged in purchasing laces; and beyond them are some picturesque buildings and a few trees. The coloring is chalky and disagreeable in tone, and the figure

of the girl buying laces, stiff in attitude and hard in color. There is considerable force and expression in the work, but we should be sorry to accept it as a finished specimen of the capabilities of the British school in the department of historical painting. Mr Harvey's landscape of Ferragon is a faithful representation of a bleak, grey, dismal sky, frowning over a wide expanse of moorland, with dark mountains filling up the distance. In the foreground, is a reedy pool, and beyond some upright stones break the level monotony of the scene. There is a want of point and force about the foreground, and, in our cold northern climate, one would wish to look at a brighter and more cheerful picture. The paintings of Mr James Eckford Lauder appear to us to have their principal merit in the height of their aim. In most other respects they are exceedingly deficient. No. 181, "*Hagar*," is disagreeable in color and defective in drawing; while in 312, "*Gethsemane*," the great agony of our Redeemer, and the ministry of the comforting angel, are travestied, instead of being worthily represented. Far differently and more nobly, has the same subject been treated by Ary Schœffer, in No. 286, where the face of the suffering Saviour is wonderfully expressive of resignation and pain, and that of the angel of tender compassion and deep-felt awe. A fervent religious sentiment pervades the whole picture, and the details are most delicately and carefully rendered, evincing a high degree of technical skill. Mr R. S. Lauder's picture of "*The Betrayal of Christ*," is a large and ambitious work with many figures and a great variety of details. The dark mountains in the background are finely conceived and painted, and there is much good drawing of the figure in various parts; but the coloring is very bad and unequal, and the general effect of the picture unsatisfactory. Mr Kenneth M'Leay's "*Catrina M'Lure, the shepherd's daughter, at Ord, Isle of Skye*," is easy, natural, and unaffected, a true bit of highland nature; and we may also mention that the numerous small oil-color landscapes by the same accomplished artist, are all distinguished for the vigor and fidelity with which they represent the wild scenery of the highlands of Scotland.

Mr Noel Paton is this season represented by a single picture only. It is entitled "*Hesperus*," and represents a knight and lady, clad in mediæval costume, met together "under the greenwood tree," and the soft light of the evening star. The lady is seated, and the knight kneeling before her holding her hand, while their faces are in dangerous proximity; but there is no fear of a kiss, as the knight would inevitably lose his balance if he attempted it. His position seems uncomfortable, and would excite the compassion of the veriest prude; he is kneeling on both knees on a very stony bank, and his breeches are evidently exceedingly thin, which may account in some measure for the doleful expression of his countenance. The banks, weeds, wild flowers, mossed branches of the tree, and the dresses of the lovers, are most carefully drawn and delicately finished; but the flesh tints are bad, and the skin entirely wants the texture and appearance of life, the warm glow and transparency, that tells of the blood coursing beneath.

One of the most charming interiors of the Exhibition is entitled "*Politicians*," by A. H. Burr. Agreeable in color, broad in effect, careful in detail, and skilful in composition, it is almost worthy of Wilkie,

and augurs a brilliant future for this young and rising artist. A group of merry children are gathered round a stool or table, on which is spread the broad sheet of a newspaper; one frolicsome urchin, with spectacles on nose, is attempting to read it sideways, another tries it upside down, a third and younger stands on tiptoe beside it, while a shepherd's dog, standing on his hind legs, with his nose applied to the print, seems as keen a politician as any of them. In the back ground, a child is seen vainly striving to shut the cottage door, and prevent the entrance of an old woman who comes to disturb the amusement of the juvenile party. The homely furniture of the cottage, the children's faces and dresses, all the accessories of this charming picture are most conscientiously and successfully made out.

Among the Scottish landscape painters Mr M'Culloch asserts his wonted pre-eminence. His principal pictures are "*Inverlochy Castle,*" and "*Summer day in Skye,—view of the Coolin mountains.*" Both are clear, bright paintings, full of freshness and atmosphere, singularly true to nature in color, form, and texture. No artist has ever succeeded more perfectly than M'Culloch in transferring to his canvass the very skies, mountains, streams, vallies, and moorlands of the Highlands. Next to this accomphished artist ranks Mr Edmond Crawford, whose sea-pieces are always among the chief attractions of the Scottish Academy. No. 182, "*Scene on the beach at Broughty ferry—ebb-tide,*" is the largest and best of the four pictures contributed by him to this year's Exhibition. The sloping sandy beach, the quay and houses, the craft lying aground beside them with their sails and yards hanging in picturesque confusion, the vessels in the middle distance, and the far off glimpse of the town of Dundee, almost lost in the warm haze of a summer day, are rendered with great precision, truth, and delicacy. Mr D. O. Hill has two very pleasing pieces, a twilight, and a moonlight; but the moment he attempts to meddle with positive color he goes far astray, and his landscapes assume a hard, cold, blue appearance most painful to contemplate. In proof of this we need only refer to his "*St Andrews from the maiden rock,*" and "*Mackrahanish bay, Mull of Cantyre,*" the latter representing a bay with steep shore and lofty headlands, a rough whitening sea, two rainbows, a heron, three cormorants, and a cutter a great deal too close to a lee shore. Mr Waller Paton has several landscapes full of careful drawing and minute and accurate finish, but destroyed by the strange eccentricity of his coloring. One is all bright green, as if no atmosphere intervened between the eye of the artist and the object represented—another has a lemon yellow sky and intensely purple mountains; the best, a very sweet and quiet landscape full of the poetry of repose, is No. 232, "*Twilight by the shore, Arran.*" Mr Samuel Bough, has a large and clever piece entitled "*The port of London.*" The drawing and composition are excellent, and the sky is very finely painted, but the coloring in parts is so chalky that we have more than once heard it mistaken for an effect of snow. Among Mr Bough's other landscapes, No. 203, "*Moonlight on the Avon,*" is the best. We have only space to mention Messrs. Fraser, Hargitt, and Wintour, as distinguished contributors to the landscape department, to praise Mr Erskine Nicol for his clever sketches of

Irish peasant life, and Mr Perigal for his truthful delineations of Scottish scenery; and we now pass on to the water color room, always, alas! the weakest and poorest part of the Exhibiton of the Scottish Academy. In spite of the splendid example set them by their English brethren, who have carried painting in water colors to an unrivalled perfection that commands the admiration of Europe, the artists of Scotland seem to look down upon it, to regard it merely as a medium for sketching rapidly from nature, forgetting altogether that it supplies a means of representing with the utmost truth and delicacy, and with a softness and purity otherwise unattainable, all those atmospherical effects upon which the beauty of landscape so much depends. The only good drawings in the water color room, are those furnished by the facile and skilful pencil of Mr. W. L. Leitch, and the masterly portraits in which Mr Kenneth Macleay has no superior. Mr William Crawford, however, has several clever portraits in crayons, one of which, No. 628, "*Study of a head*," is exceedingly free and spirited. In sculpture, the bust of Lord Cockburn, by Mr Steell, is clever and characteristic, and those of the Lord Advocate and of Alexander Cowan, Esq., by Mr Brodie, are also very successful. Mr Brodie's full length model for a statue entitled "*The Thunder Storm*," represents a frightened and shrinking female figure, instinct with the sentiment of astonishment and awe; and another design for a statue by Mr W. Calder Marshall, "*The Mother's Prayer*," is finely modelled, and marked by deep and tender feeling.

PRECURSORS OF KNOX.[1]

While the friends of Episcopacy—especially of the High Church or Tramontane School—are busy in disinterring the remains, and reviving the memorials of the men whom they are pleased, with more or less truth, to rank among their patriarchs, and seeking to perpetuate much trash as well as a scantling of goodly matter, through their Spotswood and Spalding Club publications, &c., we are glad to witness something like a corresponding energy in the opposite direction of doing justice to what we at least, regard as holier memories, and more edifying works. The son of Dr M'Crie as an extensive editor of Presbyterian remains, and as the recent restorer of his father's admirable works, has in this way being doing the whole Presbyterian Church good service. And a gentleman who seems to be his colleague in the English Presbyterian College, has here given in a monograph on the subject of a popular Reformer, which we pronounce, with pleasure, to be a work of great, and in some points, original merit. No tribute of this kind shall ever be witheld by us whereever and to whomsoever due, and be what may our imputed Erastianism, we shall give every good man, and every good book, the meet award of what belongs to them. To drop, for the quotation's sake, the critical plural—

"His saltem acumulem donis."

[1] Memoirs of Patrick Hamilton. By Rev. Peter Lorimer. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co. 1857.

Hitherto the Biography of Patrick Hamilton has been contained within brief bounds. We were not aware that there was much "story to tell." All that the world knew before might nearly have been summed up in a slight alteration of the lines that Cowper had dedicated to another subject—

> "*All* poets wept him—and the page
> Of narrative sincere,
> That tells his name—his *death*—his age
> Is wet with *Fox's* tear."

The old martyrologist had indeed told so much of what was known, that even Scotsmen have added nothing to the tale which he relates with his usual honesty and pathos.

That our readers may know what they are to expect here, however, it is but fair to the labours of Mr Lorimer to quote an extract from his preface :—

"Nearly three years ago, when the author of the following work was collecting materials for a life of Alexander Alesius, the earliest and one of the most distinguished of the Scottish exiles who were driven out from their country for their attachment to the principles of the Reformation, he came unexpectedly upon the traces of a work in which Alesius had inserted some account of Patrick Hamilton. Following up these traces, he found that Rabus, a German author of the sixteenth century, had introduced a translation of that account into his History of the Martyrs; on perusing which, he discovered that Alesius had noticed several important particulars of Hamilton's character and life, and of his own connection with him, which were perfectly new to history as well as extremely interesting and valuable. The author then became anxious to see the original work, which was referred to as a Latin Commentary on the first book of the Psalms; but no copy of it could be found in the library of the British Museum, the Bodleian, Sion College, or any of the other great libraries of this country to which he had access. It was not till he had travelled in quest of it as far as the old library of Wolfenbuttel in the Grand Duchy of Brunswick, that he got his first sight of a copy."—P. 7.

Hamilton's birth and pedigree, subjects on which the biographer bestows all the partial pains that are usual in such cases, are chiefly curious from the complicated *illegitimacy* through which he derived the streams of noble and even royal blood which flowed in his veins. It is rather hard however that we are left in hopeless ignorance of the year or place of his birth, or the scene or means of his education. This opens up the Life rather awkwardly, although we suppose there was no help for it. The latter desideratum is attempted to be thus supplied.

"With such connections he could be at no loss for as good an elementary education as the country could then afford; and we are left at liberty to imagine the young scholar imbibing his first lessons of sacred and secular learning either under the eye of the poet-bishop, among the silent mountains of Dunkeld, or in the solitary cloisters of Inchaffray in Stratherne, or in the remote valley of Glenluce—the *valley of light*."—P. 6.

We remember a Life of Chaucer, in two volumes 4to, that was made up, from colon to colophon, of such conjectures, and a somewhat similar *poetic*

commentary. By the way, the flourish at the end is founded on a mistake; Glenluce is no more *Glen of Light* than *lucus* is the genuine offspring of *non lucea*. It means Glen of herbs or rather of weeds.

"Sed hae sunt nugae."—

We proceed to more goodly matter. Hamilton's very early illumination, so unaccounted for while he was believed to owe his instruction to the College of St Andrews, is thus accounted for, by the careful researches of the new biographer.

"As early," says Dr M'Crie, "as the year 1526, and previous to the breach of Henry VIII. with the Romish See, a gleam of light was, *by some unknown means*, imparted to his mind amidst the darkness which brooded around him! But this difficulty is at once removed and a flood of suggestive light thrown upon the history of his mental preparation for his future work, by the fact which has only now been ascertained, that he took his master's degree in Paris in the year 1520, and must have left Scotland to enter upon his philosophical course in that university as early as 1517, if not a year earlier.

"The evidence of this interesting fact is of the amplest kind. In 1527 Hamilton entered his name in the album of the University of Marburg, as a Master of Arts of Paris, and among the *debris* of the records of the University of Paris, the volume of *Acta Rectoria* before referred to, beginning with the year 1520, bears that Hamilton was admitted among the *Magistri Jurati* in that very year, under the rectorate of Nicolas Maillard, who was nominated to that office on the 8th day of August. But even if these documentary proofs of the point had not been forthcoming, the fact that he studied at Paris is sufficiently attested by the authority of Alexander Alesius, who was personally acquainted with Hamilton, and was indeed his convert and first biographer, and who tells us distinctly that Hamilton prosecuted his studies both in Paris and Louvaine. It was the fortunate discovery of this earliest account of the Reformer which has been buried for three centuries in the heart of a neglected Latin commentary on the Psalms—which afterwards led to the further discovery of the above documentary proofs at Marburg and Paris." Pp. 27, 28.

But how does his *institution* at Paris lead to his indoctrination into reformation principles so early as 1520? Let the biographer answer.

"The Erasmuses, Reuchlins, and Colets of the age, were every day gathering new force and influence in Paris, and taking possession of all young and ingenuous minds. The obscurants were indeed to be found there in considerable numbers, as in all the other ancient seats of learning—men too old to learn, too arrogant to condescend to new teachers, and too deeply pledged to the maintenance of old ideas and forms to concede a hair's-breadth to what they looked upon as conceited and dangerous innovations. But these were not in general the men whom the young student came in contact with, on his arrival at the university. The 'fresh men' fell into the hands of the regents or tutors of colleges, who were for the most part warm sympathisers with the literary enthusiasm of 'young Europe.' Under such teachers the young scholar soon learned to laugh at the venerable lovers of darkness and stagnation who were still the nominal heads. The *real* heads and rectors of the university were Budaeus and Erasmus—the acknowledged masters of the intellectual world."—Pp. 32–3.

The young *Erasmian* (for *Lutheran* he was not as *yet*) returns to Scotland, and in 1523 transfers his lights and prepossessions to the uni-

versity of St Andrews, where he was incorporated and admitted *ad eundem* of his foreign degree in Arts. Here, among the canons of the Priory and the Regents of St Leonards, he first distinguished himself by a passion for music, and was admitted to the precentorship of the choir. Genius in one or other of its forms almost always distinguished the early reformers. And Hamilton could not be more a *fanatic* for *music*, as the Italians call it, than Luther. Luther had his immortal "Hymn," and Patrick Hamilton "composed," says Alesius, "what the musicians call a mass arranged in parts for nine voices, in honour of the angels, intended for that office in the Missal which begins, "Benedicant Dominum angeli ejus." But he is about to return his response to loftier strains. The tocsin of Luther is sounding, in the meantime, all over the continent; and the foremost alarm is taken in Scotland, by whom but the hierarchy of St Andrews? Their murmurs have their natural effect, in a craving after the prohibited fruit. Anon, cargoes of Tyndal's Bible begin to steal their way into the ports of Leith, *Dundee*, and *Montrose*.

"All that was wanting now was the voice of the living preacher. The Reformation of the Church of Scotland could only be worked out by the agency of living Scotsmen. The printed books of German and English reformers might be helpful to the work, but they could not be adequate for it alone. The country could only be roused and gained to the cause of evangelical truth and purity by the preaching and the sufferings of her own sons. And such men were not long of appearing. God was even then preparing them. He was soon to produce them one after another upon the public stage. The first to be thus prepared and produced was Patrick Hamilton." P. 81.

It is curious to read how soon—how almost prematurely—Hamilton had qualified for the crown of martyrdom. He was as yet "burning bricks in Egypt," a mere novice in the most important principles of the reformed doctrine, when his doom was fore-shewn.

"It was probably in the course of the year 1526 that Hamilton first began to declare openly his new convictions, and it was not long before the report of his heretical opinions was carried to the ears of the Archbishop. Early in 1527, Beaton 'made faithful inquisition during Lent' into the grounds of the rumour, and found that he was already 'infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining, divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to the faith;' whereupon he proceeded to 'discern him' to be formally summoned and accused. Such was Beaton's own language in the following year, when relying upon the 'inquisition' which he had made in 1527, as well as in 1528, he pronounced him to be clearly convicted of heresy and worthy of death."—Pp. 82–3.

In Germany Hamilton at least *sees* and *hears* Luther; for Mr Lorimer does not affect to know much more of their intercourse. This "*Virgilium tantum vidi*" would probably have availed little except to feed with a little more fuel of enthusiasm, the lamp which was already burning. But the biographer is enabled to give such a detail of Hamilton's brief student life at Marburg, as accounts far more completely for the enlightened instructions of the traveller upon his return home than the passing call at Wittenberg. For this we refer in detail to the excellent Fifth chapter.

On his return to Scotland, Hamilton immediately takes the step which the Reformers almost universally seem to have thought it meet to adopt, in order to break terms unequivocally with the religion of the Pope. He marries. Why this should be thought prudent or necessary in so many cases, we are at a loss to know. What was gained by way of demonstration was lost or nearly so in more important respects. The apostle had long ago rather interposed a caveat under somewhat parallel circumstances than left the encouragement of his advice or example. The prospect of domestic comfort was surely nothing to the contingent calamity, so far, at least, as a wife and children were concerned. A door, besides, was opened to general misconstruction, and in a very few cases to imputation of scandal, which have perplexed the most favorable judges.

> "Something there was, &c.
> And whispered words no judge on earth could clear."

We can indeed *now* afford to relieve Knox, and his ardent follower in the next age, Rutherford, of the slander that has darkened many a page at their expense—but the memory of Hamilton had nearly suffered indelibly from doubts recently raised, by a friendly hand too, on an important part of his moral character. We are glad our biographer has been enabled to set this matter satisfactorily at rest.

"Patrick Hamilton remained at Kincavel till about the middle of January, 1527–28, and it was during the few months that elapsed between his return from Germany and that date, that an event took place, for the knowledge of which we are indebted exclusively to the information of Alexander Alesius. None of our historians have recorded the significant and interesting fact that the young Abbot of Ferne became a married man. But Alesius tells us that 'shortly before his death he married a young lady of noble rank;' and assigns the same reason for this step as for the reformer's never assuming, though an abbot, the monastic habit, viz. his hatred to the *hypocrisy* of the Roman Church.

"The Reformer's marriage is a fact not only interesting in itself, but important as vindicating his memory from a stain which has been recently thrown upon it by the discovery of the additional fact, that he was the parent of a daughter. The name of Isobel Hamilton, described as 'daughter of umquhil Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne,' has been found under the year 1543, in the accounts of the Lord Treasurer; from which record it appears that she was at that time one of the ladies in attendance on the court of the Regent Arran. This discovery naturally led to the inference, as nothing had been said by historians of her father's marriage, that he had left behind him an illegitimate child—a blot 'on his hitherto pure and immaculate character,' which the learned editor of Knox's History could not refer to without reluctance, though constrained by historical justice to reveal to the world what his own accurate researches had disclosed. But God has promised to bring forth the good man's judgment as the light, and his righteousness as the noon-day; and the present is a striking instance of the truth of His word. The regretted stain had scarcely been thrown upon the martyr's memory when a witness of unchallengeable credit is unexpectedly brought forward to wipe it off again."—Pp. 123–4.

The advocacy of the celibate, whether of laity or clergy, is none of our business, but we cannot help feeling some surprise that it did not rather occur to so many good men, to save helpless females and children the

troubles and anxieties attendant on their own career of danger and suffering, and to have set an example of *another* kind to the wretched monkery whose base manners were supposed to call for this rather needless testimony to the honourable character of matrimony as the right and privilege "of all."

Hamilton's brief preaching career, and other apostolic labours in Scotland, are better known than these matters. They who want information on the subject cannot do better than consult the luminous reproduction of materials to which Knox, Spottiswood, and Cook, have left little to be added, which they will find in Mr Lorimer's volume. It would be wholly inexcusable however to omit the minute, and, as will be seen from the quoted testimony of a newly discovered witness, authentic circumstances of the well known *finale*. After a pretended scheme to provide for his safety he is tried and judged.

"The tribunal instantly rose, and Hamilton was conducted back to his prison under a strong guard. As the captain of the castle left the cathedral with his prisoner, he called aloud for Sir James Hamilton to come and receive his brother out of his hands. He knew perfectly well that Sir James was not then in St Andrews. But he remembered the pledge he had given to the prisoner's friends: and it was in this evasive manner that the bishops had instructed him to redeem it.

"At noon Patrick Hamilton was seated at table in an apartment of the castle awaiting calmly the signal for setting out to the closing scene. The martyr was ready for the stake, as well as the stake for the martyr. The spirit of power and of love had fallen abundantly upon him, and the most perfect composure, resolution, and self-devotion, filled his soul. When the hour of noon struck he sent for the captain and enquired whether all was ready. The captain, more humane than his master, was unable to tell him plainly the fatal truth; he could only hint that the last hour had even come. Hamilton immediately rose from his seat, and, putting his hand into the captain's, walked forth with a quick step towards the place of execution. He carried in his right hand a copy of the evangelist, and was accompanied by his servant and a few intimate friends. When he came in sight of the spot he uncovered his head, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, addressed himself in silent prayer to Him who alone could give him a martyr's strength and victory. On reaching the stake he handed to one of his friends the precious volume which had long been his companion and the rod of his strength, and, taking off his cap and gown and other upper garments, he gave them to his attendant with these words, 'These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee. After this, of me thou canst receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in mind. For albeit it be better to the flesh, and fearful before man, yet is it the entrance to eternal life, which none shall possess that denies Christ Jesus before this wicked generation.

"The executioners then stepped forward to do their office. They bound the martyr to the stake by an iron chain, which was passed round his middle, and they prepared to set fire to the pile of wood and coals. 'The servant of God,' says Pitscottie, 'entered in contemplation and prayer to Almighty God to be merciful to the people who persecuted him, for there were many of them blinded in ignorance that they knew not what they did. He also besought Christ Jesus to be Mediator for him to the Father, and that he would strengthen him with His Holy Spirit that he might stedfastly abide the cruel pains and flames of fire prepared for him by that cruel people. Addressing

himself likewise to the Father, he prayed that the flames of that torment might not be the occasion to make him swerve from any point of his faith in Christ Jesus, but to strengthen and augment him in his spirit and knowledge of the promise of God, and to receive his soul in His hands for Christ Jesus' sake 'in whose name I make this oblation and offering—that is to say, my body in the fire, and my soul in the hands of Almighty God.'

"Fire was now laid to the pile and exploded some powder which was placed among the faggots. The martyr's left hand and left cheek were scorched by the explosion; but though thrice kindled the flames took no steady hold of the pile. 'Have you no dry wood?' demanded the sufferer. 'Have you no more gunpowder?' It was some time before fresh billets and powder could be fetched from the castle, and his sufferings during the interval were extremely acute. Notwithstanding 'he uttered divers comfortable speeches to the bystanders, and addressed himself calmly to more than one of the friars, who molested him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our lady, and say, 'Salve Regina.' To one of them he said with a smile, 'you are late with your advice, when you see me on the point of being consumed in the flames. If I had chosen to recant I need not have been here. But pray you come forward and testify the truth of *your* religion by putting your little finger into this fire in which I am burning with my whole body!' To another of the friars he was constrained to speak in a severe and more indignant tone. It was friar Campbell his betrayer and accuser. That bad man was foremost among the tormentors of his last moments. Once and again the sufferer besought him to depart and no more to trouble him, but in vain. At last he struck upon his conscience with these words of righteous severity: 'Wicked man! thou knowest it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So much thou didst confess unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ.'

"Meanwhile the executioners had returned from the castle, and the flames were rekindled. 'A baker, also, called Myrton, ran and brought his arms full of straw and cast it into the fire; whereupon there came a blast of wind from the east forth of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehemently that it blew upon the friar that had accused him, and threw him upon the ground, burning all the forepart of his cowl.' The terror and confusion of the conscience-stricken Dominican contrasted strangely with the martyr. Surrounded and devoured by fierce flames he had still recollectedness enough to remember in his torment his widowed mother, and to commend her with his dying breath to the care and sympathy of his friends. When nearly burnt through his middle by the fiery chain, a voice in the crowd of spectators called aloud to him that if he still had faith in the doctrine for which he died he should give a last sign of his constancy. Whereupon he raised three fingers of his half consumed hand, and held them steadily in that position till he ceased to live. His last audible words were, 'How long, Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this kingdom? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my soul!'

It was six o'clock in the evening before his body was quite reduced to ashes. The execution had lasted for nearly six hours, 'but during all that time,' says Alexander Alane, who had witnessed with profound emotion the whole scene, 'the martyr never gave one sign of impatience or anger, nor ever called to Heaven for vengeance upon his persecutors: so great was his faith, so strong his confidence in God."—Pp. 150–55.

Perhaps in no nation since the first ages of Christianity was a single case of martyrdom so fruitful of consequences, direct at once and permanent, as that of Patrick Hamilton The selection of a victim from the first ranks of society, which was doubtless intended as a master stroke of

in terrorem policy, had a result the very reverse of what was intended. It brought the Reformation immediately into *fashion*. Almost all the leading Scottish reformers were, after this original pattern, either high born gentlemen or accomplished scholars, or like the prototype they were both. It would almost seem as if martyrdom itself, at least the most imminent risk of it, had become a high born vocation. Such is persecution.

AN OVERTURE OVERHAULED—A PEEP INTO A DEBATE IN THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH ON "GRANTS IN AID" TO SCHOOLS IN INDIA.

While the supreme government of India is busily engaged in organizing its Universities under the "Despatch on Education," sent out for its guidance and direction by the authorities at home, assigning as reported to the Governor General the high post of Chancellor, to the Bishop that of Visitor, to the Chief Justice, the Chief Secretary, &c., &c., *ex officiis* seats in the Council Board, and appointing among others as members of the *Senatus Academicus*, the Heads of the General Assembly and Free Church Colleges, the Presbytery of Edinburgh are overturing the next General Assembly to withdraw the sanction given by the last to any affiliation with this system of Native Instruction—denouncing it as "godless," and the acceptance of the "*grants in aid*" offered by it to Christian schools, as "touching the unclean thing!" The Church at large will doubtless feel curious to learn on what grounds such a position should have been taken up by the Metropolitan Presbytery; and they will find them set forth in a "Letter to the Congregation of St Stephen's Church" by their reverend pastor; in the "Reasons" of Dr Veitch of St Cuthbert's, already noticed in our Magazine; and in the debate, to which we have already briefly alluded, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh. The Speech of the Reverend Dr Bryce on this occasion enables us to pay the right and proper regard to the "audi alteram partem" rule; and we may chance to find something at least worth listening to, in defence of a system of what may be truly called a "National Education," in a somewhat wider sense of the word, than when understood as stretching from "the Tweed to John O'Groats;" and which, unlike the hitherto abortive Bills of the Lord Advocate, has ripened into something, that appears to have united the Christian world, both here and on the other side of the Cape, in hailing it as one of the noblest and worthiest acts of the government of India. While we very readily award to the grave and reverend doctors of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who are standing forth in the very singular, if not very enviable, distinction of opposing a system, which has received such a testimony—not to speak of the *imprimatur* of the Supreme Judicatory of their own Church,—the meed of a conscientious conviction, that this system is of a "godless" character, antichristian and hostile to the evangelization of the heathen world—in all of which lights it has been painted in the Overture and in the debate, we cannot but express our astonishment, and we must add our regret, that some of them at least, who have been distinguished for

their *moderate* views in such kittle questions as the present, should have come to such a conclusion. We observe that a neighbouring Presbytery has been making an attempt to follow the example of that of Edinburgh —naturally enough, some may say, all *men*, if not all *things*, considered; but here, as it has happened, a becoming regard has been paid by the brethren of Linlithgow, to what is due to the Supreme Court of the Church. On the other hand, in a Presbytery farther south, the tocsin of rebellion has been sounded under the leadership of a member, who is reported not to have rested satisfied with dictating to his people, to what particular purpose they should devote their benefactions to the Indian Scheme, but to have boldly taken the bull by the horns, and told them not to collect at all!

As the whole question of the working of the India Mission must come up before the next Assembly, as a matter of course and form, on the Report from its Committee; and the door must necessarily and orderly be opened to amendments, and even reversals of policy on good cause shewn, what in the name of common sense and wonder, is the meaning of those movements of presbyteries, which, as they have nothing to offer in the way of the "res noviter ad notitiam veniens," have no right or title to interfere with Dr Craik and his Committee? We had hoped, like every one interested in the welfare of the India Mission Scheme, that every thing like controversy on the *principle* of this great question, had, within the church at least, been put to rest by the decision of last Assembly; save and except, indeed, a friendly rivalry and strife, in rendering still more efficient the noble Institution, which has been so long, and so justly the honour and the boast of the Church of Scotland. Modifications in the working of the Institution, as now carried on, we can easily imagine as becoming necessary to be adopted, that the great and primary object of the Church's operations in India may be reached; and under the happy change—or rather perhaps we should say, the happy *advance*—now making by the government of that country in its educational measures towards the Christian goal, such modifications appear as easy, as they are obvious. The road to the more strictly called "Missionary character" is now in providence more and more opening up, to the Church, as her labour may now be directed more than they have ever yet been, to the raising up of native converts to our creed by means of *preaching*, and from among them a NATIVE MINISTRY, through the Colleges and Divinity Halls, that at length appear within her reach; while funds, hitherto devoted to schools of a more elementary description, are gradually relieved from that burden; having under an all-wise and over-ruling Providence, produced to a most gratifying extent the very fruits, which the founders of the India Mission Scheme so fondly anticipated.

It may be proper, however, at the outset, to remind our readers how the question of "Education in India" found its way at all into the General Assembly. Many have affected to regret, that it should have ever been brought forward in that venerable body, and its discussion so unwisely, as they esteem it, forced upon the Church; and the responsibility of the act, it is well known, has been placed at the door of an ex-Chaplain of

the East India Company, who has taken a rather prominent part in the question. It is time, that those who take this view of the matter, should be put right, and should learn, that the truly important subject was brought before the Assembly 1855, under an official document, emanating from the Government of Bengal, in the shape of an "Extract of a Letter from the Secretary of that Government, dated the 20th February 1855," addressed to the missionaries of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta, and by them forwarded, through the Committee on Foreign Missions to the Assembly. In this "Letter" the missionaries are informed, that on certain conditions set forth in a "Despatch" from the Court of Directors, "grants in aid" of their schools would be given; and they very properly applied to the Church at home for directions how to act; and on this "warrant" the Assembly of 1855 proceeded, and ultimately by an overwhelming majority of 195 to 65, decided that the terms and conditions, as set forth in the "Despatch," in which "grants in aid" are offered, are such as, in perfect consistency with sound principle, and in accordance with the duty of the Church in the matter, may be taken advantage of for the benefit of the schools established in connection with the General Assembly's Mission in India; and resolved to sanction and authorize the acceptance of said grants, and to take advantage thereof, as *well for the erection of additional schools* in places the most suitable, as for the support *as far as possible* of those already existing.

We shall take as our text on this occasion the Speech of the Rev. Dr Bryce, the well known advocate of the "Grants in aid;" and we shall attempt to furnish a running commentary on it as we proceed, which may throw some light on the *questio vexata* of "Education in India"—as that question, at least within the Church Courts, is again presenting itself. But before doing so we may as well lay before our readers the Overture of Dr Macfarlane, which was supported by Drs Grant, Muir, Veitch, and others in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and carried on a division by 18 to 9.

Overture.—"Whereas by a decision of the General Assembly on the "Despatch" to the Government of India, on the subject of a General Education in India, and on the acceptance of "grants in aid" under that Despatch by our Foreign Mission, a deliverance has been given, *in which the church should not acquiesce*, it being alike *obnoxious in principle* and *fraught with evil* to the free and unfettered operations of the missionary schools in *the propagation of 'the Truth as it is in Jesus.'*[1] It is humbly overtured to the Venerable Assembly to meet in May next, that they reconsider the whole of the subject, *adhering to the deliverance* of the General Assembly 1855, and finally pronouncing a judgment in harmony with the views, which the Church has always held on the subject of Education *generally*, and in accordance with the principles, on which alone our missions in India can be conducted as an evangelical enterprize, and approve themselves to the prayerful sympathy, and continued support of an enlightened Christian people."

This Overture was met by an amendment of "*not transmit*," moved

[1] The italics are ours.—*Ed.*

by Dr Bryce, and seconded by Dr Barclay of Currie, who stated, that looking to its character and language, he should have much preferred having had the "*previous question*" to deal with.

We shall not attempt to follow the mover of the Overture into those regions of fancy, in which he has sought for his illustrations and his arguments in its support. We confess frankly, that we have no wings to carry us to those heights of eloquence, to which the reverend gentleman, however heavily laden, is able, as is well known, to soar with an ease that is peculiarly his own. We shall therefore content ourselves with dealing with his Overture as now before us.

Before, however, turning to the questions raised under this Overture, we shall take leave to express our very great regret, that it should have been laid upon the table of any Presbytery in the Church; satisfied as we are, that no discussion, that can arise out of it, can lead to any thing but danger and detriment to one of the most important, and hitherto most fondly cherished Schemes of the Church of Scotland. Let us, however, go on to request attention to the position, which such an Overture finds the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

The General Assembly of last year was called on through Overtures coming from a large number of Presbyteries, and among others from that of Edinburgh, to re-consider a decision, to which the former Assembly had come in the matter of "Grants in Aid," then offered for the first time by the Government of India to the Christian and Missionary Schools in that country. By that decision, these grants had been declined, on the ground, that their acceptance on the conditions offered, did not appear to that Assembly, to pay a proper regard to the primary object of the Church of Scotland's operations in India;—a deliverance come to, in opposition to a motion by the Rev. Dr Cook of St Andrews, that, as many members had not seen the "Despatch" and its conditions, the matter be re-committed to the Foreign Mission Committee. On a vote, the motion to decline acceptance of the grants was carried on a division of 26 to 9. After the rising of the Assembly of 1855, the matter was taken up over the Church; and the Assembly 1856 was called on through Overtures sent up to it—not, be it observed, to *reverse* the decision of Assembly 1855, as in itself unsound in principle or unwise in policy—but to re-consider it, as having been reached under circumstances not becoming the gravity of the question—the respect due to the quarter from which the offered aid had come—or the dignity and decorum of the Church's own proceedings. No objections were taken to the competency, or the constitutional character of these Overtures; and in the meantime, the "Despatch" from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, in which the offered "grants" with their proposed conditions were set forth, was published in the "Home and Foreign Missionary Record." The Assembly, on these Overtures reaching it, set apart a day specially for the re-discussion of this important question, and in a house of 250 members, and by a majority of 195—ruled as we have just seen.

The Overture of Dr Macfarlane calls upon the Presbytery of Edinburgh to go up to the next Assembly, and to tell that venerable body,

that the decision come to by Assembly 1856 is a deliverance, in *which the Church should not acquiesce!* that it is obnoxious in principle, and fraught with evil to the free and unfettered operations of our Missionary schools in the propagation of "*the Truth as it is in Jesus!*" and based on principles, which can no longer recommend the Mission to the prayerful sympathy and continued support of an enlightened Christian people! We frankly confess, that we can scarcely express our surprize at such a motion laid before the Presbytery of Edinburgh. It is only surpassed by our astonishment, that the Presbytery should have taken the responsibility of this motion from off the shoulders of the promoters of the Overture; and that such a motion should have been supported within the Presbytery, by some who were members of the India Mission Committee, and up to that day actively engaged in carrying out the deliverance of the last Assembly! But it is time we turn to the Overture.

Our first objection to this Overture is, that it is *unconstitutional.*

And let us not, by saying so, be regarded as claiming the attribute of *finality* to such a deliverance, as that which the next Assembly is to be called on by this Overture to reverse. We are no advocates of the doctrine of *finality,* so far as it would shut out all right or power in one Assembly, to re-consider and reverse what may have been done legislatively by another. Moreover, we admit, as readily as any can do, the right of Presbyteries to overture the Assembly, in all matters, which they think may involve the good of the Church. But we do demur to the right of the subordinate judicatories, to sit in judgment on the acts of the Supreme, given to them ministerially to carry out, and to pronounce these acts, "obnoxious in principle," and fraught with evil to the propagation of the *truth as it is in Jesus!*" We deprecate the disrespectful and rebellious language employed in this Overture towards the Assembly 1856, in telling that of 1857, that its predecessor gave forth a decision, in which *the Church should not acquiesce!* But beyond these more general aspects of the question before us, we object also to this Overture as a most audacious attempt—but as it has proved a successful attempt—to prevail on the Presbytery of Edinburgh to stultify itself. "Twelve months," says Dr Bryce, "have scarcely elapsed since that Presbytery went up to the Assembly 1856, with an overture praying that venerable body to re-consider the decision, to which that of 1855 had come; and to give forth another founded on the further and fuller information, which by that time had reached the Church. With this prayer the Assembly complied; and now it is gravely called on to go up to Assembly 1857, and say that it is not pleased forsooth! with the deliverance which at its own request was obtained!" Where we would ask, is all this to end? If the mover of the Overture had laid his hand on any "*res noviter ad notitiam veniens,*" that had arisen, since last Assembly, to demonstrate the evil effects of the Assembly's deliverance, we should at once recognize his right and duty to call attention to it in becoming language and in the proper place. But to no such ground does he lay claim. But we will take leave further to tell him, that if any "*res noviter*" affecting the character or the interests of our School and Mission in India had come to his knowledge, the Presbytery of

Edinburgh was not the body, under whose notice it ought to be brought. A Standing Committee has been appointed by the Church, to watch over these interests, and to this body ought the promoter of the Overture to have addressed himself, if anything of consequence had reached his knowledge. It is very true, that he and his friends have thought fit to withdraw themselves from that committee. But it does not follow, that because they have shut the door of the India Mission on themselves, they have thereby opened that of the Presbytery of Edinburgh to such proceedings as they are now taking.[1]

But we object further to the *vagueness* of the language employed in this Overture. We should like to know what its supporters mean, by calling for a judgment from next Assembly, in harmony with the views which the Church has *always* held on the subject of education *generally!* Are the principles, here referred to—or the views as they are termed,—those, on which the acceptance of the Privy Council grants at home is justified? Or are they those, on which acceptance here also has been declined by a small minority in the Church? We venture to think, that the mover of this Overture was bound to have given more explicit information on this point than he has furnished, before he called on the Presbytery to commit itself to views or principles, which his Overture leaves so very vague and indefinite. There is indeed no part of the argument held by Dr Macfarlane and his friends, that has surprized us more than the attempt made by them to avoid the dilemma, in which *they* are placed, who refuse the "Grants in aid" of Indian Education, and yet accept the Grants in aid offered by the Privy Council scheme to our schools at home. No doubt some there are among the Churchmen to whom we refer, who may say, "let the galled jade go wince; our withers are unwrung." But even they find an apology, where they must still deprecate the deed and warn against the example. We are told by Dr Veitch, one of the consistent opponents of all grants, that no analogy exists between the cases of Indian and home "grants in aid;" and no doubt there are points of difference. The Privy Council Scheme does not it seems sanction any education *exclusively secular*, as does the "Despatch." It does pay homage to the *religious* department. We ask if it signifies nothing in the opinion of these gentlemen, whether that homage is paid to the "*truth as it is in Jesus,*" or to errors the most pestilent and pernicious, such as our Standards of Faith and Worship declare the tenets of Popery to be?

But the Overture demands of the Presbytery to call upon the next

[1] It may be proper to notice that the Committee on Foreign Missions was appointed by the last Assembly, when the Report of the former Committee was given in by its Convener, and approved of; and consequently, before the Overtures upon the "Grants in Aid" question were taken up. On these being disposed of as they were, the Convener resigned his office, and it may be inferred, his seat in the Committee. No other member followed his example, and on the meeting of the first General Committee under Dr Craik, the former Acting Committee as usual—with some additional members—was appointed; and it was on receiving their first summons to attend a meeting of the "Acting" after the Assembly, that Dr Muir and others sent in their resignations. They could, however, only resign their seats at the General Board to the General Assembly, and of that Board they are still members.

Assembly to pronounce a judgment on such principles "as can alone recommend the Mission to the prayerful sympathy and continued support of an enlightened Christian people." We have just complained of the *vagueness* of the language employed in this Overture. But in this part of it, at least, there may perhaps be reference made to what ought to take it out of this category. Has it happened in point of fact, that in consequence of the deliverance, to which the last Assembly came, its Institutions in India have had withdrawn from them "the prayerful sympathy and continued support of any enlightened congregation?" And when the Overture goes up to the Assembly, will the Presbytery be prepared to support it on such a ground of fact?—a ground, to which we may promise that the Assembly will pay the greatest attention. If all this, however, is nothing more than the opinion of the promoters of this Overture, it is met and answered by affirming, as we are entitled to do, that the deliverance, which the Presbytery at once arraigns and finds guilty, by an obvious implication, will not fail to procure for the Assembly's Schools a more "prayerful sympathy," and more continued support over the Church, than they have yet enjoyed. The plea of conscience brought to bear on this question by those reverend doctors who call call for the reversal of the Assembly's decision in 1856, before they and such conscientious ministers can urge their congregations to support the Indian Mission Scheme, is a two-edged sword that had better be left in its scabbard. If *they* think it a sin to "affiliate" with the Indian Universities in carrying out the intellectual, moral, and scientific instruction of the natives of India, others may think it is a duty, to which the Church is called by a gracious and over-ruling Providence; and to neglect which would be forgetful of, and ungrateful for the countenance vouchsafed to our Schools and Missions in India; and who might, on Dr Muir's reasoning, withhold their "prayerful sympathy and continued support," until this obligation has been met. No doubt when the question is put, "*Collect or not?*" to a congregation, it is narrowed within limits that allow a large margin of discretion; as the Assembly, with great prudence we think, only *recommends* to all ministers, to promote what the Church has pronounced to be a worthy object. That these "*injunctions*,"—as, however, they are called in the Acts of Assembly,—do not give ministers such a margin as is claimed and taken by some of them, to recommend to their congregations, either directly or indirectly, to withhold their contributions because the object is sinful, would appear to us very plain, unless "confusion worse confounded" is to be introduced into all the Schemes of the Church. But we need say the less on this very important phasis of the question, as the point must be brought up on the Overture from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, now on its way to the Supreme Judicatory of the Church.

The grounds which we have now adverted to at some length, ought, we think, to have shut out the Presbytery of Edinburgh from at all entertaining this *Overture* on the merits of the "Despatch," and of the educational system, under which the "grants in aid" have been offered to, and accepted for our schools in India. But suppose that the Assembly shall not throw this Overture over its table as *unconstitutional*, *disre-*

spectful, and *rebellious*, we can entertain little doubt, that on these merits it will reject its prayer. Let us see what the prayer is, where we can lay our hand on any thing very definite. It calls upon the next Assembly not only to reverse the decision of the last as objectionable in principle, but to adhere to that of Assembly 1855. Now what did the deliverance of 1855 do? It simply pronounced the acceptance of the "grants in aid" to be inconsistent with a due and proper regard to the primary object of the Church's operations in India, "which," it went on to say, "are of a *strictly* missionary character,"—a *ratio decedendi*—seemingly carrying with it the *sequitur*, that *Educational* and *Missionary* are opposite and antagonistic forces in the great question of the Church's operations in India. Now we believe that the Assembly 1855 meant no such thing. But in the haste and hurry, and in the compromising spirit, in which it is well known that decision was come to, the terms "missionary character" were evidently employed by its framers instead of *itineracy* or *preaching* character; and thus the plain sense and meaning of this decision was—that it was *preaching*, or addressing the consciences of the adults in the villages and bazars, and not *teaching* the young in schools, that was "the primary object of the Church's operations in India;"—and this view of the question is confirmed by the Report, which was brought up by the Indian Mission Committee to Assembly 1856, calling for the shutting up of our schools, selling the buildings, and converting the Institutions into properly called "*Preaching Stations.*" The learned and reverend Professor, who moved the deliverance of 1855 will, we are assured, bear us out in this interpretation. He has no doubt been set down, as maintaining that the Government scheme is "godless," "anti-christian," "vicious in principle," because he rejects the "grants in aid," and advocates *preaching* rather than *teaching*, as the special province of the Church in India; and is of opinion, that without being hampered with the "grants in aid" offered to the latter, the former will be more efficiently carried out. But of such narrow and bigoted views of the Government scheme of education, as are entertained by Dr Macfarlane and the promoters of this Overture, we fully acquit Dr Robertson. The Overture now under notice places the question of education in India, and the Church of Scotland's participation in it through her School and Mission in that country, on a higher ground, than that taken up in the deliverance of Assembly 1855, to which, however, with singular inconsistency, it calls on the next Assembly to adhere! Should the next Assembly reach the re-consideration of the grounds occupied by Assembly 1855, we can anticipate no opposition to their discussion; and a deliverance may be come to, that shall not hazard the utter ruin of our Indian Mission Scheme, as dividing the Church on a ground of conscience.[1] In the meantime it has been again

[1] *Dr Barclay*, in his speech in the late discussion within the Presbytery of Edinburgh, disposed very satisfactorily of the plea of *conscience*, as set up by Dr Veitch, to justify the attacks which he had made in his "Reasons" against the brethren whom he had held up as withstanding the work of evangelization in India through the agency now employed by the Church. Says the reverend minister of Currie:—"And for this, and for all that he and his coadjutors have said and done, the pressure of conscience is pleaded, as if that were of itself a justification of their

and again proved from the words of the venerable founder of that Mission, that the education of the young was the *first*, and in that sense the primary step, which he proposed to take in reaching the great and ultimate object—the grand end in view—the conversion of the natives to the creed of Christianity. We do not, however, agree with some, who lay little stress on the preaching of the gospel in villages and bazaars, as a mode of approaching the native mind;[1] and the argument that through our educational efforts we have only succeeded in raising up infidels, has, on the other hand, no weight with us, as applicable in the *teaching* system. Infidels in Christianity we cannot make our pupils, for they have not professed our faith when they enter our schools; infidels in their own faith we do certainly make them—the very object to which our labours are directed; and *Atheism*, in the proper sense of the word, is not the *terminus*, to which our educational efforts are conducting. The object and the fruits of these efforts, under an all-guiding Providence, are designated alike with truth, as experience has shewn, and with that sagacity, which distinguished Dr Inglis, when he tells the "People of Scotland" in his "Letter" of 1826,—"When men are brought to believe in One God, we have great hopes, that they will also be brought to believe in One Saviour whom he has sent."

conduct, and an evidence of the correctness of their views. Without for a moment doubting the conscientious sincerity of Dr Veitch, I take leave to tell him that conscience is a feeble and an erring guide to truth; and he who needs to be told that, has read history to little purpose. Of the many black pages which weeping humanity would wish to efface for ever from the annals of mankind, the blackest is that which records the atrocities that have been committed on the plea of conscience. It has deluged the earth with innocent blood. It has prompted the bigot to bind his victim to the stake. The torturing rack, and the flaming faggot, are the arguments by which conscience has asserted its right to determine what is truth. If conscience be the test of truth, then the Indian idolator, who devotes himself to death beneath the wheels of Juggernaut, is animated by as a true a faith as the Christian martyr. If conscience be the test of truth, then the faith and the conduct of Saul of Tarsus were as conformable to the dictates of truth and righteousness as the faith and the practice of Paul the apostle. The office of conscience is not that of the legislator to prescribe the law of duty; it is the witness that accuses or excuses us, according as we either infringe or obey the law which the mind has previously received and approved. We must prove, therefore, that our views are founded on truth, before we plead the dictates of conscience, either as a justification of our own conduct, or as a reason why others should adopt our views. I cannot admit the conscience of another man to be the standard of truth to me."

[1] In answer to a question from the Duke of Argyll, in the Lord's Committee on Indian Territories, in regard to Missionary success, in actual and declared conversions, Dr Duff says:—"There are two sets of Missionary agencies,—one *Educational*—another *Itineracy*. Under the *Itineracy*, or *preaching* in villages to the simple and unsophisticated natives, there are many cases of a *profession of Christianity* very *unsatisfactory* though sometimes *sincere*. . . . . In the *Educational* department the fruits have been gathered chiefly in Calcutta, under the '*higher evangelistic processes* employed there;' but he adds, "under the *Educational* agency there have been fewer *converts* made compared to those obtained under the *Itineracy*,—but of those made we are to judge from the *quality* not the *quantity*. Under the *Educational* the consciences are pricked with the convictions of sin in the progress of their Christian studies, and they find in the Gospel true salvation and embrace it." "They are," says he, "a higher order of converts." Some of them become Teachers, and some of them *Preachers of the Gospel*—the great and ulterior ends of the institution, which he tells the Lord's Committee "I was privileged to found."—*Lords' Committee*, Qu. 6150.

It is well known, that although the Bible is not yet introduced as a class book into the government schools, it is placed in the libraries of these schools, the pupils have free access to it, and the teachers are at full liberty to instruct such of them as desire information in its truths and doctrines, *out of school.* It is also in evidence, that the Bible is found in the class rooms of some of these schools, and that when missionaries, clergymen, and others, pay them a visit, the scholars are generally examined in their presence on their knowledge of its truths; and display most remarkable proficiency. All this Dr Veitch in his "Reasons" is disposed to hold very cheap, and indeed to regard seemingly as a kind of mockery on the part of the government. We shall permit the minister of Currie to answer the minister of St Cuthbert's on this point, merely remarking, that perhaps in applying the scalpel to the "Reasons" he takes a somewhat rough leaf out the book of his celebrated namesake long so well known in the *dissecting* world.

Says Dr Barclay, "I cannot sit down without adverting to a wretched claptrap which has been made use of in Dr Veitch's pamphlet, and in every adverse speech that I have read and listened to. It seems indeed to be a universal favourite with all our opponents, and in the lack of argument addressed to the judgment, it affords a never-failing appeal to prejudice. I refer to the horror with which the speakers and writers on the other side denounce the desecration of the Bible by its being placed in the libraries of the schools along with the Shasters and the Koran. May I ask these gentlemen if any of them allow the Bible to be placed in their own libraries along with the volumes of Hume, or Gibbon, or Hobbes; and if they consider the sacred volume to be profaned by its juxtaposition to the works of these infidels? The first part of the question I know some of them must answer in the affirmative; and whatever answer they may give to the latter part of it, they must involve themselves in a dilemma. But, sir, I will answer this claptrap by an appeal to somewhat higher authority than the practice of our opponents themselves; and the transactions in which our acquaintances Jannes and Jambres acted a part, furnish an apposite illustration. Did Moses imagine that he was desecrating the sacred rod of Aaron when he directed him to cast it down among the rods of the idolatrous magicians of Egypt? I wot not; and let our opponents mark what followed. That miraculous rod, instead of being contaminated by the contact, swallowed up the implements of delusion employed by the Pagan jugglers. Even so, sir, may we hope that the Divine power which is lodged in the Bible when brought intelligently into contact with the Shasters and the Koran, will swallow up the darkness and dissipate the delusions of both."

But it is high time to ask what it is, that the promoters of the Overture are really aiming at? What is to be the practical effect of the next Assembly acting on this Overture, should it ever reach it? Are our Institutions in India to cease to be *Schools,* and our agents to be in any manner or meaning *Schoolmasters?* We are told, indeed, by the promoters of this Overture, that henceforth our Institutions are to be instruments for raising up a *Native Ministry* from among the converts to our creed—not, they add, as they have been represented by some as under the decision of Assembly 1855, mere "preaching stations." Then we ask, is this object to be accomplished without the help of a scholastic or educational machinery? We should think not: we are therefore still to have a school, but it is not to be a school for *secular instruction,* to which the promoters of this Overture manifest a most morbid repugnance. It is to be one for *theological education.* Let us, like men of sense, take care that we are not fighting with each other about mere

words. The student of *Theology* must reach the Divinity Hall, through the portals of the school of Philosophy, as well in India as in Scotland; and perhaps such an apprenticeship to the *secular* or *intellectual* is even more necessary in the foreign, than in the indigenous branch of our Church, considering the fabric of superstition, which the preachers of the Cross have to demolish, and the opponents with whom they will have to contend. Now suppose that government are willing to grant aid out of the public revenue to our schools and colleges, for teaching and qualifying pupils to enter our Divinity Halls, are we to accept this aid? The promoters of this Overture say distinctly and emphatically, no; and call upon the General Assembly to decline the aid! And why? because the Government has not yet introduced the Bible as a class book *in its own* schools, and instruction in the dogmata of Christianity is not afforded! Let it be further admitted—although no such rule has yet been shewn to exist,—that no aid is to be given to our schools at the Presidency, may there not be schools in the Moffussil, where such instruction with a preparatory view to the Divinity Hall may be given; and where we have it in evidence, under the authority of the Inspector of Public Instruction at Calcutta, that the one half of the expence attending the erecting of such schools will be afforded by the government? Are these schools to derive no benefit from the "grants in aid?" And when we put such a question, what is now the plea, under which refuge is taken. "We are too poor to provide the moiety of the expence necessary to reach this benevolence!" That indeed is a ground which we can fully understand, but when taken "cadit casus," and all parties are out of court. But the question not less forcibly recurs,—and let Drs Macfarlane and Veitch answer it—When the people of Scotland shall enable the Church to overtake this extension of her labours to a field, where "aid" is ready to be given, are the promoters of this Overture ready to take the grants? If they say they are, then it does appear to be a very strange way of reaching this end, surely so desirable, to call on the "enlightened people" of Scotland to give no support to the India Mission Scheme, while it is affiliated with this government system. But for their own sakes as honest and conscientious men, they must say, that if able to establish schools in the Moffussil, where "grants in aid" are ready to be given, these grants cannot be accepted. For under their Overture they are calling for a judgment from the next Assembly, which shall consign the government scheme to the category —we use their own words, when speaking of it—of "works of darkness, unrighteousness, infidelity, concord with Belial, agreement with idols!" And this is the fearful character of a measure of National Education, adopted by a British and Christian government for the sound intellectual, moral and scientific instruction of its subjects, sanctioned by almost every religious body in India, and approved of by the Church of Scotland's own clergy, missionaries, and Corresponding Boards in that country, which the Presbytery of Edinburgh has ruled to call on the next General Assembly to ratify and affirm! We feel tempted as we are entitled to ask with Dr Bryce in his speech in the Presbytery, "And who are they, who call upon the Assembly to do so?

That call, however, has been responded to, as the promoters of the Overture have demanded; and we cannot doubt, that the question will be put at the next Assembly—What Presbytery within the Church has dared to make such a call on its Supreme Judicatory? The great question of "Education in India," and the most efficient mode of promoting it through the Assembly's schools, may doubtless be before that venerable body at its next meeting; but we will venture to say, that every thing like regard for the authority of its own edicts, as this is bound up in maintaining respect for those of its predecessors, will be utterly lost sight of, if an Overture, that brings these important edicts before it in language so arrogant, presumptuous, and rebellious, as that of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, shall even find its way to the table.

But turning to the merits of the question—should these be again brought before the Assembly,—we are asked—Is not the government scheme of education based avowedly on the rule or principle of *neutrality* in *religious instruction?* And is not this of itself sufficient in the eyes of a Christian Church to demand its condemnation? We need not remind the next Assembly, that if the question is entertained under this Overture on "Education in India," it will open up the no less—indeed the far more important problem that has so long agitated the Church at home. Now we draw for our part a very wide distinction between a government dealing in the matter of a national education, with subjects who embrace and receive the same rule of religious faith and worship as itself, and only differ among themselves in the interpretation of that rule, and a government, like that of India, which has to deal with those, who have not yet received the rule. But on this view of the question we do not at present enter. We have only to remind our readers, that the deliverance, to which the next Assembly is to be called, under this Overture to adhere—that of Assembly 1855,—left the principle or rule of *religious neutrality* as applicable within the government's own schools altogether unnoticed, and consequently so far at least uncondemned; while that which Assembly 1857 is now to *reverse*, that of 1856, did at any rate express "regret, that the authorities in India, in the view of the great and interesting objects, which they seek to secure, consider themselves precluded by the present state of the general population, from making *religious instruction*, 'according to the truth as it is in Jesus,' imperative in every seminary to which they give special countenance and pecuniary assistance." It is plain, therefore, that these authorities are regarded as looking forward to a day, when the obstacles, now in the way of a right Christian education, may be removed; and the confidence of the Assembly 1856 is at least implied, that when "the present state of the general population" shall permit of instruction in the "Truth as it is in Jesus" being given, it will be afforded. And it is this deliverance, that is to be *reversed*, and that of 1855 returned to; which last judgment, while by implication it recognized the necessity of the *neutrality in religious instruction* rule in existing circumstances, expressed no regret or hope in the matter! But we may be asked—"Why not wait before we accept aid for *our* schools, until circumstances permit the Government to give instruction in *theirs* in

the "Truth as it is in Jesus?" Certainly such a course is within the power of the Assembly. But suppose on the other hand that our taking this aid in the meantime should—as no doubt expected, and desired by the Government that offers it—hasten this happy day? Is the Church of Scotland, as now called on, to declare that no circumstances in "the present state of the general population of India," or in any state of that population, can justify its Government in erecting such a godless scheme of Native Education, as they are now organizing, or any Christian church or Body in any way giving its sanction to it? Let the Assembly pause ere they give an affirmative to this proposition. It amounts to neither more nor less than this—that if the introduction of the Bible and instruction in "the truth as it is in Jesus," is resisted by the natives of India, they are to be enforced *by the sword*—and that under the reign of the Gospel of Peace, as was the Koran in the days of Mahomedan power and persecution! Do those, who are now preaching such a crusade against Hinduism and its abominations, forget that, at this very moment, the greasing of the end of a cartridge is threatening to kindle a *religious war* in India? Doubtless, we may be told, that like the Apostles in the primitive ages of Christianity, it is ours to "*Preach the Gospel*" to a heathen world; and that a strict adherence to our own proper province will keep us clear of all the difficulties, that may surround the Government in its Educational Scheme. And let us not be misunderstood. Far be it from us to maintain, that before the conscience can be pricked with a sense of sin, and the need of a Saviour, by the *preaching* of the Word in villages and bazaars, the intellect must necessarily be enlightened, and enlarged by the *teaching* within the School and the Divinity Hall. But we are not the less called on to remember, that our instruments in the work of conversion have not had vouchsafed to them the miraculous aid, that was afforded in those times, when "three thousand were in one day added to the Church;" and although we may declaim ever so eloquently on premises, which, to make our declamation worth attention, must assume this aid, our Institutions, if trusted to this basis alone, may prove but slenderly efficient. Under the system, which has hitherto been pursued by the Church of Scotland in India, the human instrument, whether *teaching* or *preaching*, is employed in a devout recognition, and a humble dependence upon the all-powerful agency of the Holy Spirit. What, we would ask, has distinguished the Scotch School and Mission in India, and given to it so indisputably the first place among the Christian institutions devoted to its evangelization, but the employment of the *Educational* instrument, as devised and provided by its sagacious founders? And what can be the effect of the Assembly listening to such an Overture as the Presbytery of Edinburgh have sent up to it, but to throw back missionary labours in India to that unsatisfactory state as to expected results, from which it was the object of the Scottish Church Scheme to rescue them. It must be obvious to all, who are looking with attention to what is now going on in the Church, that a party is rising up, to call in question something more than the *wisdom* of Dr Inglis's plan of going to work in India; and to place it in *principle* not much higher in the scale of Christian instruments to evangelize the Hindus, than the Scheme

of the Government itself! The next Assembly can scarcely fail to bring this party into greater prominence than it has yet ventured to assume. In the meantime, while already proposing, as they have done, to shut up the schools and sell the buildings, they have come strongly to advocate the erecting of *Divinity Halls* and *Presbyteries*, with a view to the raising up of a Native Ministry. It is worthy of notice, that when the Committee on Indian Churches, acting along with the Kirk-Sessions of Calcutta and Madras, brought the matter before the Assembly 1854, it received no support from the Foreign Mission Committee, then under the Convenership of the promoter of this Overture; and when, on the rising of that Assembly, the "Committee on Indian Churches" proceeded to give effect to the enactment of the Assembly, and addressed a Letter to the Kirk-Sessions in India, setting forth what the Assembly had done, and how, in the opinion of the Committee, it was best to be carried out, Dr Macfarlane, who was a member of that Committee, was the only one opposing these proceedings! and when, in face of his opposition, the Letter, as drafted by the Convener of the Indian Churches Committee, was approved of, the reverend minister of Duddingston entered *a dissent!* and, until leaving the chair of the Mission Committee in 1856, never once within his own Committee called attention to this object! and when, in January 1855, his co-operation was requested, we are told the application received no reply! When, indeed, the steps, that had been taken by the Committee on Indian Churches were reported to the Assembly 1855, and the Letter to the Kirk-Sessions approved of by that venerable body, Dr Macfarlane appears to have regarded Presbyteries and Divinity Halls in India, with the view of carrying on the Church's Educational operations to their ultimate ends and objects, with a more favourable eye; but his zeal in this work must be estimated at its real worth; and as the work, as it must now be carried on, still requires of the Church to keep a machinery for *secular instruction* within her schools, and will scarcely permit of the shutting up of these schools, selling the buildings, and turning to a *preaching* and *itineracy* system, where they would not certainly be required, it may be doubted if, after all, he goes very heartily into the scheme, that many of his friends, who would still decline any "grants" from Government in its "aid," are determined to carry it out. Much has been said, and written of late against a practice, which appears to have prevailed to some extent within our Missions, that of affording to converts peculiarly situated the means of a temporary pecuniary support—a practice regarded by many as "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." But it needs no "second Daniel come to judgment" to tell us that, when our Schools are turned into more properly called Philosophical and Theological Institutions for training converts for the holy ministry, the means of supporting them during their attendance at our Colleges and Halls may become a *sine qua non* to our success; and Scholarships and Bursaries must be found somewhere or another. So far as the requisite philosophical studies are concerned, there can be no reasonable doubt, that Government will supply these means to some extent within its new Universities. We are told, indeed, that already an acquaintance with Paley's Evidences

of Christianity is to be required from our candidates for the prizes now held out, as well as an acquaintance with Euclid. But all this, no doubt, will still leave the Assembly to determine, how converts to our creed are to be obtained; and whether or not, in the Church's future operations, the finding them is to be provided through the *teaching* machinery of Dr Inglis, or the *preaching* agency, to which many would now appear ready exclusively to trust it, and to have anything like a *School* to be henceforth kept up, for the reception and instruction of the children of converted natives alone. Whatever may be the title of such a scheme to the attention of the Church, it is obvious, that it is a radical departure from the scheme of 1826. How far it might recommend itself better to the "prayerful sympathy and continued support of an enlightened Christian people" time must determine, should it be adopted. No doubt, indeed, can be entertained that, following the rule, which is now pursuing in Southern India, where a numerous body of native Christians with families has grown up, Government will be quite ready to give "Grants in Aid" to our Schools, when narrowed to meet such views of the Church's duty; but let Dr Veitch, Dr Macfarlane, and their friends, remember that the question will still recur—Will you accept "*the unclean thing*," so long as the BIBLE and instruction in "the truth as it is in Jesus" is not rendered imperative *within the Government's own Schools?* It is true—and they are welcome to all the benefit of the fact—that it has been proposed, that the BIBLE should be introduced as a class-book in the Government Schools, *when parents and pupils desire it;* and such a policy Lord Tweeddale recommended, when he was Governor of Madras. It is equally true, that the Court of Directors did not see fit to lay down any such *general* rule under the existing state of the native population; and we are content to leave the question in their hands. When they are found withholding the Bible, and instruction in it, as a branch of knowledge or a form of belief, *when this is desired by parents and pupils,* we shall have a different question to deal with, and are not unprepared to dispose of it.

Reference has been made to a "Statement" put forth by the India Mission Committee sometime about August last; and it has been attempted to extract from it a confession, that the Committee itself is not very clearly convinced of the soundness of the deliverance given by the last General Assembly.[1] This "statement" did certainly intimate the

[1] We are not a little surprized at the terms, in which Dr Grant during this late debate in the Presbytery of Edinburgh is reported to have spoken of the India Mission Committee. Dr Bryce had called on the Presbytery to put confidence in that committee watching over the interests committed to its charge: Dr Grant replied that with all respect for this committee he did not entertain any great measure of confidence in them—"they were the *creatures* of the General Assembly, to whom careful directions were given as to the leading and vital principles, on which their operations should be grounded." In this somewhat low and discourteous estimate of the India Mission Committee by Dr Grant he is followed by his friend Dr Muir in his appreciation of the General Assembly itself that appointed this Committee. "That Assembly," says he, "was not the Church of Scotland; and there was nothing to prevent him from reclaiming from the decisions which they had pronounced." Truly there is little encouragement in all this to any Committee to prosecute their 'labours of love,' where leading and influential

opinion of the committee that the resolution sanctioned by the Assembly 1855, and the deliverance given by Assembly 1856, did not touch directly on the nature and character of the scheme of the Indian government, as regards the policy to be pursued *within its own schools;* but were both of them confined to that part of the "Despatch" which referred to the "Grants in aid" to our missionary schools, and to the conditions laid down regarding them;—and *is not this the fact?* But the Committee it seems say in the "Statement" that they "express no approval of the views as to the schools about to be instituted by the government, and other matters embraced in the "Despatch;" and Dr Veitch says with a sneer, which we think might have been spared—"all that the committee in their zeal for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen venture to say regarding the secular system of the despatch, is that they express no approval of it!" With what justice, we ask, can the silence of the "Statement" on points not before them be held up, as a proof, that although afraid to express it openly, the committee held the same opinion as the promoters of the Overture on the government system of Education, regarding it as one "obnoxious in principle," vicious, anti-christian, and anti-evangelistic? But thanks to Dr Macfarlane and Dr Veitch, the Assembly 1857 will be called on to give out a more decided verdict on the character and merits of this system, than did the Assembly 1855 and 1856. In themeantime no one will accuse Dr Bryce, one of the Committee, not the least active and zealous, of fighting shy on this part of the question; the "trumpet" at least with him gives "no uncertain sound."—"Let me not for one," says he, in his speech in the Presbytery, "be misunderstood—I do not argue that the question of 'grants in aid' is distinct and altogether detached from the system promulgated by the "Despatch" under which they are accepted—I do not set up a claim to be held neutral on the *principle* on which that system is based, or clear of responsibility while accepting its benefits. I approve of the principle as I understand it; and I accept the responsibility, as I estimate the weight and extent of its obligations. That principle is the principle or rule of *Toleration* in religious belief and profession, by which the Government is restrained from forcing any creed on the consciences of its native subjects."

But an objection, strongly dwelt on, to the "affiliation" sanctioned by the last Assembly, has, we observe, been taken on the ground of the *inspection* of our Missionary Schools by Government officials, who may be Christians, Hindus, Mahomedans, or Parsees. This has been met by

clergymen as these have been always esteemed thus reward them! But from such assaults—assuredly, within its own Presbyteries—the Church, be it the Assembly or not that constitutes that church—must protect its Committees, if she expects to be served by men of sense and feeling with anything like zeal and energy. And we are not speaking here only of a defeated *minority* in the Assembly venting their ill-humour within a Presbytery; but we protest in the name of every thing like discipline and subordination within the Church of Scotland against "injunctions" from the Supreme Court to her ministers to advocate her Schemes within their congregations, being met by declaring from either press or pulpit, that they would hold it sinful even to read the paper given them to assist in carrying out this injunction! Such proceedings must be put a stop to; otherwise all the Schemes of the Church must be abandoned.

reminding its promoters of the inspection of our Schools at home, by the officials of the Privy Council, which has received the sanction of the Church; and we are told, that between the cases there is no analogy. Now let us apply to the Indian Scheme what, with our opponents in their arguments, is the redeeming element in that of the Privy Council, and see how they get out of another of those dilemmas, in which they find themselves, in playing fast and loose with the same principles on this, and on the other side of the Cape. Under the Privy Council Scheme, and in the School, where perilous and pernicious errors, as we must esteem them, are inculcated, the Inspector is an official *who receives these errors as the truth!* We ask if this, in any manner mends the matter, if high religious and sound principle lie at the bottom? No doubt, in such a principle there is seeming consistency, and a regard to peace and harmony displayed; and this appears to be enough to satisfy our friends over the way. But turning to India, and the Indian system with its inspection apparatus, it is forgotten, that in the only schools under this system where aid is given, where the dogmata of any religion are taught, as a mode of belief, and where the inspector is to be a believer in these truths, are our own Missionary Schools! Under this Scheme, the inspectors of the Hindu College and the Madrussa need not necessarily be believers in the Institutes of Menu, or the Koran of Mahomet; and in point of fact, may be, and are Christians; for in these and all other Government institutions, the teaching of the Brahminical and Musselman Creeds, as Divine Revelations and modes of belief is not permitted. The rule of *religious neutrality* excludes it. The British Government expends no part of its revenues, in propagating belief in the perilous and pernicious errors of the Hindu and Mahomedan faiths. It is within the Christian and Missionary Schools, that at length these revenues can be regarded as in any manner subserving the maintenance of any *religious creed* through a *secular education*. Doubtless there is a link, that still unhappily binds too much of the jurisprudence to the superstitions of our Indian empire; but it is becoming more and more weakened; and the study of the Veds and the Coran as *books of law*—the only character in which they are admitted into the Government Schools,—is every day becoming more and more superseded by the adoption of a Code of Laws, founded on the principles and precepts of the Christian Religion. Our religion is at this moment paving the way for a better legislative and administrative policy for our eastern territories; and our legislative measures are opening up a wider and a wider door for our religion. And yet we are gravely told by such writers as Dr Veitch, that our co-operation as a Church with a system working so happily, is exposing us—and exposing us justly,—to the reproach that we *have no religion*, because forsooth! we will not follow the example of former conquerors of India, and call in the aid of the sword to propagate a knowledge of the true faith!

But the Government, it is assumed, will give our schools no "aid" within the Presidencies, because they regard them *rich enough* to do without it; and where they are willing to assist in the Moffussil, the Church at home is *too poor* in funds to implement the initiative condition. Cer-

tainly in *hoc statu*, it is on the very face of it unnecessary to raise a question, whether the Church shall accept these "grants in aid" or not. But every one, who has attended to the question now really at issue, will see that it is one of a far deeper and more important nature. It is now, at least, under such an Overture as that of the Presbytery of Edinburgh —whether the Church of Scotland is to take up the position of condemning as "godless, obnoxious in principle, and anti-evangelistic" the Government System of Native Education; and to pronounce acceptance of any grants offered under it by any Christian body as touching "the unclean thing," until such time as the Government of India enforces the reading the BIBLE and instruction in the "truth as it is in Jesus" *within its own schools*. This is the question now submitted by the Presbytery of Edinburgh to the next General Assembly; but when it is disposed of, as we are satisfied it will be, if the Overture raising it is ever entertained—of which, on account of its disrespectful and rebellious terms, we have very great doubts—there arises another of some importance, viz., Are the benefits of the offered "Affiliation" with the new Universities to be accepted? which benefits, let it be kept in view, may be reached where the "grants in aid" may be withheld. These benefits are among others, access to those Scholarships which are to carry out the pupils of the "affiliated" schools in the higher branches of instruction, and admission for them to the Normal and Model Schools of Government, where they are to be specially trained to the art of the schoolmaster, to be, when qualified, employed in the 80,000 schools now scattered over Bengal alone, as these may be taught under the system of native education as now to be remodelled. Let it, above all, be kept in mind, that when an *elementary* education is given in the schools of the General Assembly, it is an education based on a knowledge of Christianity both as a branch of learning and a "mode of belief;" and it will be for the next Assembly to say—what indeed the last has already affirmed—whether an opening in Providence to the evangelization of India so remarkable and encouraging is to be embraced; or whether it is to be sacrificed to the sanctimonious rodomontades of the "Reasons against Affiliation;" or to the singularly strange arguments of some of the promoters of this Overture, who, overlooking the very nature of things—forgetting all history, sacred and profane—and shutting their eyes to the Scripture story of the devout Centurion, who with all his household feared God, before he was brought to an Apostle of the Cross, would dogmatically tell us, that no morality can be found, resting on the basis of Natural Religion; and egregiously ignorant of all which it behoves them to know, before meddling with this question, confound the rubbish which, among the Hindus, has been raised on this foundation, with the doctrines and dictates of the First Revelation to mankind, which all this rubbish has failed to eradicate. Such preachers of the Gospel would address a very different message to the Hindus than would the Apostle Paul,—"Whom ye ignorantly worship, HIM declare we unto you."

THE UNITY OF THE BIBLE; OR, THE IDENTITY OF THE PATRIARCHAL, JEWISH, AND CHRISTIAN DISPENSATIONS.

(*Continued from page* 279.)

When we pass to the consideration of the Jewish Dispensation, our readers are aware that we necessarily lay seige to the strongholds of Rationalism and Infidelity, and in prosecuting our investigations regarding the Mosaic Institutes, we discuss a theme which has proved the butt of the critic's ridicule,—on whose sharp outlines have been whetted those weapons with which such deadly and vengeful thrusts have been dealt at the fair form of Christianity herself.

We shall not hesitate, however, to accept the representations (exaggerated to be sure, in many instances, to caricature,) in which the antagonists of Revelation delineate the theocratic polity under which the Jewish nation were placed, and shall purposely notice some of those more prominent external characteristics of each economy,—the Jewish and Christian, which they pride themselves in contrasting,—and which, while they unveil the origin, will at the same time afford the correct explanation of the misconceptions regarding their mutual connection and relations.

And certainly, the scene and accompaniments of their *promulgation*, we acknowledge, are by no means calculated to inspire an unreflecting mind with the idea that the Law and the Gospel emanate from the head and heart of the God of love. Yet nothing is more true, as we trust will appear evident in the sequel.

In the one instance, we are transported to the wild waste of an arid Arabian desert, to gaze with shuddering awe on a barren mount shooting its splintered peaks into the thick lowering clouds that rest on its summit, out of which, ever and anon, flashes forth the lightning and thunder, peal on peal reverberates from rock to rock—and around whose base is collected 600,000 men, besides women and children,—a community of slaves recently emancipated from bondage. "Thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about," saying, "Take heed to yourselves that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it; whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death. There shall not an hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned or shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live; when the trumpet soundeth long they shall come up to the mount. And it came to pass on the third day, in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly." Such was the sublimely awful scene,—such were the stringent requirements; such the crushingly terrified feelings of the people on the occasion of the promulgation of the law by a voice from the midst of the thick darkness that envelopes mount Sinai. That

law is contained in the Decalogue,—the ten commandments inscribed by the finger of God on two tables of stone, and committed to Moses.

In the other, multitudes of people attracted by the fame of a man on whose shoulders seemed to have fallen the mantle of that prophet whose advent Moses had foretold, crowd the gentle slopes of one of the green hills of Galilee, and hang on his blessing lips while he proclaims good tidings of great joy to all people—glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace and goodwill towards men. Such was the assemblage convened on the mount of Beatitudes at the proclamation of the Gospel. Look on this picture, and then look on that.

In each the site is a mountain, but Sinai is veiled in a garment of thickest darkness, whereas heaven's azure vault o'er-canopies the mount of Beatitudes. Forked lightning darts, and thunder rolls volumes of threatening as it were in anger from Sinai's summit; the gentle breath of the genial winds court attention to the meek and lowly one that sits on the mount of blessings; a voice,—which when heard, the people said, "Let not God speak with us lest we die,"—promulgated in majestically solemn tone, the law of holiness from an invisible throne of fire on Sinai's rock; in accents, which drew from his audience the exclamation, "never man spake like this man," the divine teacher proclaimed the law of love from his humble seat on the mount of Beatitudes.

We have intentionally brought these two scenes into close proximity to each other, constituting as they do, pretty fair representatives of the characteristic features of the old and new dispensations. But we can do little more, in this place, than hint at a comparison which might easily be extended to their several institutions.

"Do or Die," may be very appropriately hung up as a motto on Sinai, while, "believe and live," emblazons the banner of love on the mount of Beatitudes. Commencing with a threat,—enjoining precept and denouncing punishment,—inspiring terror and visiting the rebel with death,—isolating the subjects of its jurisdiction into a peculiar people separated from the nations,—inculcating indeed love to friends, but hatred to enemies,—the law, inclusive of the Old Testament, concludes with a curse; whereas beginning with a blessing,—proclaiming a call and proffering a crown,—dispensing liberty, love, and life,—girdling the wide world of humanity in the bonds of universal sympathy and brotherhood, and breathing forgiveness in its kiss of peace,—the gospel of love comprehended in the New Testament, ends with a prayer.

Now were a superficial observer to confine his attention solely to the marked points of *contrast*, we do not deny that he might adduce a body of evidence quite sufficient to justify the distinctions made, and the modes of expression employed regarding the law and the gospel. But when, on the other hand, an equally exclusive regard is paid to the points of *similarity*, we discover no less unmistakeable proofs of their *personal identity*,—if we may be allowed the expression. Revisit Mount Sinai. Remove the inpenetrable veil that wraps within its fiery folds the Invisible from mortal ken; and do you not recognise in the Lawgiver seated on the throne, "The angel of the covenant,"—that Lord, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," who, when "manifest in the flesh," de-

clared and expounded the law to the listening multitude on the mount of Beatitudes? The Lord and Lawgiver, are in each instance, *identical*. Or, revisit the mount of Beatitudes.—In the exordium of that discourse, declaratory and expository of the *spirituality* of the law, hence receiving the designation of the gospel, "Think not I am come," says the Lawgiver, "to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." And on another occasion extracting the spirit of the law, the short summary of the decalogue he drew up, is as follows:—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Thus the law and the gospel, are also *identical*.

Essentially identical then, as undoubtedly are both Lawgiver and Law, Lord and Gospel, the question naturally arises, what state-reasons, so to speak, are assigned for the adoption of this policy by the divine government? A detailed reply to this important question, we apprehend, will afford us, not only a satisfactory explanation of the misconceptions which have arisen from the apparently two-fold character of divine revelation, regarding Judaism and Christianity, but will also furnish us with the *rationale* of the policy adopted by the divine government, and furnish us moreover, with an opportunity of vindicating the wisdom, goodness, and love which have at all times characterised the dispensations of God to his people.

Apply now the principle which we have adopted as the basis of our classification to the solution of this question, and we find that the national Jewish era corresponds to the youth-hood of the individual in the community. Take youth, when life is at blood-heat,—say from 14 to 21,—condense and abridge its biography, and say of the career if the "prodigal,"—the "world-man,"

> "A young, hot, unworld-schooled heart that has
> Had its own way in life, and wherein all
> May see some likeness of their own,"

who forsakes the home of his father,—plunges at the instigation of hot-headed passion into the delirious madnessess of fevered folly, and emerges, heart-torn on the soul-rack, out of his wise wretchedness,—say if the career of prodigal youth, do not present the counterpart of the life-history of that "first-born," stubborn, and stiff-necked Jewish nation,—chequered as it is by alternate sin and suffering, rebellion and remorse? Transcribe the creed of youth-hood,—and for this purpose we must suppose an elevation of the conceptions entertained regarding the divine nature by childhood,—compare what, however, is but yet a superstitious and distorted notion of Deity with the spiritual idea revealed to mankind, of that universal Father, whose all-comprehensive love embraces the whole family of humanity; and say, if the former furnish not a representative of the Law, while in the latter you recognise the very reflection of the Gospel?

Why, is it now asked, did the God of Love robe Himself in a fiery

garment, and clothe his countenance in clouds of thick darkness, when he spoke to humanity in the youth-hood of the world? We point in reply to that Father—the stubborn, perverse, and rebellious disposition of whose child is well known to him,—who shrouds his affection beneath the sternness of a frown to ensure obedience to his will. Or is it asked why the law required universal obedience on the pain of speedy death? We point again to that Father,—the representative of God to his child,—who hangs up the rod of correction in his household, at once to deter from disobedience, and command submission to his authority; or, viewing the Jewish economy in the general aspect which it presents, in contrast to the Christian dispensation, is it enquired why a material tabernacle and temple—visible representations of the Deity,—as the Pillar of cloud and the mysterious Shechinah,—and animal sacrifices offered in his worship, should have characterised the religious institutions, observances, and ordinances of Judaism? We point in reply to that teacher who presents before the eyes of his pupils, diagrams, figures, models, or representations of the objects, information and instruction regarding which he is anxious to convey to their youthful minds.

In strict accordance with this view, you find Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews (or Jews) representing the Jewish economy as a "figure" (or parable) "for the time then present," "until the time of reformation;" "wherefore the law," he says again, "was our Schoolmaster (to bring us) unto Christ."

Let us at this stage take a passing glance at the history of the origin of the Jewish nation, confirming, as we apprehend it does, our general position. A few months after their deliverance out of Egyptian bondage, God said, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." But during the period of Moses' absence on Mount Sinai, for the purpose of receiving the law, in accordance with which both their civil and ecclesiastical affairs were to be administered, Aaron, at the request of the people, and in imitation, doubtless, of the Egyptian worship, reared a "molten calf," to which sacrifices were made as their god. Now, if it be remembered that previous to this date, *i. e.* during the Patriarchal era, both the Church and Kingdom were confined within the narrow limits of the family, in which the father was respectively priest and king; and with this fact combine the promise to which we have just alluded, that God designed to unite the families of Israel together into one great commonwealth—a theocracy whose king would be God, whose statute-book, his law, and whose members would be equally kings and priests, it appears a fair inference that His purposes were, humanly speaking, defeated by the predilections of that community of slaves for the imposing, sensuous, and ritual worship of their idolatrous and heathen oppressors. The separation of the tribe of Levi—a distinct class of men to discharge the duties of the priesthood—dates from this period; and we are of opinion that there are as good grounds for believing that its institution was rendered necessary on account of their stiff-necked and rebellious nature, as there are for believing that "God gave them a king in his anger, and took him away in his wrath," on account

of their rebelling against his Divine Government, and asking "a king *like* the heathen nations."

It ought not to be forgotten, then, in contemplating this subject, that both the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of the Jewish nation were moulded by the necessities of those early and semi-barbarous times. Even at their first settlement in the Holy Land, though their civil constitution invested each member of the commonwealth with equal rights and privileges, and entitled him, if an "Elder," to a seat in the Sanhedrim, we are aware that but a short time elapsed before they followed the example of their heathen neighbours, and entailed upon themselves and their posterity all the evils incident to monarchy, corrupted, as it generally happens, into absolute and merciless tyranny.

But a spiritual monarch, or chief high priest, in conjunction with a numerous priesthood, in imitation of the ancient polytheistic nations, characterised the ecclesiastical polity of the Jewish nation from its earliest origin. From what has already been advanced, we apprehend it is obvious that, as a community or nation is composed of an aggregation of families, the father would have continued to officiate as priest, had the people not manifested a decided and self-willed preference for the pomp and pageantry of a Pagan priesthood. That a principle of accommodation actuated the Divine procedure in the institution of the Jewish priesthood, is evident from the train of reasoning adopted by Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews, in which its typical, educative, and temporary character is fully expounded.[1] Accordingly, when Christ—whom the ritual economy of the Jews foreshadowed and prefigured—assumed the High Priesthood of Humanity, and offered Himself, "the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world," a sacrifice, "once for all," on the altar of Divine justice, the Jewish high priesthood and sacrificial institutions were for ever abolished—the temple was razed to its foundations—an "unchangeable priesthood" was conferred on Christ Jesus, the High Priest of the Christian profession, and the members of the Christian brotherhood were elevated to the rank of kings and priests (the rights, privileges, and honours of which were forfeited by Adam) to God, the Father of all—a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

We shall briefly advert to a distinction, the neglect of whose observance has proved the prolific source, not only of interminable logomachies, but also, we are fully persuaded, of the rhapsodies and blasphemies of the disciples of the rationalistic and atheistic schools—we refer to the peculiar polity (the Theocracy) under which the Jews were originally placed; a Theocracy, in which political and ecclesiastical supremacy were united in the person of the Divine Sovereign of the Universe.

Intertwined and interwoven as are, in these circumstances, the civil and sacred code of the Jewish nation and church, the law or decalogue stands recorded in the statute-book of the realm, while both were promulgated by the same Divine lawgiver—Jehovah, "King of the Jews," "King of kings, and Lord of lords"—the executive being confided to the Sanhedrim, or Supreme Council of the nation.

[1] Jerem. vii. 21.

It does not comport with our design to argue the necessity of the Divine selection of a particular nation as the custodier of revelation, much less of the peculiar constitution in the kingdom and church which characterised the youth-hood of humanity, as well as of the Hebrew people, though there are many grounds on which both might be defended and vindicated. But we deem it essential to the understanding of this subject that we draw the distinction between its Politics and its Theology.

Did we trespass on the sphere of the politician, we should be lured into a digression most inadmissible in a brief article, purporting simply to track the footsteps of the Deliverer in the restoration of humanity. Need we refrain, however, from stating that kingship evidently exhibited an official expression of that power, honour, and dominion with which Adam was originally invested by birthright, and assumed by Christ, the new representative of humanity, in behalf of his brethren of mankind? or hesitate to suggest that those wars of extermination, and inflictions of vengeance, undertaken at the command of their Divine sovereign, find an ample vindication in the fact, that they were consonant to the principles of eternal justice and Divine law, and calculated to reduce the revolted peoples to Divine allegiance—to restore order, harmony, and peace in the Divine world-kingdom on earth?

It is the Theology—the Religion of the world question that we have undertaken to illustrate; and here again, we ask, did it square with the eternal purpose to restore order in the universe, and assimilate humanity to "the image of God?" Rivet your attention upon the "kingdom of Israel"—an aggregate of patriarchal families—not torn by internal dissensions, by civil discord,—shattered by foreign invasion, or weeping in captivity by Babel's streams; but at that period, the meridian of its splendour, when Solomon in all his glory, as he sat on the golden throne in his majestic palace, swayed the sceptre over a loyal and prosperous community,—when the priesthood, with the high priest of the Lord of hosts at their head, offered blood-shedding sacrifice and atonement for the sins of the people in the gorgeous temple (the institutional expression at once of the "image of God" "manifest in the flesh," as well as of regenerate humanity in whose heart, as in a shrine, the Divinity takes up his residence,) at Jerusalem, and behold in that community who wended their several ways from a thousand hamlets, villages, and towns throughout the Holy Land, and are convened as one congregational family in the courts of the Lord's House, on bended knees receiving the blessing of their Father-God from the lips of the high priest, the imperfect reflection of "the kingdom of heaven," the divine original of paradise. And let it not be thought that though they assembled in their national temple at Jerusalem to worship Jehovah, that they did not, like Adam, regard the wide earth at once as his palace and temple. Not a grain-crop waved its yellow crown, not a bough fluttered in the breeze, their cattle could not low in their stalls, nor roam before their eyes on the plain, the very voice of the turtle or of the pigeon could not fall upon their ears, but they were reminded of the "first fruits" or sacrifices to be offered in the temple. Wander where they might they felt that they

trode but the outer courts of the temple, and within the precincts of the palace of "the King of kings and Lord of lords."

While Judaism then is recorded as the creed of youthhood, Christianity constitutes the creed that is graved on the great heart of the manhood of humanity. Temporary and transitory, as the season of youth which forms its fitting and appropriate emblem, yet clad in a gorgeous drapery of magnificence and splendour, the ornaments which captivate the youthful imagination, Judaism has indeed passed away. But the Past has been merged into, and preserved in, the Present. The child has merely divested its graceful form and features of the trammels and trappings which marred their comeliness and beauty; and the Christian graces—Faith, Hope, and Love—that irradiate with their lustrous halo the manhood of humanity, trace their divine source to one fatherhood—the God of love, whose law is holy, just, perfect, and good; "one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all."

On turning our attention now to the third and final, the Christian Dispensation,—the heir of all the ages,—we are presented with a creed, the germ of which was enveloped in the first, and developed in the last Gospel, the proclamation of which synchronized with the manhood of humanity. Does a correct psychology prove that its "whole nature" is contained in the germ of the human intelligence "implicitly from the first, and that by the explicit process it merely unfolds what belongs strictly speaking to its own original essence?" A sound and complete Christology demonstrates that the "whole nature," the essential and fundamental idea of Christianity—the atonement of Christ—was wound up in the first promise of a Deliverer, adumbrated and unfolded through the media of offices, institutions, and prophecy, first to the Patriarchs and afterwards to the Jews, and brought to light in the unmistakeable Revelation of the Son of God "manifest in the flesh," "the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world," who "once in the end of the world hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself," and whom the heavens has received "until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.

We have already had frequent occasion to make incidental allusion to the Christian economy; but we must not be precluded by the fact, from arranging and combining the fragmentary features which have passed under our review into that symmetrical harmony and unity of divine proportions which is presented by the finished form of regenerate and restored humanity, and which corresponds to the "matchless manhood" of the individual under the influence of cosmopolitan Christian principle.

We have asked you to seize upon the characteristics which distinguish the life-history of a representative man; we have attempted to track his footsteps from the home of his childhood in the family circle through the "formative period" of his minority under a guardianship, which too frequently is scouted as fettering the independence after which incipient manhood aspires—a period chequered by a career of lawless prodigality and precipitate passion; we now ask you, in fine, to follow him into

that new world into which he emerges on the attainment of his majority,

"When red-hot youth cools down to iron man;"

when

"Self, reverence, self-knowledge, self-control
Lead life to sovereign power;"

and when he, "the world-citizen," extends his fraternal embrace to the universal brotherhood of humanity.

"Said I not my soul
Had taken up its freedom, and assumed
The birth-right of creation? And holding in itself the omnitude
Of being, God-endowed, it doth become
World-representative?
Thus versant with an absolute life the spirit
Makes towards its end and great reward, in peace,
O'er passing all earth's lesser joys."

Does the assumption of lordship over the individual self—over that kingdom which is established in the heart of humanity,—the era of self-government—find its counterpart in the epoch at which we have now arrived in the history of the great "world-pupil" of divinity?

Let us adopt the same method we have employed in illustrating the previous preliminary dispensations in answer to this question, viz., confine ourselves to the observation of the facts recorded in authentic history.

Strip Judaism of its paedagogic institutionalism—that iron yoke demanded as a restraint upon the passionate period of the youthhood of humanity, which Christianized men declared neither they nor their fathers were able to bear,—of its gorgeous temple, and oppressive daily ritual, remove also the earlier altars of Patriarchism, and banish blood-shedding sacrifice for ever from the courts of the sanctuary; divest the priesthood of the functions peculiar to the sacrificial and ceremonial institutions of the two economies, and what survives the dis-investiture of that veil which for so many ages masked and enveloped the nascent childhood and youth of Christianity? what but the brotherhood, "kings and priests to God," in whom they recognise the common and universal Fatherhood of the family of humanity?

Again, divest the Jewish king of his purple, the priest of his robes, and the prophet of his mantle, and clothe with this triple investiture "the Man Jesus," does he not stand nobly forth as the "Second Adam," the new Representative of the human race, while their King and Head, their "Elder Brother," in whom they are a "royal priesthood, an holy nation?" Do historic facts bear testimony to such a thorough-going revolution,—to such a "restitution" of the primitive powers, privileges, and prerogatives of the great forefathers of humanity?

Let us transfer to our pages the outlines of that graphic picture of the primitive Christian Church, at once so skilfully and gracefully delineated by Bunsen's master-hand (in Hippolytus); not that we ignore the existence of the biblical portraiture inscribed by inspired penmanship.

Far from it. But as the biblical and historical features bear such an exact resemblance, demonstrating, therefore, that they are reflections of the one Divine original, we give the preference to the latter for very obvious reasons; and we are persuaded that it will produce the conviction that

"Simplicity
Is nature's first step, and the last in art."

For—"*Simplex munditiis*"—the fair form of youthful Christianity captivates the beholder, too early, alas! defaced by the tawdry ornaments of barbaric superstition and lordly ambition. Frowned upon by "the mistress of the world," the disciples of Christianity—a brotherhood, for so they regarded and spoke of themselves, whose father was the father of humanity; and a royal priesthood, whose high priest ministered at the celestial altar—convened together weekly—met with friendly salutation—engaged in acts of public worship—commemorated, by the simple symbols of bread and wine, the living sacrifice of the Saviour of the world, and thereafter sat down at a common table to participate in a social repast, provided by the members of the little community. "Elegant as simplicity," and "unmanacled by form"—such was the primitive Church, at once a brotherhood and a royal priesthood. We say a royal priesthood, for it is this prominent feature that stamps Christianity, in contradistinction to all other religions that have prevailed in the world, with catholicity,—demonstrates that it is adapted to progressive humanity, and which characterised the Christian Church at its original institution, as we find when we direct attention to the mode in which public worship was conducted.

Following, doubtless, the ancient precedent of the synagogic worship, the "Holy Writings," were read aloud, praise and extemporaneous prayer were engaged in, not, let it be particularly noticed, by a hereditary priesthood, as a class of men possessed of peculiar rights and privileges, as had been the Levitical in the Jewish nation, but by the "elder" members of the church or brotherhood, selected by their compeers to discharge these duties.

"At their meetings for public worship," is the acknowledgment of the latest advocate of Presbyterianism, "all the elders occupied one bench or platform facing the people, to indicate the sameness of their order; and he who was to preach took his place with them, and delivered his message from *amid his brethren.*"

Stripping ecclesiastical terminology of the imagined sacro-sanctity with which hoary antiquity and conventionalism have invested it in the minds of unreflecting men, what stands revealed to every beholder but a congregational fraternal community, assembling themselves together for purposes of worship, mutual instruction, exhortation, and consolation, amongst whom grey-headed experience and wisdom constitute the divine ordination equally of teacher as of ruler, and the sanction of the people the only "license to preach the gospel?" These patriarchs of the people constituted the Church council, a congregational executive for the reception and exclusion of the membership, the president of which, from his official station, received the honorary appellation of ἐπίσκοπος,

which, though sometimes translated "bishop," literally signifies "overseer," or "superintendent," and a term with which also πρεσβύτερος, "presbyter," or "elder," as well as διακόνος, "deacon," "servant," or "minister," is frequently and strictly convertible.

Did the Remedial scheme, projected by Divine wisdom,—we now ask for the third and last time—embrace in its conception the restoration of order, and conformity to "the image of God" in the family of Humanity?

Behold in that Christian brotherhood, invested with the triple powers, privileges, and prerogatives of Prophet, Priest, and King, forfeited by the first Adam, held in common with the "second Adam" their Lord and elder brother—a "royal priesthood," kings and priests to God, in whom they acknowledge the universal fatherhood of humanity:—Behold, we say, in that Christian brotherhood,—in which each member equally with the whole reflects "the image of God" and is constituted a living temple in which the Spirit of the Lord is enshrined,—the embodiment and complement of the *beau ideal*, the type and representative of humanity, in which the family of God is commensurate with the kingdom of heaven, the kingship with the priesthood,—the restoration of the Divine original of paradise.

Such is the restored picture that we hold up to the 19th century, while we say, Behold the church and kingdom of the future!

Did the vast earth, from its flower-strewed floor to its fretted dome, rise into the proportions at once of the palace and temple of their father-king and father-god, in the eyes of the original family of humanity in Paradise? Consecrated, as has now been its Calvary mount into an holy altar on which Humanity was offered, suffered, bled in sacrifice, the regenerate Christian brotherhood, invested with a royal priesthood, recognise in the palace of their father-king the temple of their father-god. Pilgrims in whatever frigid or torrid clime,—associating with brethren of whatever fair or dusky hue,—worshipping beneath the stately cathedral aisles in the "dim religious light" of the old, or in the lonely log hut in the new western world, the royal priesthood of humanity bend in adoration at the footstool of the same celestial altar,—their upturned eyes converge and focus on the same high priest of the Christian profession, "the man Jesus," who "hath been exalted a prince and saviour to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins,"—their hearts beat in unison and sympathy to the heart of their common Lord and brother—in a word, one mighty heart-pant rises in grateful response from the regenerate heart of the brotherhood of humanity who acknowledge the creed of Christendom—"one Lord—one Father—one Baptism—one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all."

We are aware that the aspect which the condition of Christendom presents, militates, as some regard it, against the position we mantain, viz., that "the kingdom of heaven" was actually established on earth at the "fulness of times;" and we shall, therefore, without pausing to point out the fulfilment of the official, institutional, and prophetic, announcements, "figures," and "types" in the Christian dispensation, proceed briefly to direct attention to those TRANSITION PERIODS, deter-

mined in our second classification;—conceiving, as we do, that the consideration of this part of our scheme is calculated to remove the plausible objections of superficial students of biblical as well as of profane history.

Based as is our second classification upon no arbitrary foundation, but supported by the analogies presented by the geologic structure of the crust of the earth as well as by the physical and mental constitution of each individual of the human race,—by geology, physiology, and psychology; not only so, but absolutely determined, at least in the two first instances, by those epochal circles which, from the natural limits of the periods embraced in the first classification, we are warranted by the doctrine of parallelisms (to which we have alluded as a fresh contribution to the evidences of Christianity) to conclude that the characteristics exhibited by the social condition of humanity in these junctures will be stamped with essential identity.

"Five successive races of plants," geologists inform us, "and four successive races of animals appear to have been created; at last man was created." We have here reiterated interferences by the Deity to roll back the tide of destruction and call forth into being the new forms of life, rising above each other in excellence, but at successive and remote eras, to occupy and adorn the still improving world. Physiologists bear ample attestation to the fact that the structural process by which the crust of our terrestrial sphere has been consolidated into its present shape affords the *analogue* of that parallel process by which the human form divine is "fearfully and wonderfully" fashioned into its harmonious proportions and symmetry. "All transition periods," psychologists affirm, "in the mental development whether of an individual or of a people are of necessity marked by a strong sceptical bias, which like an epidemic destroys the life of many, while it is preparing a high organic condition for the rest."

Did we subject to a critical examination those transition periods which are definitely determined by the circumferences of the epochal circles inscribed by Providence on the chart of the life history of humanity, we should discover that the unbridled licentiousness and daring impiety—implied in the "violence" in society, and "corruption" in religion,—exhibited by that debased Goliath-race, whose iron will was law, and whose potent sword their dread executive, swept away by the Noachic deluge, found counterparts in the lapse of ages not only at the destruction of Jerusalem, but, as "all events of history, viewed in short periods of time, move in one course, resembling other equally short periods in their general character," also at the decline and fall of ancient and modern dominant dynasties and polities, as *e. g.* at the Reformation in the 16th century, and more recently at the French Revolution. Shall we rehearse the startling acts of the world-drama, and specially those thrilling scenes in which the representative men of the age met eye to eye and foot to foot, as if in single combat, to settle the controversy of their times, as *e. g.* when a Moses confronted a Pharaoh; "the Man Jesus," a Pilate; or a Luther, the Papal Legate at the Diet of Worms? While a moral plague spreads its poisonous breath throughout society,

at such junctures it will be noticed that the partisans of political and ecclesiastical factions wage war with all the bitter animosity of sworn and irreconcilable foes, apparently altogether ignorant of the true nature of the conflict in which they are engaged. The one party clings to the old, while the other evolves the new, and ushers the young epoch of a glorious future into the world. We must content ourselves, however, with the simple assertion of the parallelism that must be observed by the most superficial student of ancient history.

Our more immediate purpose demands that we call attention to the fact, that our second classification is exhausted by the commencement of an epoch which has generally received the designation of the Millennial State of Humanity on earth, corresponding to the ascension of "the Man Jesus," and that period when the individual "sits in heavenly places," *i. e.* reigns, with his Lord and Brother,—a glorious epoch, the approach of which is heralded and hailed, as our readers must be aware, by the present aggressive spirit of the age, paradoxical as it may sound, at once the genius of destruction and the harbinger of peace.

Let us apply the principle to which we have referred, viz., that our second classification is illustrated in a short as well as in a long period of history,—in an era as well as in the world, and what is the result at which we arrive? Did not Christianity offer itself for baptism in the person of Constantine? And though trampled beneath the feet of a "beastly and pampered priesthood," did she not "rise" at the Reformation when "the monk of Eisleben" tore the trappings of anti-Christ from her mangled features? Shall we then stagger in our faith beneath the load of contumely and reproach that has been sedulously heaped upon the scheme of Providence, on account of the tedious tardiness, as it moved on "slowly, slowly creeping on from point to point," by which humanity has been regenerated and restored? or doubt that we are approximating that golden era which the rapt Hebrew seer beheld in seraphic vision, awaiting "the kingdom of heaven" on earth?

No one, we imagine, at all conversant with the moral, religious, and political—in a word, the social condition of the people throughout the vast extent of surface embraced by the Old World, would have much hesitation in giving an affirmative reply to the question, so naturally arising on a retrospective glance at the history of the past—are there any grounds for leading us to believe that the age in which we live presents any of those features of the transition-periods occurring at regular intervals in the history of the world?

Has it not struck us with a surprise almost akin to the superstitious awe with which the portents and prodigies of Livy were related, that revolution has visited the realms of "the Celestial Empire?" Has not the Brahminical Dagon fallen prostrate on the floor of the Hindu temple of idolatry? Who shall say that the golden cross is not moulded that shall supplant the crescent of the Moslem on the Mosque of St Sophia at Constantinople? Say in how many months shall the nationalities of the European Continent,—indignantly swelling as are the bosoms of patriotic men against the iron heel of Imperial and Priestly Despotism,—rise *en masse*, and close the last act of the tragedy whose first was

ushered in at the French Revolution, or perhaps at the Reformation? We do not, however, stand in the position of men ignorant of the state of feeling prevalent among the various classes of the great European Continent; but rather

> "With head upraised, and look intent,
> And eye and ear attentive bent,"

in the attitude of eager expectation of listening to the acclamations with which a disenthralled world shall hail the instauration of eternal liberty.

Recrossing the Channel, and fixing our glance upon the modern birthplace of civil and religious freedom, are we deceived when unmistakeable tokens of the same world-wide conflict of opinion present themselves to our observation? Can we not distinguish both in the political and ecclesiastical "Shibboleths," evidence of the existence of the rival factions which figure so prominently in all the previous epochal transition-periods? Have not the populace, doomed to cold neglect by clerical combatants, blinded by the dust of party creeds, and maddened to frenzy by the threatened downfall of time-worn institutions, renounced, especially in our large cities, the sanctities of the Sabbath, and deserted the temples of the Christian church? Are they not showering their sacrifices on the altars of bacchanalian drunkenness, festivity, sensuality, murder, and crime? Are not the ties that bind husband and wife—father and child—master and servant—rich and poor—aye, to a greater extent than is perhaps generally surmised, even between king and subject, together gradually loosening, and the gulph of separation yawning so darkly wide, that mutual distrust and suspicion, mutual antipathy and scorn, threaten to introduce the rule of lawless anarchy and disorder, and those convulsions of society that, like the eruptions of a volcano's slumbering fires, will overwhelm the million homes and victims of immorality in one wide devastation of desolation?

Has not the scourge of war,—that scourge which so frequently has swept apostasy, idolatry, and immorality into the dead sea of oblivion,—been brandished across the firmament of the Old World?

We have not asked you—our limits do not admit of it—to observe that stately procession of dynasties (daguerreotyped in sacred and profane history) that have marched across the stage of time,—though their average *duration* would lend probability to our thesis. We are precluded from illustrating the parallelism of history which would lend confirmation to it. We cannot project the light of prophecy,—"prophecy which is more true than history,"—across the "Saturday night" of the Old World, though its combined rays, converging as they do in a focus, the period, viz. of the downfall and destruction of the anti-christian power in modern Christendom, would proclaim the dawn of the Sabbatism of the earth. We have not alluded to the general expectation, sublimated into public opinion, that anticipates a crisis in Christendom, though the very fact is calculated to recal the existence of a similar presage at the introduction of the second epoch into the world. We have simply asked you to glance at the social condition of the nationalities and peoples that tenant the surface of the Old World, and if there be any truth in the

representations that we have given of the transition-state of the various dominant polities and creeds, we apprehend we are approximating not merely a national, not even a continental, but a world-historical epoch, the culminating point of which will elevate the people to the royalty of self-governing manhood in the kingdom and church.

We shall not hazard a conjectural flight into the cloudland of futurity. But as "coming events cast their shadows before," the questions necessarily press themselves upon us. Do not the tendencies of opinion in the present age lead us to anticipate a re-modelling both of the political and ecclesiastical institutions under which the nations have been reared from their infancy? Do not the harps of heathen and Christian poets blend their harmonious notes in depicting the character of such a Golden Age, as we have referred to in our picture of the Church and Kingdom of the Future—"*ultima aetas cumaei carminis*"—the sacred year of liberty, and which has received the designation of the millennium? Not only so, but when the raptured eye of the poet dips into futurity,—whether from the observation that civilisation and empire have been attracted from the East to the West in the train of the circling sun we know not,—does he not always see in his vision of the world the fabled "Atlantis"—the Island of Bliss—floating peacefully amidst the balmy regions of the West? And if there be any truth in Cowper's description of the poet-prophet,—

> "When remote futurity is brought
> Before the keen enquiry of his thought,
> A terrible sagacity informs
> The poet's heart; he looks to distant storms,
> He hears the thunder ere the tempest lowers,
> And arm'd with strength surpassing human powers,
> Seizes events as yet unknown to man,
> And darts his soul into the dawning plan,"

may we not appropriately conclude our remarks by a quotation which at once embodies the leading idea that pervades our scheme of Providence, and points to the destiny of humanity in the New World in the West?

> "Lo! the song of earth—a maniac's on a black, and dreary road—
> Rises up and swells in grandeur to the loud triumphal ode—
> Earth casts off a slough of darkness, an eclipse of hell and sin
> In each cycle of her being, as an adder casts her skin;
> Lo! I see long blissful ages when these mammon days are done,
> Stretching like a golden evening forward to the setting sun."

DR LEE'S REFERENCE BIBLE.

We hail the publication of the New Reference Bible, as the advent of a new epoch in the history of British Theology.

Should any of our readers be startled out of their apathy by the announcement of such an important event, we beg to ask of them,—can you tell us when a Scottish Clergyman published an edition of

the Holy Bible? Did you *ever hear* or even read of such an occurrence? Dr Brown of Haddington you say; well it is a rarity. Think of it—it is worth thinking about, we can assure you.

England teems, and has always teemed with translations and emendations of the Sacred Scriptures; and we need scarcely state, that theology trode in the footsteps of continental translators and annotators. No one can insinuate that Protestantism has de-classicalized the Continental or British nations. Universal historians point with one consent to the period of the Reformation as the revival of letters and of learning. Luther tore off the iron mask of Latinity from the religion as well as from the language of the Bible, and the people's hearts beat with gladdened relief beneath her benignant countenance.

Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer, and the other English Divines of the 16th century, performed the same task for the British nation, and we have never failed to profess our gratitude to those heroic men who conferred the boon upon a grateful country.

But more,—can you point to a single commentary upon the Sacred Scriptures penned by a Scottish Divine? Protestantism is not circumscribed by the limits of clime, colour, country, you say; we lay claim to Luther, Calvin, Knox, Henry, Doddridge, and Scott, and a host of biblical critics, as the heritage of Protestant philology. Very true, we don't wish to snatch her literary monuments from Protestantism. But that is not the point to which we are at present asking your attention. Don't evade our question. Where is the Scottish translator or commentator of the Holy Bible? Is it John Knox? We do all honour to "the Reformer," but we cannot enrol his name upon our list. Is it Buchanan? We prize his Classical Translation of the Psalms, but we must also reject his meritorious claims. Or is it any of our Scottish Authors of Systems of Divinity or Lecturers upon Theology? We as gladly avail ourselves of their classifications and illustrations in their departments, as we do of our modern museums in the departments of physical science and natural history; but our test forbids their admission into our category.

We are not called upon to offer any explanations of the rarity of the fact. We simply point it out. It is a fact however; hence it is, we made bold to affirm, that its occurrence signalised a new epoch in British theology. If you will only reflect for a moment upon the condition of Christendom at the period of its appearance, you will further be persuaded of the correctness of our opinion. Assuming a tolerable acquaintance with the state of Christianity on the Continent and in Britain, we ask,—have you watched the progress of civilisation since the Reformation? that is to say,—for civilization is a comprehensive term,—have you observed the intellectual progress of humanity, as displayed in the extension of education to the masses,—the consequent progress of literature, science, philosophy, art, and commerce,—international communication and intercourse? And to limit our queries to the point in hand,—have you noted and examined the gradual accumulation, since the Reformation, of new editions of the Holy Scriptures, demanded by the growing intelligence of an educated people? Why, there is not a commentator recognised by the Protestant Churches

upon whose interpretations we rely, who has not advocated "an amendment of the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures." There is scarcely a pulpit from John O'Groat's House to Land's End, from which the same sentiments are not inculcated in the ears of the people. "Commentators' are not agreed upon this point," and "though our translation is the very best, on the whole, that exists, yet in this passage, the original reads as follows,"—is the current phraseology of our British ministers.

One commentator gently hints, that it is "not incapable of being brought nearer to the original." Another desiderates "accuratior interpretatio." A third asserts that "it is capable of very great improvement." Doddridge maintains that "objections against the Bible are entirely of English growth,"—*i.e.* arise out of mistranslations,—while numbers subscribe to the desirableness of revision for the purpose of "silencing cavillers and of giving satisfaction to pious and learned Christians."

Accordingly, the press, both foreign and domestic, has been teeming, more especially of late years, with treatises, discourses, and pamphlets, upon the "expediency of the revision of the authorized version of the Bible."

It is not therefore a novel topic of controversy or discussion. No considerable period, in fact, since the Christian era itself, has elapsed without witnessing its revival. But the delicacy and difficulty of the task, be it remarked, is enhanced, on the publication of every new edition.

For what is the *apparatus criticus*, which the modern biblical critic must possess,—the requirements absolutely indispensable for the emendation and illustration of the sacred text? Not only must he be familiar with the collation of Hebrew and Greek MSS.—implying as it does, the mastery of Hebrew, Greek, and Oriental literature,—he must be thoroughly conversant with the latest discoveries—ethnographical, topographical, geographical, physical, scientific, and philosophical, as well as in the presentation of systematic theology.

Has Dr Lee, it will be asked, brought such qualifications to bear upon the elucidation of the Sacred Scriptures? It can scarce be questioned by any one competent to judge of the manner in which he has performed the arduous task he has so successfully accomplished. But again, your edition is not only public property as soon as you offer the results of your labours to the world; but as your modern author conveys his sentiments in the vernacular language, he is liable to be pilloried by the first penny-a-liner, pamphleteer, or sciolist that counts notoriety, swells with spleen, or bursts with envy. It matters not whether your critic is a mere blunderer or a spiteful traducer, you are stabbed in your tenderest part,—your Christian reputation—another man that beheld the thrust, may circulate the story, pass on his way, and never discover that it was not you, but only your effigy; nevertheless, you are wounded, and the injury is irreparable.

Notwithstanding the petty detraction to which Dr Lee has been subjected, the sterling merits of the performance, attested as these are

by professors of divinity, and leading ministers of various denominations, we are persuaded will ultimately secure for it that reception and popularity to which it is so justly entitled.

But we must turn for a little to the New Reference Bible itself, and shall allow the editor to speak for himself regarding the improvements —not the least of which, is the *facility* given to consultation by the new method of arranging the References under each verse—which attach its peculiar value to his new edition, as he does in the Preface, as follows:—

"In this edition of the Holy Scriptures, particular care has been taken to correct and improve the Marginal References, all of which have been verified and revised. The result has been the omission of a great many of those printed in the common editions, and the insertion of others which appeared better adapted to illustrate the Sacred Text.

"Thinking that a great accumulation of References tends to create confusion in the mind of the reader rather than elucidation, the Editor has been studious to insert only such as seemed really to conduce to this end. The number will, however, be found to be about Sixty Thousand.

"In those cases in which different writers have related the same facts or discourses, reference is commonly made to only one of these; as on consulting such passage the reader will find a reference to the other parallels. This relates principally to the Evangelists. A considerable number of Marginal Readings, which are now known to want good authority, and many Marginal Renderings which appeared to be either erroneous or trifling, have been omitted. On the whole, it is hoped that simplicity and ease of reference are somewhat promoted in the present edition; and that by the new References light will be found to have been cast on some obscure passages."

Our limits forbid anything like a detailed examination of the 60,000 References attached to this new edition, for the purpose of rendering it really a "self-interpreting bible." We shall therefore restrict ourselves to a brief review of a passage here and there, ranking in the category of a "*nodus vindice dignus*," and conclude by pointing out a few desiderata in a new and improved edition of the Holy Scriptures.

We turn to one of these disputed passages which has long formed the theme of angry discussion and captious cavilling, viz., Job xix. 25–29; a passage, the new references to which have been objected to by newspaper critics. Now what are the facts,—what are the *new* references introduced by the present Editor? Ch. xlii, 10–17 is inserted as a parallel passage illustrative of v. 25 (ch. xix.) And what does this amount to, more especially when taken in connection with the other references attached to the same verse? If you peruse these parallel passages you will find that all of them assert the doctrine of individual and national redemption. Redemption not only from temporal but, by implication at least, from spiritual evils and calamities. Do we require to repeat in the ears of the adherents of Protestantism that the Israelitish nation regarded Jehovah as the Redeemer from the oppression of Egyptian bondage—from Babylonish captivity as well as from the galling yoke of foreign usurpers of the throne of the "kingdom of God?" And must the biblical critic in the 19th century of the Christian era be branded either with ignorance or infamy be-

cause forsooth he has directed the attention of the biblical student to the unchangeable character of the Father of humanity? Why that's worse than the medieval barbarism that rejected a clerical aspirant because he knew Greek.

If you persist in maintaining, as some would appear to do, that God is not the God of providence, and that he does not concern himself with the secular affairs and interests of his children,—their physical maladies and well-being,—you may deny that *Job*, conscious of his own righteousness and uprightness, professed his confidence that God would redeem him out of the depth of his misfortunes in this life, but you cannot reject the doctrine that the children of Israel hung their harps upon the willows by Babel's streams, wept when they remembered Zion, and lived in the hope of God being their Redeemer from captivity. Job might have died upon his ash heap, it is true, as thousands of good men have died and will die again in misery. But he is prepared for such an issue. The bright hope flashes across his mental vision, that in another life if not in this, when his skin is wasted of his bones and the worms have done their work, in the tabernacle of his immortal spirit, he shall see God.

Such critics ignore one of the simplest canons of Scriptural interpretation, the recognition, viz., of a literal, as the foundation and basis of the higher and spiritual signification attachable to the phraseology of scripture. Had they attended to this canon of interpretation we should not have been called upon to defend the references in question. But had Dr Lee even rejected—as he has not—this passage in evidence of the grand doctrine of the resurrection, on the ground that the Jewish church was left in comparative ignorance of its true character —for we commonly impute the belief of the advent of a *Temporal* prince and deliverer to the ancient Jewish church,—we should not have affected much surprise. It rests on sufficient grounds elsewhere. He might have ranged orthodox commentators on his side, and he would have disarmed the criticisms of a large, intelligent, and growing school. If he has erred,—we have little doubt he has in the estimation of most who are habituated to regard *particular* phrases and passages of scripture as the bulwark of their faith, erred on the safe side. No doctrine inculcated in the passage is compromised by the new references,—1 Corinth. 15, 20, 49, 57, appear in the new, equally as in the old edition.

We have already extended our remarks to such a length that we cannot at present enter upon the consideration of numerous texts we had marked for discussion, *e.g.* John x. 11. We have not the slightest conception of the views of the editor regarding the limits of the atonement,—we doubt not they coincide with the standards of the church —but if we must form our judgment from the references given upon this as well as other parallel passages, we can come to no other conclusion than that his sentiments have been travestied by some ignorant or splenetic critic. We must apply the same remarks to John x. 30., John viii. 58.

Will any one seriously give credit to the fact that 120 clergymen of various denominations in Scotland—divines many of them distin-

guished for their scholarship and erudition—familar with their Bibles and the controversies of the age as with household words—jealous sometimes to uncharitableness, of each other's statements in point of doctrine, more especially at a period such as the present, when the public mind would appear to be undergoing a transition upon political as well as ecclesiastical topics—will any one give credit to the fact, we say, that they have formed a conspiracy to mislead the people into heresy and heterodoxy, and have falsely subscribed recommendatory notices of this new edition of the Scriptures, and declared that the references are "apposite and well chosen, most pertinent, most direct and appropriate?"

We confess to turning with some anxiety to another stumbling-block to cavillers, viz., 1 John v. 7, a passage which is now generally acknowledged to be an interpretation (see Horne's Introd. vol. iv.) as well as to 1 John ii. 23, printed in italics in our authorized versions, but which is now recognised as entitled to its proper place in the *textus receptus*. Might not the editor therefore have introduced a marginal statement to that effect with all safety? He has given new marginal renderings in several instances which strongly argue the necessity of a revision of King James's translation. In one instance —and no doubt there are more—viz., 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, the reader is directed by a parallel passage to 1 Chron. xxi. 15, where the *numbers* are totally irreconcileable.

Again: there are passages in which *irregularities* of translation occur, which we naturally anticipated would have been corrected in a new edition, *e. g.* Heb. x. 23, but "faith" is still retained although "hope" is the translation of the original ἐλπίς. A marginal rendering is attached to Acts ii. 47. Matth. xxiii. 24, stands unchanged.

When you compare Heb. xi. 21, with Gen. xlvii. 31, you meet with a confusion between words which have evidently been confounded by the carelessness of a transcriber, or the masoretic interpreters — since ῥάβδον is found both in the Septuagint and New Testament, whereas *mittah*, "a bed," is found in Genesis instead of *matteh* "a staff."

Once more: we have examined some of the passages embracing articles of commerce and objects of natural history, &c., but have not found any marginal rendering corrective of the acknowledged mistranslations on those points; *e. g.* would the editor have laid himself open to criticism if he had introduced "Gazelle"—so favorite a metaphorical theme amongst oriental nations—as a marginal rendering instead of "Roe" at Deut. xii. 15, Cant. ii. 7? "Rhinoceros" or "Buffalo" instead of "Unicorn," in Psalm xxix. 6? "Goats," or other shaggy quadrupeds instead of "Satyrs" (Is. xiii. 21)—both of which are importations from the region of fable?

There are other desiderata; one only we shall mention at present, viz. the propriety of attaching references to these portions of the Sacred Scriptures characterised by divinely declarative and prophetic maledictions, attesting their *spiritual* character, at least when homologated by the disciples of Christ.

We have thus hinted at some of the *desiderata* calculated to extend the usefulness of a new edition of the Sacred Scriptures. Let it not

be understood however, that we wish to detract from the merits of the present performance. Far from it, none know better than the accomplished editor the necessity of cautious procedure in effecting the simplest changes even upon the references to the Bible. We gratefully accept it as the earnest and pledge of future emendations, and although Dr Lee has subjected himself to the adverse and hasty criticism of presumptuous because ignorant and unclassical scholars, let him rest assured that the laborious results of his critical disquisitions and illustrations have raised him in the estimation of the scholarship of the age to the rank of a Scottish Bengel or a Bentley.

ELEGY:—ON VISITING THE GRAVE OF FLORA MACDONALD IN THE ISLE OF SKYE.

I.

Far off upon this western shore,
Cold lies thy dust, thrice honoured maid;
Where the deep blue sea with hollow roar,
Through his ancient caverns grim and hoar,
Resounds aloud for evermore—
Thy bones are low and lonely laid.
Bleak rocks uprear
Their gaunt shapes here:
And the gloomy, gloomy shade,
Quiraing's dark form hath made,
Is deepened by the parting ray,
That gleams on Quir's old mountains gray.

II.

Beside thy grave I muse alone,
Where tall rank grass unheeded grows—
With which the wind makes a rustling moan,
As it sweeps the time-worn burial stone,
With noisome weeds and moss o'ergrown—
For the place no verdure knows.
Oh! sadly defaced
Is the stone that graced
The spot where the noble sleep—
Mute nature could but weep,
When ruthless hands and Gothic breast
Disturbed thy calm and peaceful rest.

III.

Enough! the deed may claim a tear,
But in the records of the past
Thou hast left a name to all men dear—
And the foot treads soft, thy low bed near,
More softly by far that no stone is here
To tell thy resting place—thy last.
A fitting spot
Thy dust has got
Beneath this barren mound—
For here each scene around—

Each cairn, and cave, and rock-girt dell
The story of thy brave deeds tell.

IV.

Perchance yon lonely creek I see—
Where ocean rocks his quiet wave,
And the tall cliffs rise—had sheltered thee
When thy tiny skiff came bounding free
Over the deep. Fidelity
Could do no more thy prince to save.
Yon dreary dell
And the mystic well
Thy deeds in silence tell,
And rivet the heart-felt spell
That makes one love to linger here,
Around a spot so lone and drear.

V.

Strange memories o'er my bosom steal,
Strange thoughts come rushing on my soul:
In this lonely spot the heart must feel
And fancies wild make the cool head reel.
As by thy nameless grave I kneel
Emotions rise without control:
The place and hour
Have magic power
To awe the stoutest will,
All seems so lone and still—
And yonder rock with darkening frown
Upon the scene looks gloomy down.

VI.

And now the sun has sunk in night,
Behind the Coolin's crested-grey,
And the Harris hills are scarce in sight,
And darkness creeps up Quiraing's bare height,
And chases from Quir the last rays of light
That told departing day.
Dear spot farewell—
The mystic spell
That bound me here has fled—
I linger lone with the dead—
And the place seems wilder and more drear,
And sounds more dismal meet my ear.

VII.

Adieu! but e're I see again
This spot of earth so bleak and bare,
Or listen to the dismal strain
The wild winds make with the stormy main
Years shall have passed, and brought in their train
The furrowed brow, the look of care:
But evermore,
As erst of yore,
The stranger's foot shall tread
On the precincts of the dead—

And stand as now I stand alone,
By this old moss-clad burial stone.

VIII.

And is it all that man can claim
To lie like thee forgot dear maid?
Is this to earn a deathless name?
Is it for this men battle for fame?
Then here their doom and endless shame
Are faithfully pourtrayed.
The cold wind blows,
The rank grass grows
Around this lonely spot—
And such is human lot—
Forgot by all when low we lie,
Our names unknown when once we die.

RONA.

LITERARY NOTICES.

A Cyclopædia of the Physical Sciences. By J. P. NICHOL, Professor of Practical Astronomy in the University of Glasgow. London and Edinburgh: Richard Griffin and Company. 1857.

THIS volume is very different from those which have hitherto come from the pen of Professor Nichol. The works which have made him the most popular astronomer of the present day, owe much of their popularity to other than purely scientific qualities. The poetry of his genius, wrapping up dry subjects in the warm glow of imagination, has attracted many to scientific subjects who would otherwise have for ever remained ignorant of the most remarkable achievements in modern science. In reading his works, it is hard to say which we admire most—the astronomer or the man of genius who can make astronomy so attractive. In the present work, however, the author presents himself to us solely as a man of science. And certainly no stronger proof could be given of his great attainments than this thick octavo, which every where shews traces of his own fresh mind. The work was very much needed. The larger cyclopædias were getting out of date, and no work could be consulted giving a summary of the results of scientific research during the last few years. In the compass of a single volume we have a remarkably comprehensive view of the various departments of physical science up to the present moment. The editor has enjoyed the valuable assistance of many able coadjutors. We have only to mention the names of Sir William Hamilton of Dublin, Dr Robertson of Armagh, Professor William Thomson of Glasgow College, and Professor Rankin, also of Glasgow, to shew that the very highest authorities have contributed to render this cyclopædia a fit representative of the actual state of science.

Most of the articles on astronomy and optics are evidently from the pen of Professor Nichol himself. Of the former, those on Saturn and the nebular hypothesis will be read with peculiar interest. It is about ten years since we reviewed in this magazine Professor Nichol's first work with special reference to the nebular hypothesis. Previously to that period, he was the champion of the hypothesis in this country, but he had staked the whole matter on the resolution of some nebulæ which had hitherto resisted

resolution. Lord Rosse's telescope succeeded in effecting the resolution, and, consequently, he found himself bound to give in. In the present volume, however, his affection for the hypothesis returns, and his old admiration of its comprehensive bearings is again proclaimed. The hypothesis had been supported on two grounds. It was put forth as the only possible solution of the unexplained uniformities of the solar system lying outside of the law of gravitation, and it was also advocated on the ground that nebulous matter in the process of condensation was discoverable in the depths of space. It was this last ground that the discoveries of Lord Rosse invalidated. For those faint patches of light that appeared like luminous mist, were found, when adequate power was applied, to consist of distinct luminous bodies, instead of an equally diffused substance from which the stars were supposed to be gradually condensed. Professor Nichol, however, ingeniously gets over the difficulty, in this volume, by supposing that the distinct bodies, of which the nebulæ consist, may be only agglomerations of this nebulous matter in its uncondensed state. And this idea is supported by the fact that the rings of Saturn are almost demonstrably shewn to consist of nebulous matter. The ring recently discovered, throws much light on this subject, as well as the researches of M. Otto Struvë, who has shewn that there is a gradual approximation of the rings to the body of Saturn, as if the central body was about to absorb them into its mass. These new lights on the subject are exceedingly interesting, and ought to be weighed without any fear of embracing the hypothesis, should facts warrant it. It would be both absurd and mischievous to admit, in any measure, the validity of the argument of Laplace, that there would be no need of a God if we could trace the formation of worlds to this hypothesis. The necessity of a God would not be in the least degree lessened. On the contrary, his wisdom and glory would only be enhanced by the admission of such an hypothesis. It is, therefore, to be regretted that many well intentioned defenders of Christianity have opposed the nebular hypothesis on grounds which would make every generalization of science a loss to theology, and an argument against the necessity of a Creator and an All-wise Governor. We are glad to find that the work, as a whole, is written in a spirit becoming the reverential character of a priest of science interpretating God's works to his fellow-men. The work must prove valuable as a text-book both in school and college.

The Striking of the Fiars in Scotland. What is to be done? By George Paterson, Author of "Historical Account of the Fiars in Scotland." Edinburgh: Myles Macphail.

Mr Paterson shows very clearly in his able and suggestive pamphlet, the awkwardness and unfairness caused by the present mode of striking the Fiars, and the propriety of an alteration. This is a subject to which the learned author has devoted a great deal of attention, of which he has given ample proof in a former publication. When we consider the very material fluctuation of increase, to which the clergy are consequently exposed—the fact that their interests are in danger of suffering by the urging of competing claims—and the very partial nature of the process through which the striking of the average is arrived at—we are not surprised that no little discontent should be felt, and that a growing desire for the application of some efficient remedy is felt by the parties more especially interested. Mr Paterson forcibly urges, as demanded by justice, the extention of the period now used for striking the averages—pointing out the fact—patent to all who bestow a moment's thought upon the subject—that the average of the transactions of but

one-third of the whole year cannot be held as equitable—that moreover, that being the period during which prices are almost invariably lower than in the following months, and also that more Fiars than one ought to be struck—the clergy being by Act of Parliament entitled to the *highest* Fiar prices that may be struck. The objection that may be urged by tenants who have made payment by the Fiars a matter of voluntary compact, is ably disposed of—while the pamphlet is comprehensive in itself and evidently dictated by mature consideration of the subject, points out a method of remedy, for which the author suggests, failing any other method of redress, an Act of Parliament should be demanded, as the *ultima ratio.* The clergy and others interested cannot but feel greatly indebted to Mr Paterson for the time and attention he has devoted to this important topic.

Tales of the Borders, Vol. I. Edinburgh: Moodie and Lothian.

The republication of the Tales of the Borders in a portable form and carefully edited, cannot but command an extensive sale; the object of the talented editor, who was also one of the contributors to the Tales, is to make a judicious selection from the larger work, and also to introduce a few papers from various authors so as to lend a degree of novelty even to readers who have perused the Tales when they first appeared, and as an inducement to them to place them on the shelves of their libraries. It is gratifying to be able to speak well of a work of fiction, for in the Tales of the Borders there is nothing to offend the most fastidious, or to raise the blush in the cheek of innocence; they are pervaded throughout by a genuine religious spirit; there is no scoffing at things sacred; on the contrary, whenever the observances of religion are the subject of topic, they are approached in a reverential spirit and with due appreciation. There is moreover a healthful morality pervading these tales, and as the young mind must have some imaginative food to feed upon, it is gratifying to be able to recommend a work which is not only calculated to strengthen virtuous resolutions, but also to inspire a love for social religion without that gloominess of aspect with which it is so unhappily associated.

The present volume, in addition to three tales by Wilson, contains also contributions from the late Hugh Miller, Professor Gillespie of St Andrews, Alexander Campbell, and, though last not least, Alexander Leighton, the accomplished editor of the present edition.

Electricity.

We understand that Mr Morrison, Dentist, Edinburgh, has discovered the perfect application of Electricity as an anæsthetic—in other words, depriving any organic part of life, and consequently of feeling, in surgical operations.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Presentation.—The Earl of Fife has presented the Rev. Thomas Annan to the church and parish of Keith. The noble Earl is to present the Rev. James Adam, minister of Monquhitter, to the church and parish of Newhills, vacant by the death of the Rev. James Allan.

Presentation.—The Rev. John Lawrie, assistant in St Enoch's Church, Glasgow, has been presented, by Lady Macdonald Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath, to the church and parish of Libberton, vacant by the death of the late Rev. Dr Craik.

Parish of Aberdour.—Captain Dingwall Fordyce of Brucklay, the patron, is to issue a presentation to this parish in favour of the Rev. Mr Wilson of Savoch.

Houston Parish.—The Rev. G. S. Burns, minister of Newton-on-Ayr, has been presented to the church and parish of Houston.

Abbotshall.—The Presbytery of Kirkcaldy met in Abbotshall Church, on Thursday the 9th inst., for the purpose of moderating a call in favour of the Rev. John Duncan, to be assistant and successor to the Rev. John Blackie. The Rev. Mr Brown, Scoonie, presided and preached.

Degree of D.D.—The University of Glasgow has conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the Rev. Thomas Buchanan of Methven—a well-merited compliment to one of the most learned ministers of the Church of Scotland.

Appointment. — The Rev. James Markland has been appointed minister of the Chapel of Gartmore, in the Presbytery of Dumblane, and parish of Port of Menteith.

Died, at 23 Great King Street, on the 2d instant, the Rev. Dr Steven, minister of Trinity College Parish, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Died, at the Bridge of Allan, on the 25th instant, the Rev. John Campbell, minister of Selkirk.

Died, at the Manse of Kingussie, Inverness-shire, on the 27th instant, aged thirty, the Rev. Alex. Cameron, A.M.

MACPHAIL'S

EDINBURGH ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL.

No. CXXXVII. JUNE 1857.

INDIA:—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

(*Continued from page* 144.)

THE tale of Christian progress in India fills but a scanty page in its history. In a country where for nearly four thousand years, religion has played a part the most prominent, and where so much of what constitutes its annals resolves into the strifes and struggles of faith; the light of the purest creed, that ever dawned on the world, has scarcely yet penetrated. If, however, by the help of the learned researches, that are making into India's "Past," we are now able to "read its annals right," we may chance to stumble on the answer to the question, How has it come to pass that while the West received and welcomed the Missionaries of the Cross, the East, with all its civilization and learning, should have presented so insuperable a barrier to its progress? Paradoxical as it may appear, we may find, as we have already hinted, that we at least approach an explanation of the phenomenon that has arrested so much attention, by applying to the Hindus the language of the Apostle to the "men of Athens:" "I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious," and reaching this explanation, the door may at length be opened up to us in providence, by which the blessings of Christianity are to brighten the days of India's "Future." Yet true it is, that India was one of the earliest countries visited by the light of the gospel. Modern researches are more and more strengthening the belief, that a part of the Tribe of Manasseh, which was carried into captivity by Nebuchednezzar, wandered by sea to the coasts of Malabar, or found their way by an easier route through Affghanistan and the Punjaub; and the visit of an Apostle to those of the lost sheep of the House

of Israel, who had wandered too far to the eastward of Babylon to return to Mount Zion, finds an appropriate and interesting place in the history of Christianity. That India was honoured by the labours of the Apostle THOMAS as early as the year A.D. 51, is certainly no way an impossible or improbable story; although we may have some difficulty in stretching our faith to the tale that he suffered martyrdom at the instigation of the priests of a religion, which in these days, as at present, regarded Heaven as a palace with many doors, at which all may enter. It is well known, however, that when the coasts of India were visited by Europeans at a far later period in history, a colony of Jews was found established upon them, and existing distinct from the native and Christian population. "The travels of St Thomas, his success in founding a Christian Church, of which both Jews and Brahmins became converts; his establishing himself at Martapan, the seat of a far famed Hindu temple, are said to be articles of faith among the Christians of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, which it would be difficult to shake, and hazardous to deny. It is said by Eusebius, that the patriarch of India sat in the Council of Nice in 325; and the celebrated ATHANASIUS, of Alexandria, much about the same period, sent a bishop, named Frumentius, to rule over the Indian Church, who occupied for many years its Episcopal throne, and made many converts, and these, not as in after days, from among the lower classes, but from among the Brahmins and the higher and more influential orders. In the fifth century, a colony of Syrian Christians, headed by a bishop from Antioch, arrived in India, who must have made considerable progress in the work of proselytising the Hindus, as to this day, the ecclesiastical fabric which they erected, may be traced."[1]

If the Christian Church, at its very fountain head, was early distracted by the divisions, that unhappily found their way within it, it was scarcely to be expected, that in India it should preserve its unity of faith and worship; and here also, while permitted to pray in greater peace than was enjoyed by their brethren in the west, the beauty of the picture, which ought to have been exhibited, was marred by contentions among themselves, doubtless imported from the seats, from which their clergy derived their ecclesiastical functions and authority. The labours of *Frumentius* are said to have been productive of but little effect in healing these dissensions; and when at length a sturdier reformer was found in MAR THOMAS—originally an Armenian merchant by profession, —an Arian in faith, but a man of singular tact and knowledge of the world, the greatest difficulties attended the work. The arrival of the Christian colony from Syria appears, however, to have been a happy event for the early days of the Christian Church in India. While the great errand of those pious colonists was to introduce the knowledge of the gospel, their services of a more strictly called secular character, secured to them many valuable spiritual immunities from the native princes. A memoir, presented within these twenty years by Captain Swainston of the Madras Establishment, to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, brings us acquainted with these immunities; and dis-

[1] Bryce's Native Education in India, p. 204.

plays a picture of the *temporal* sceptre swayed by a Hindu sovereign, who in gratitude for the substantial secular benefits bestowed on him by the foreigners, who had settled on his shores, confided the *spiritual* to a Christian bishop, to rule in peace over such of his subjects, as had received his faith and acknowledged his authority. Thanks to Captain Swainston, the Christian traditions, that had so long, yet doubtfully, told us how nearly the realms of Brahma had been to coming under the dominion of the Cross, at the very time, when under *Constantine* it was first floating over the imperial eagles of Rome, have received a confirmation redolent with lessons, that may prove most useful to the power that now reigns paramount throughout them. The introduction of the Gospel into India by the first Missionaries who came to preach it, appears to have been gentle and easy; and they seem to have encountered no fiery persecution in the good work in which they were engaged. They spread a knowledge of their creed among the natives, organized churches from among their Hindu converts, and traces of their pious labours still remain. But falling into great disorder from the lack of ecclesiastical guidance, the Christians of St Thomas attracted the notice, and the commiseration of the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon; and under his auspices the Nestorian Church arose in A.D. 825, and continued for a long time to prosper, governed by a succession of bishops who were distinguished for their piety and their learning. Exposed at length to the inroads of a rival faith, which carried its creed in the one hand, and the sword to enforce belief in it, in the other, it fell into a state of great weakness, if not of lamentable corruption.

The irruption of Alexander of Macedon into India occurred three hundred years before the Christian era; and from that period until five hundred years after that time, the realms of Brahma were but little disturbed by foreign aggression. At length, however, there burst on them a race of robbers, who although for a time plundering the East of its riches, only to return beyond the Indus, to enjoy its spoils amidst the mountain fastnesses of Affghanistan, did at last settle down in giving to the creed of the Arabian prophet a more permanent place and habitation. Mahomet, when he appeared on the stage on which he was to play so remarkable a part in the world alike of paganism and Christianity, and to influence so deeply the destinies of India, found his own countrymen in a state of semi-barbarism, and independent alienation from the rest of the world, wandering like their Ishmaelitish forefathers over wide and dreary deserts,—at least all beyond the sea-coasts of their country: and living under tents, which constituted the only moveable cities in which they dwelt,—a state of social existence that promised anything but the conquests that awaited them in after ages, and to a great degree rewarded their valour and fanaticism in the lifetime of the Prophet himself. The Arabs, with no apparent bond of policy, or allegiance to any chief, chosen or hereditary, as the head paramount in their state, were yet enabled to unite at this period, as if by the wand of some potent wizard; and with the banner, "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet," floating over their heads, and the sword to enforce obedience in their sturdy grasp, they went forth conquering and to

conquer. A simple—and perhaps a not unnatural worship—of the stars, which in Arabia shine with extraordinary lustre, and serve as friendly and protecting guides through its trackless deserts, and a state of morals, as unchecked in its licentiousness by religion as by laws, distinguished the countrymen of Mahomet. Yet on the lessons of an almost unknown Jew to the camel driver of Mecca on the doctrine of the Unity of God, did the cunning and ambitious pupil build the extraordinary dominion and permanence, if not of his house and dynasty, at least of his faith. The feat peradventure was the more easily achieved, that amidst the discordant creeds that by this time had inundated alike the Christian and the pagan worlds, the new confession of faith was the only one most nearly approaching to Catholic, and most likely, as it speedily proved, to rally around its teacher fitting instruments to work out the purposes of his more worldy ambition. Nor was the state of the religious world the only circumstance favourable to the Arabian prophet. The old and once mighty empire of Rome was falling into pieces before the vast hordes that had issued from beyond the Danube, and the forests of Scandinavia, and towards the west and north the road to conquest was thus open and easy, and Africa, Spain, and even France and Germany, were trodden in due time by the feet of the Arabian fanatics. It was, however, towards the East, that the widest, and most inviting field opened to their zeal and ambition. The cold and lifeless religion of Persia, with no popular attachment and no power of arms to support it, fell an easy prey before the "Commanders of the Faithful," and the way was opened up to the creed of Mahomet to take root in countries, where the sword, that was ever ready to propagate its doctrines, was perhaps for this purpose at least but little required. It was through Persia, that it penetrated to India about the middle of the sixth century; first attempting to force a passage through Bactria and Cabul, but latterly more successful in finding one on the southern frontiers, and penetrating through Sindh. A singular mixture of ferocity and toleration, amounting often to magnanimity, marked the progress of the Arabs in their Indian crusades, when obeying the edicts that had gone forth from the commander of the faithful. The offered alternative was the reception of the creed of Islam, or the payment of a stipulated tribute, in acknowledgement of allegiance to its supreme pontiff, and death or slavery awaited those, who refused to choose between these evils. The payment of the tribute demanded secured indeed the conquered countries in their former privileges and in their old religion; and the sovereign generally retained his territories as a tributary prince. Mr Elphinstone, in his History of India, tells us of a case of casuistry, on which Mahomet Casim, the first Mahometan leader who crossed the Indus, found it necessary to demand the decision of the Mussulman pope and the sacred college, and it is not a little curious to compare the incident with transactions arising at a future and far distant period in the history of India, and under what has been esteemed a more tolerant creed. Says this able and interesting historian, "in the towns that were stormed the temples had been razed to the ground, religious worship had been forbidden, and the lands and stipends of the Brahmins

had been appropriated to the use of the state. To reverse these acts when once performed, seemed a more direct concession to idolatry than merely abstaining from interference, and Casim avowed himself uncertain what to do. The answer was, that as the people of the town in question had paid tribute, they were entitled to all the privileges of subjects; that they should be allowed to rebuild their temples and perform their rites; that the land and money of the Brahmins should be restored; and that 3 per cent. on the revenue which had been allowed to them by the Hindu government should be continued by the Mussulman."[1]

The conquests of the first Mahometan invader of India were wrested from his successors in less than two centuries, by the Hindu Princes, who had combined for their expulsion, and who retained their faith and their independence for nearly 500 years. That the Arabs should have so early and easily lost what they had so gallantly gained on the eastern bank of the Indus, may appear difficult to explain; but we may bear in mind, that the triumphs of an invader marching under the banner of "One God," and "One Prophet," might be easy among a people like the Persians, who divided the government of the world between a Good, and an Evil Spirit, and might be enlisted without much difficulty, in the service of the former. In India, the popular faith and its priesthood presented more formidable obstacles; and the very horror of change, and the virtue of passive obedience, for both of which, the Hindus had been for ages distinguished, might have come among them to the defence of the altar and the throne.[2] Accordingly, encountering such a vulgar religion, as that of Brahma, the progress of the Mahometan faith in India was comparatively slow, and it was compelled to assume a more tolerant and merciful character, than in theory belonged to it. The real founder, however, of the Mahometan empire in India, was the son of a Turkish slave, who, escaping from Khorasan, found a refuge and a kingdom in Ghuzni, a stronghold in the country of the Affghans, where at the distance of nearly ten centuries, the armies of a Christian power are now advancing to protect the descendants of Mahmud, who had scarcely seated himself on the throne, and assumed the title of Sultan, when India was subjected by him to a series of irruptions, compared with which in bloodshed, pillage, and rapine, that of the Greeks under Alexander is not once to be named. To the "expeditions" of Sultan Mahmud of Ghuzni, Mr Elphinstone has devoted a highly interesting chapter in his History of India, in which we are told, that the independence and the religion of the Hindu sovereigns were now seriously threatened; and the Rajahs of Lahore, Delhi, and Canouj, entered into a powerful confederacy to withstand the inroads of the Sultan. They were defeated one after another, by Mahmud, who, it appears, led a truly fighting life of it—at one time on the banks of the Indus or Ganges, and at another on those of the Oxus and the Caspian. The plunder of Canouj, the Palibothra of the Greeks, represented as the richest and most magnificent city in India, was carried off to enrich and embellish the capital of the

[1] History of India, Vol. I, p. 508. [2] Elphinstone's History of India, Vol. I.

Affghan Chief; and the Rajah of all Bharata was left a tributary to the power, that ruled at Ghuzni; but, saving the payment of the stipulated black mail, independent in everything that entered into Hindu polity, civil or religious. The spoils of Somnat, on the shores of Cutch—a city boasting of the richest and most sacred temple in India, contributed no less to embellish the mountain fortress of Ghuzni, from which its ravagers issued, and to which, when laden with plunder, they retreated;—the Punjaub alone, of all the conquered provinces of Mahmud, being fully annexed to the Affghan empire, in punishment of the perfidy of its Raja.

Had the founder of the House of Ghuzni entered India to conquer and annex, he would doubtless have been more successful than he was, or seemed desirous to be, in converting its heathen population to the creed of the Coran. But Mahmud, to do him justice, was no fanatic or bigot; and as it happened, his "expeditions" into India only exasperated the Hindu Rajahs and Priesthood, as it emptied their exchequers, and robbed their temples, while his return to his capital encouraged them to rebel against the supremacy he had affected to establish. His policy, and that of his race—if policy, it can be called, of leaving behind him viceroys, often the conquered Hindu Rajahs themselves, to rule in his name,—raised up restless and ambitious chiefs, each independent of the other; and as one called him from beyond the Indus, to punish a rebellion in the Guzerat, another was in arms against his authority in the Punjaub. Investiture from the Caliphs—the commanders of the Faithful—did not always secure to the Sultan who obtained it, the obedience of the Mussulman chiefs themselves. The wars in which the Houses of Ghuzni, Ghor, Timour, and Baber were engaged, had in truth little of the *religious* to mark them. Elphinstone tells us of but one Delhi sovereign, who persecuted his Hindu subjects for conscience sake; and who appears to have been himself a sincere and honest bigot to Islam; and the historian adds, that his own Mollahs were opposed to his measures. The House of Ghuzni was supplanted by rival dynasties, founded generally by some fortunate and daring slave, who had served about the person of the reigning prince, had won his confidence, and had not hesitated to rise by his assassination to his throne. The name of Mahmud of Ghuzni—if less known in the history of India, was not eclipsed at least in the regions of Transoxiana, Bactria, and Affghanistan, by those of Zhenghis Khan, Tamerlane or Baber themselves; and his reputation as the patron of learning and the fine arts—his patronage of Ferdousi the poet, doubtless go far to justify the regard in which he appears to have been held. There are found, indeed, throughout all the sanguinary annals of these countries, at the time of which we treat, the most satisfactory evidence of an ambition on the part of their sovereigns, to distinguish themselves not more as the conquerors of the world, then as expert, and versed in the learning, such as it was, that was the fashion of the day; and when we turn to the more properly called internal or domestic affairs of these barbarous Moguls, when resting from their marauding expeditions, and enjoying the pleasures and luxuries of such capitals, as were then the cities of Ghuzni, Samarcand, and Bochara; pictures are

presented to us, which at this day, and among our highly civilized and enlightened *selves*, have found a humble counterpart in the literary unions and conversaziones, that distinguish our Ulbster Hall gatherings, and Philosophic Institutions.

It was under Sultan Baber, that the Mahometans may be regarded as having fairly squatted down in India; and under the most celebrated of his successors ACBAR, the empire of the Moguls may be regarded as having reached its culminating point. By this time the messengers of the Gospel had found their way to Agra, then the capital of the Mogul. Rome had sent forth her emissaries over northern India, Thibet, and China. There was no court into which her Priests did not find their way; but circumstances combined to defeat their arts to extend their spiritual dominion. "If at times," says a writer on this subject, "they appeared successful in sapping belief in the ancient creeds, where most they sought to ingratiate themselves—in the palaces of reigning Rajahs and Emperors—they were aided by no external events that could help them to carry on the Reformation; and neither the faith of Brahma nor of Mahomet felt the impression that they made. The philosophical scepticism of Acbar; perhaps his jealousy of Mahomet, and his ambition to rank himself as a prophet or vicegerent of God, gave them a glimmering of hope, that they had found a Constantine on the throne of the Mogul; and the Emperor directing prayers to be offered up in the name of *Jesu*, and one of his own household to be instructed in the doctrines of the *Ingel*, were events not to be lightly esteemed. But before they ripened into anything like maturity, Acbar had yielded the sceptre to his successor, who soon plunged into the blindest submission to the prophet, and the most fiery zeal to maintain the doctrines of the Coran. Yet this particular page in the history of the great Acbar, which treats of his religious opinions, and the changes they underwent, whether conscientious or capricious, is not without its instruction. It serves to correct, or at least to modify, an opinion too hastily taken up, that such is the religious bigotry of the Mussulman, that it can shut his eyes to imperial example, when it deviates from the path of Islam, and is ready to cast off allegiance to the prince, when he opposes himself to the prophet. That Acbar was on the eve of adding another, and of course a greater, to the now-acknowledged Prophets of the Faithful, many things in his history conspire to prove, and had it been his destiny to have established a new and aspiring empire, as it was his fortune to sustain a power, tottering to its fate from its own weight and corruptions, the tomb of Secundra might this day be boasting of as many pilgrims around it, as the Caaba of Mecca, and millions might now be seen turning their backs upon that sun, which in India daily witnesses their devout prostrations as they gaze upon his setting splendour."[1]

It might have been expected, says a writer on the subject, that the arrival of the cultivated and enlightened Christians of the West would have proved the signal for the moral and religious regeneration of their brethren in the East. The event proved, alas! the very reverse. VASCO DE GAMA promised indeed to the deputies of the Christians of Malabar,

[1] Oriental Magazine.

that they should be cherished and protected by their new brethren ; and assured them, that as the King of Portugal conquered only to advance the True Faith and to uproot the empire of Pagan worship, the Patriarch of Antioch had nothing to fear for his spiritual supremacy from the settlement of a new colony of Christians, for although under different spiritual heads upon earth, they all acknowledged one Faith and one great Spiritual Head in heaven. But alas ! the Christians of Malabar were strangers to celibacy among the clergy,—deprecated auricular confession,—acknowledged only two sacraments,—saw no virtue or efficacy in extreme unction,—denied transubstantiation,—and, when the image of "the mother of God" was presented to them by the Portuguese for their worship and adoration, the indignant exclamation was only drawn from them, "*We are Christians, not idolators.*" Above all, their *Catanars*, or priests, themselves learned in the Syriac language, explained to their flocks the doctrines of the Cross as found in the Bible in the vernacular tongue, and worshipped in all the simplicity that distinguished the primitive ages of the church. Such a church it was evident could not be permitted to exist beyond the necessity of the moment, by the zealous disciples of Rome; and after many struggles and fiery persecutions, the Suffragan of the Patriarch of Antioch became the Diocesan of the Archbishop of Goa,—the crown of Portugal having, under a concordat with the Pope, had vested in him the supreme ecclesiastical authority over all India ! The fall of the Portuguese power in the East enabled the St Thomas Christians to return to their allegiance to the Patriarch of Antioch. They continued for some time to flourish, supported by the Rajah of Travancore, and latterly by the British Government. So lately indeed as 1812, their tranquillity was disturbed, when the line of Apostolical Succession failing, their bishop was chosen by lot and consecrated by twelve priests. But a Synod composed of the British resident, the Rajah of Travancore, and the clergy of the diocese, settled the matter ; and when a regularly ordained bishop from Rome arrived to set aside the consecration of Mar Dionysius—the eleve of the Rajah and the Company—"summary transmission," it appears, was his reward ; "and," says the writer to whom we are indebted for this rather curious chapter in ecclesiastical history, "the principle thus practically enforced, that the British Government possesses plenary and paramount authority over the church in India, must for ever shut out all claims of Popes, and Patriarchs," and Presbyteries—for these may now be included,—"to disturb the peace of our Eastern dominions." It would appear, however, that within the Roman Catholic Church in India, contentions have not altogether ceased at this day to disturb its peace, where one would imagine its prelates had but little to excite or gratify their ambition. The Archbishop of Goa still claims jurisdiction over all the Roman Catholic bishops in India ; and exercises it by sending clergymen to different parts of the country just as he pleases. This he affects to do in virtue of the old concordat between the Court of Portugal and the Holy See, and in express opposition, as it would appear, to the injunctions of the "Sacred College" at Rome. His Grace of Goa, so lately as 1844, paid a visit to Bombay, where there is a bishop instituted directly

from Rome, and created, it is said, not a little disturbance among its Roman Catholic inhabitants,—so much so indeed, that his request to be permitted to return to hold confirmation of those, who acknowledged his authority, was politely baulked by the then Governor of Bombay, Sir George Arthur, giving a hint to his brother Governor of Goa not to give his sanction to the Archbishop leaving his own diocese. Since 1844, all appears to have gone on quietly among the contending Prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in India. The claims of the members of this Church to the regard of the Legislature, as well as those of the Churches of England and Scotland, were so far recognized by the Act 3 and 4 William IV., that the Indian Government was empowered to burden its revenues with such support to it as might be deemed proper and expedient; and so lately as 1854, the Governor-General DALHOUSIE, under a minute confirmed by the Court of Directors, acknowledges the Vicars Apostolic of the Church of Rome as the official channels of communication on all ecclesiastical matters connnected with the Church of Rome. Although the Vicars Apostolical are not allowed any salary by reason of their ecclesiastical rank, 400 rupees a month are allotted to enable them to carry on this communication; and in doing so, they are to be addressed in all official documents according to the ecclesiastical titles and rank which they enjoy from His Holiness the Pope,—Lord John Russell's act anent "Ecclesiastical Titles," like the old marriage act of England, not extending "beyond seas." Under the same minute a second priest is now to be maintained where two or more European regiments, having Roman Catholics in their ranks, are stationed,—or where, in the opinion of Government, there may, without respect to any regiments, be a sufficient number of Roman Catholics to demand the expenditure. They are also allowed medical attendance gratuitously, and all travelling expenses when on duty. "Grants in aid," in the matter of education, are likewise to be given to all Roman Catholic schools, in the same way as to other denominations.

The first Protestant Mission to India was undertaken in 1705, by Bartholomew Zeigenbalgius, who had been educated at the University of Halle in Germany. On arriving at India he applied himself to the acquisition of the language, with that success which, in this department of literature, has so much distinguished his countrymen; and before he had reached the twenty-fifth year of his age, the Tamul, or colloquial tongue of Malabar, had become as familiar to him as his own. Before he had been three years in India he had founded a Christian Church; and in the course of a few years more, he had completed a translation of the whole Scriptures into the Tamul language—the mother of many future versions; and had besides composed a grammar and dictionary of the same language. From circumstances, connected perhaps with his parentage as a German, Zeigenbalgius and his coadjutor Ernest Grundlerus, enjoyed the friendship and were honoured with the personal correspondence of George I., then on the throne of England. In a letter addressed by His Majesty from Hampton Court, under date August 1717, the King acknowledges an epistle received from these good and pious men, expresses the high satisfaction with which he had heard of

their success in converting the heathen, and offers up a fervent prayer for health and strength, that they may long continue to fulfil their ministry with good success,—promising most heartily to succour them in whatever might tend to promote their work and excite their zeal. In a subsequent letter, addressed to the members of the Mission, and in answer to one received from them, dated, Tranquebar, 12th September 1725, His Majesty thanks them for the good accounts which he had received of their success, and concludes by assuring them, "it will be acceptable to us, if you continue to communicate whatever shall occur in the progress of your mission. In the meantime, we pray that you may enjoy strength of body and mind for the long continuance of your labours in this good work, to the glory of God and the promotion of Christianity among the heathen—*that its perpetuity may not fail in generations to come.*" It is pleasing to look back to the interest taken by George I. in the success of the missionary work under the first Protestant agency; and to be able to assure ourselves, at the distance of a century and a half, that the work has not failed. Zeigenbalgius, who died at the early age of thirty-five, was succeeded by the Apostle of the East, the venerable SWARTZ, who laboured for fifty years in evangelizing the Hindus, and acquired a high character and influence among the natives of Tanjore, where he laboured. The English government was deeply indebted to him for exerting that influence at times of the most imminent danger; and as in the character of mediator between that government and the country powers, his services had been found of very great value, so his death was accounted a public calamity; and the King of Tanjore, to whom he had been appointed a guardian by his father, addressed a letter to the Bishops of England, requesting that a monument of marble might be sent to him, "in order," he adds, "that it may be erected in the church, which is in my capital, to perpetuate the memory of the revered Mr Swartz, and to manifest the esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe to him, my father and my friend." But let us not forget the labours of Swartz in his own more peculiar vocation. He was the instrument of converting thousands to the Christian religion; and it has been computed, that from the commencement of the Protestant Mission under Zeigenbalgius, Swartz, and Rhenius in 1705, until 1805, when other religious bodies, animated by their example, stepped into the field, eighty thousand natives, of all castes, had, in one district alone, forsaken their idols and their vices, and been added to the Christian Church.

Sometime about the close of the last century, Messrs Carey and Thomas were sent out to Bengal by the Baptist Missionary Society in England, to assail and overthrow the long established faith of India; and Mr Marshman, and Mr Ward soon afterwards joined them, constituting a brotherhood of pious and devoted men, that soon rose into great distinction in the religious warfare now commencing against the superstitions of Gangetic Hindostan. Under these zealous, if not highly educated men, the Institution of Serampore was established, of which there can be few of our readers who have not heard. Coming out with the express purpose of assailing the religion of the Hindus, the movements of the mis-

sionaries were watched with great jealousy, and regarded with no little apprehension by the East India Company, who, we need scarcely say, concerned themselves very little with any thing beyond their own mercantile operations, and with whom the business of the *Import* and the *Export* warehouses was the all engrossing matter of moment. Long after these merchant kings had been compelled—nothing loath perhaps—to assume a more distinctly political position, Calcutta was endebted less to them than to the "pious mariners" who frequented its port for the first Christian Church in Bengal; and a few straggling Chaplains, whose services were exclusively devoted to the Factory, and who were under little more than the nominal jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, constituted the whole of the Ecclesiastical Staff of the East India Company. These Chaplains, we need not say, were strictly prohibited from any attempts to evangelize the Hindus; while it is due to many of them to state, that the case of the ignorant and benighted heathen among whom their lot was cast, did not fail to attract their notice, to enlist their sympathy, and to call forth their zeal to promote their welfare.

The first Baptist Missionaries had to encounter many discouragements, and in some instances appear to have been treated with a vigour of surveillance, beyond, perhaps, what the exigencies of the times could have well warranted. They succeeded, notwithstanding, in at least finding favour and support from many pious and excellent Christians in the service of the Company; and ample funds furnished both by the Parent Society in England, and the "friends of Missions" in India flowed in upon them, until at length they had purchased the premises and erected the spacious buildings at Serampore, which have so long adorned and enlivened the banks of the Hooghly. The three worthy brethren entered at that time into a "Form of Agreement" by which they bound themselves, that the proceeds of their pious labours were to constitute what they afterwards, somewhat strangely as it appears to us, styled a "Joint Stock sacred to the Cause of God;" and of which not a single cowry was to be laid out by them even for their own children—"an idea," however, which in process of time they found to be altogether untenable, and only likely to be destructive of mutual peace and to terminate in separation. After some unpleasant occurrences between our missionaries and the Parent Society in England, as to the parties having interest and control over the property which had grown out of the benevolent donations of the friends of missions in England and India, and had been originally purchased by Dr Carey and his brethren, *in trust* for the Society, a second explanatory declaration "executed at Serampore under date September 1817, secured the property and buildings to the three missionaries, by whose labours, as alleged by them, they had been realized, and this in trust to themselves 'for the cause of God for ever,' cutting off their own children, heirs and assignees irrevocably from any claims thereon;" according to which deed of settlement, regarded under the Danish Law as every way competent, the spacious buildings, and valuable premises at Serampore, are we believe at this day held.

In no department of missionary labour has any religious body acquired a greater reputation than have the Serampore Mission; and in that of translating the Holy Scriptures into the native languages of India, they stand prominently forward. They had not been many years in the country until it was announced that they had translated the Bible—or very large portions of Holy Writ—into no fewer then twenty-seven native languages. This herculean labour was no doubt stript somewhat of the honours that it demanded, by the fact, that of these so called different languages, many were but dialects of the same tongue; but still there remained enough to challenge the wonder and, it might be, to deserve the gratitude of the Christian world. The accuracy of the translations made by the missionaries was somewhat questioned by Oriental scholars of reputation; the Missionaries felt it necessary to step forward to explain; and in a "Memoir" published by them, they very stoutly defended thismselves. It was stated that when the versions made by the several Pundits were completed, or any part of them, they were *examined* by the Missionaries; and it was argued, that however wide of the actual meaning a Pundit might be, who made the rough draft for examination, he would not pen a line without doing it in the *construction* and *idiomatic phraseology* of the language, with which he had been familiar from his earliest years. Thus it appears that the translator gave the construction and idiomatic phraseology—the examinator supplied the *actual meaning;* and through this co-operating machinery, argued the Missionaries, the translations furnished are "sufficiently accurate and perspicuous to become, under the divine blessing, the means of salvation." So obvious a door, however, did this machinery appear to others to open for Pundits practising deceit on the unsuspecting Missionaries, that one of the most distinguished Oriental scholars in the west of India, actually charged them with having issued a translation in a language which did not exist! But however unjustly many of the versions which then issued from the Serampore press may have been charged with such very gross imperfections, it soon became generally acknowledged, that these translations of the Bible and their distribution over so many countries, might have been delayed with all manner of propriety, until the natives had been somewhat better taught in reading them, through the very natural means of schools and schoolmasters.

The extension of the Episcopate to India in 1814, gave, as might have been expected in the hands of a Prelate so learned and pious as Dr Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, a great and salutary stimulus to Christian exertions in preserving and extending over India, the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. "Bishop's College," erected on the banks of the Hooghly, and at the very portals of the City of Palaces, soon stood forth a pleasing and an appropriate testimony to the right appreciation, which Dr Middleton had formed of the high office, to which he had been appointed; and came very opportunely to the redemption of his fame from the charge of an ultra bigotry in zeal for his own apostolical establishment, which had manifested itself in his resisting for a time a steeple being given to the Scotch Church of St Andrews, then about to be added to the splendid public buildings in Calcutta, devoted

to religious and Christian services. The principal end of the Bishop's College is the education of Christian youth in sacred knowledge, in sound learning, and in the principal languages used in India, and in habits of piety and devotion, that they may be qualified to preach among the heathens. It is founded for a Principal, and two other Professors from the English Universities, and as many students as the funds can maintain. The liberality of the Church of England at home, called forth through the efforts of its most distinguished Prelates, has founded twenty scholarships at £50 per annum each, of which half are for the education of Missionaries, and half for that of Schoolmasters. Five Theological Bursaries, have been endowed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and called by the venerable Founder's name.

Whether it was owing or not to the good example set them by the Church of England, the Church of Scotland was not long behind, in her exertions to promote a sound intellectual education of the natives, with a view ultimately to the creation of a native Christian Ministry, under the authority of her branch, established at the same time with the Episcopate in India, and who might go forth among their heathen brethren, the messengers of the Gospel of Peace. It may be of some service in throwing light on questions now warmly debated before the Church Courts of Scotland, and at a distance of thirty years from the period of which we are treating, if we advert to a view taken by a Calcutta Periodical of December 1824, of the move on the part of the Kirk-Session of St Andrew's Church, Calcutta, to which body is due the honour of having first brought the subject of a Mission to India under the attention of the Church at home :—

"We have, we confess, formed sanguine hopes, as to the ultimate benefit to be derived to the natives of India, from such institutions as Bishop's College. Much, indeed, has been gained, when the task of instructing and converting the Hindoos has fallen into the hands of established authority, not only without offence to their prejudices, but, we are persuaded, with gratification to their feelings; and we have therefore seen with pleasure, that the Church of Scotland is taking measures, to follow in the footsteps of that of England; and to extend the benefit of religious instruction to the native population of Calcutta, through the means of her Establishment in this country. It will afford a fine practical illustration of the charity of our Faith, to see these establishments vieing with each other, in bringing the child of superstition within the pale of a purer creed; and as we doubt not, each rejoicing not more at its own success in the good work, than over the fruits, that may reward the labours of the other. Could we succeed in breaking the chain, that binds the more intelligent and respectable natives to the car of superstition, the happy change would assuredly be felt through every lower rank of native society; and we are surely hard to learn, if we have not seen by this time, that this chain is only rivetted the faster, where it ought first to be loosened, by the mode of direct conversions, hitherto pursued by many Christian missionaries in this country. By the system of itineracies, and preaching in the streets and bazars, even the poorer and lower classes are never drawn by motives, that promise any permanent good fruits; and the higher and the more respectable are universally repelled from hearing the doctrines of the cross. It is in vain to urge, that the Gospel was first *preached* to the poor. In our unaided ex-

ertions to spread its knowledge and profession, we must attend to the circumstances and the prejudices, by which we are surrounded; and if we would do good, we must add to the 'innocence of the dove' the 'wisdom of the serpent.'

"The question of native education is full of difficulties—we do not mean as to whether it should or should not be promoted, for that would be to ask whether good shall or shall not be done; but we mean, that it is exceedingly difficult to determine in what manner the end will be best attained. It is satisfactory, however, to know, that the problem is in a fair way to be solved; and the liberal and judiciously administered aid, now afforded by Government, will in a few years determine what benefits may result from promoting the cultivation of the native mind through native means."

(*To be continued.*)

THE TOBACCO QUESTION.[1]

There can be little doubt that civilization, while it refines the mind and increases its stores of knowledge, has an enervating influence upon the body. The luxuries which it brings along with it, and which find their way into society, break in upon old established habits, and degeneracy is the never failing-result. Ample instances of this truth appear in the page of history. We see States growing into greatness, flourishing so long as they retain the primitive manners and customs of life, but immediately after these are abandoned, sinking into decay. Look at Rome, once the glory of the earth,—reflecting back the sun from her stately palaces and temples, decorated with the choicest productions of painting and architecture,—the dusky wing of annihilation waves over all her former glories. So long as her children adhered to the simple habits of their ancestors, they were virtuous, brave, and free. The senator could not be bribed to betray the interests of his country, and the soldier, with the fire of patriotism in his eye, would encounter death a thousand times rather than turn with craven spirit from the battle-field. "Vestigia nulla retrorsum" was his motto when the honor and safety of his country were at stake. These were halcyon days, when it was an honor to bear the name of a Roman. But no sooner were the wealth and luxuries of the East introduced into the Eternal City, than a rapid tide of degeneracy set in. The strength of body and nobility of soul, characteristic of the ancient Roman disappeared; corruption in the State, and cowardice in the field, proved that a canker had seized upon the roots of the gigantic oak, and Rome became an easy prey to the hordes of fierce barbarians, who came down upon her like a resistless torrent from the North. For other

[1] Practical Observations on the Use and Abuse of Tobacco. By John Lizars, late Professor of Surgery to the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh.

Death in the Pipe; or the Great Smoking Question; a full Reply to the Pamphlet of Professor Lizars, &c. By J. L. Milton, M.R.C.S., London.

The Tobacco Question, Morally, Socially, and Physically considered. By J. B. Budgett, M.D.

The Lancet. London.

instances we have only to look at the first Assyrian Empire, which comprehended the famous cities of Nineveh, and Babylon ;—Lydia, Palmyra, Persia, and Greece. In many modern countries of the globe the same degenerating influences are now in active operation. With regard to Eastern India, the torch of civilization has no doubt done much to enlighten the dusky hordes of benighted heathens who people its sunny plains, but Britain has much to account for in introducing among them those luxuries, the use of which has proved so detrimental to her own social happiness and prosperity. The following testimony of an Indian chief is very affecting, while it administers a sad reproof to us as a nation: "we were once very numerous, and lived by hunting and fishing; but the white man came to trade with us, taught our fathers to drink the fire waters, which have made our people poor, and sick, and killed many tribes, till we have become very small." In China, the sixty thousand chests of opium, smuggled into the country from India, and which yield the Company an annual revenue of five millions, just send so many thousands of human beings to their graves. Opium smoking has increased to an enormous extent among the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire. In 1767 the export of opium had not usually exceeded 200 chests annually. Formerly the opium pipe was a luxury known to the opulent only, but it is now placed within the reach of both the middle and lower classes. Shops adapted to the means of the poor (like the sheebeens of Ireland) abound in every town ; where this drug is retailed, and contiguous to which apartments are fitted up for the accommodation of the consumers. "Never perhaps," says a missionary in China, "was there a nearer approach to hell upon earth than within the precincts of these vile haunts, where gaming is likewise carried on to a great extent ; there every gradation of excitement and depression may be witnessed." As to the effects of opium smoking, we are informed by a medical writer, long resident at Penuing, that "they are conspicuously displayed by stupor, forgetfulness, general deterioration of all the mental faculties, emaciation, debility, sallow complexion, lividness of lips, and eye-lids, languor and lack-lustre of eye, appetite either destroyed or depraved. The opium smoker may be known by his inflamed eyes and haggard countenance, by his lank and shrivelled limbs, tottering gait, sallow visage, feeble voice, and the death-boding glare of his eye. He seems the most forlorn creature that treads the earth.[1]" In England there can be little doubt that the amount of crime and misery in the country is greatly increased by the use of luxuries, unknown to our forefathers, but with which we are become so familiar as to regard them almost in the light of staple commodities. There have been changes too in the habits and customs of society, which, while they prevail, exercise a most injurious

[1] The Opium trade is the main hindrance to the spread of the Gospel in China. "Almost the first word," says Dr Medhurst, "uttered by a Chinese, when anything is said concerning the excellence of Christianity, is, why do Christians bring us opium, and bring it directly in defiance of our laws? The vile drug has destroyed my son, has ruined my brother, and well-nigh led me to begger my wife and children. Surely those who import such a deleterious substance, and injure me for the sake of gain, cannot wish me well, and be in possession of a religion better than my own."

sanatory influence. The hours set apart for meals by the upper classes run counter to every established principle of dietetics. Instead of allowing equal periods of time to elapse between meals, we breakfast at nine, dine at five or six as the case may be, and after supper at eleven go to bed with stomachs gorged instead of empty. The varieties of dishes, the refinements of cooking, the mixture of different kinds of edibles in paste or solution, are all so many deviations from the rules of nature. The amount of food taken at meals is generally more than sufficient for the support of the system, as the appetite is tempted by the delicacy of the dishes. We are persuaded that many diseases owe their origin to stuffing, and that the old maxim is especially applicable to the present age, "Plus occidit gula quam gladius." Were we to attend to nature's grand phylacteries—temperance, cheerfulness, and exercise, the bills of mortality would be considerably diminished,—diseases would not be so rife, nor physicians to administer remedies for them. If we wish to see a type of the healthy human frame, we need not go to the operatives in our mills and factories, or to the *bons vivants* in the *salons* of the wealthy, but to the uncultured swain who tends his flocks in the pastoral solitudes of the land, who is a stranger to the luxuries of the city, and for the means of support relies on the simple products of nature. Shakspere penned no Midsummer's Night's Dream, but a sober truth when he declared that—

> "The shepherd's homely curds,
> His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,
> All which secure and sweetly he enjoys,
> Is far beyond a prince's delicates,
> His viands sparkling in a golden cup,
> His body couched in a curious bed,
> Where care, mistrust, and treason, wait on him."

The proper remedy for these social evils which civilization brings along with it, is the Christian religion. This is undoubtedly the antidote to all the plagues which infest society. "Knowledge is power," and when this power is sanctified by the cross, it will be an engine exclusively for good. To men enlightened and brought under the influence of the truth, the knowledge of the means of animal indulgence will not be abused by the use of them. They will eschew evil in whatever form it appears. They will scrupulously abstain from whatever tends to injure the body and corrupt the heart. In short it will be their earnest endeavour to live soberly, righteously, and godly, mortifying the flesh with its affections and lusts. Unhappily however, the Christian religion is only partial in its influence. Many hearts have never been affected by it, and even of those who call themselves by the name of Christians a vast proportion are but nominally so. They have the form of godliness but are destitute of its power. Besides we must recollect how prone the heart is to overlook its *secret faults*. Sins of infirmity are the most ensnaring of all, as they are least easily discovered, and even when discovered not so readily admitted to be what they really are. By many, when their attention is directed to them, they are regarded as venial. Show a Christian that any habit in which he indulges is sinful and he will

at once abandon it. But such is the deceitfulness of the heart that it will lead him to deny the sinfulness of the habit, when quite apparent to every unprejudiced mind, and he will be strengthened in the persuasion that he is right when the habit in question is one commonly indulged in, and incorporated with the customs of society. In arguing then with others, even with those who are not prejudiced in favor of any particular view, we must, if we wish to convince them, establish by facts and evidence of an unexceptionable character, that the habits to which we refer are sinful, and injurious to the body, and that they labour under a delusion with regard to them. Hence, so far from decrying, we rather desiderate a full and free discussion, as to the physical and moral effects attending the use of alcoholic drinks, opium, tobacco, and other drugs which may be classed under the same category. The temperance question has been long on the *tapis*, and men's minds are still as far from coming to any harmonious conclusion with regard to it as ever. It has been truly observed that, "La verita è figlia del tempo," (truth is the daughter of time) and it is to be hoped that some practical remedy for the crying evils of drunkenness may yet be discovered which may commend itself to the approval of all who have the social interest of the community at heart. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished. The "Tobacco question" is one of comparatively recent origin, though it is now engrossing no small degree of public attention. The tobacco leaf was brought to Europe by Sir Francis Drake in 1586, and the practice of smoking was introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh. About 26 years previous to this, Jean Nicot, a Frenchman, had brought it into his native country, and it was used by the Medicis who occupied the throne. It is called *nicotiana* by botanists, after Nicot, and its common name tobacco, comes from the Indian island Tobago. As a narcotic it is now used in almost every country of the globe. We all know the attachment of the Burchen to his meerschaum. The Spaniard is hardly ever seen without his cigar, nor the Turk without his chibouque. With the Chinamen, the tobacco purse affixed to his belt is a necessary article of dress. The Mexican lady ornaments her rosy lips with the cigaretto. The pipe lights the dingy tent of the Bedouin, and its ashes spot the snows of the Jungfraw when trodden by the fur-clad Russian wolf hunter. The French and Italians are no less devoted to this luxury. Brother Jonathan, with his ambition not to be behind his neighbours in any elegant accomplishment, is of course a determined smoker and chewer. "Washington," says Dickens,[1] "may be called the head-quarters of tobacco-tinctured-saliva. In the courts of law, the judge has his spittoon, the crier his, the witness his, and the prisoner his; while the jurymen and spectators, are provided for, as so many men who in the course of nature must desire to spit incessantly. In the hospitals, the students of medicine are requested by notices upon the wall, to eject their tobacco juice into the boxes provided for that purpose and not to discolour the stairs. In public buildings, visitors are implored, through the same agency, to squirt the essence of their quids or plugs, as I have heard them called by gentlemen learned in this kind of sweet-meat, into

[1] *Vide* "American Notes for general circulation."

the national spittoons, and not about the bases of the marble columns." Speaking of the Senate, the same popular writer observes, "It is somewhat remarkable to see so many honourable members with swelled faces; and it is scarcely less remarkable to discover that this appearance is caused by the quantity of tobacco they contrive to stow within the hollow of the cheek. . . . . I was surprised to observe that even steady old chewers of great experience are not always good marksmen. Several gentlemen called upon me, who, in the course of conversation missed the spittoon at five paces; and one, (but he was certainly short-sighted) mistook the close sash for the open window at three. On another occasion, when I dined out and was sitting with two ladies and some gentlemen round a fire, before dinner, one of the company fell short of the fire-place six distinct times." In England the use of tobacco is greatly on the increase. This has been clearly shown by the following table, which exhibits the amount of consumption at each of the last four decennial periods:—

Years.	Total consumption.	Population.	Consumption per head.
1821	15,598,152 lb.	21,282,960	11·71 oz.
1831	19,533,841 ...	24,410,439	12·80 ...
1841	22,309,360 ...	27,019,672	13·21 ...
1851	28,062,841 ...	27,452,692	16·86 ...

"These numbers," says Professor Johnston, "show that during the last of these periods of ten years, the consumption of the United Kingdom increased one-fourth, or from 13½ to 17 ounces per head." So common is the use of tobacco among us, that the one half of society seem either smokers or snuffers. Little urchins strut the streets of our towns in all the majesty of self-assumed importance with a *cutty* in their mouth. Women show their refinement of taste by gracing their lips with the same ornament. Wherever you go you scent the odour of the Indian weed. In Edinburgh the tobacco-smoking members of the community have greatly increased in numbers within the last few years. Clubbed together we doubt not that they could have returned an M.P. for the city at the late election. In returning home one evening by the west end of the city, when spending a few days with our friends at Christmas, we were surprised to find that almost every gentleman on the street had either a cigar, a meerschaum, or a *cutty* in his mouth. The display of the latter instrument is certainly an innovation. In our college days we do not remember ever to have seen it so publicly honoured. It is to be hoped for the credit of the community that it will soon evanish into its former privacy. In the forthcoming edition of the lectures of the late Sir William Hamilton, there will probably be found the following example of a sorites:—

Princes Street is the finest Street in Edinburgh,
Edinburgh is the finest city in Scotland,
Scotland is the finest country in Europe,
Europe is the finest part of the globe;
Therefore Princes Street is the finest Street in the world.

We doubt whether our readers are prepared to admit the justness of this conclusion. Those who have a partiality for the Maiden City, may be inclined to regard it as a fair enough premise though not a fair conclusion in the above sorites. Of this, however, we are certain, that any foreigner, (Dickens' Washington Senator excepted), on visiting the Modern Athens and observing this novel practice, would hardly be disposed to admit that the gentlemen of Princes Street were the finest gentlemen in the world.

The question whether Tobacco is hurtful or not to the system has of late been the subject of keen controversy. Various *brochures* have been published by medical men, giving the views which they entertain, and the "Lancet" has teemed with articles for the last few months on this *questio vexata*. There is an evident want of arrangement in many of these publications, and a clear statement of the points at issue. After perusing some of them, apart from the inferences to be drawn from the authorities quoted, one is at a loss to ascertain what opinions are held by their authors, whether they condemn smoking *in toto*, or merely when carried to excess, or whether they approve of, or condemn its moderate use as a narcotic. In endeavouring to put the question on a proper footing, a few explanations *in limine* we conceive to be necessary. Let it be observed then, that we do not condemn the proper use of Tobacco or any other opiate whatever. As a medicine it is found in many cases to be most efficacious. It abates the cholic and spasmodic asthma. It stimulates the kidneys, and diminishes the dropsy. It is extensively administered in cases of lock-jaw and hydrophobia. As a medicine, however, it cannot be smoked habitually. No medicine whatever is designed for habitual use. Health is the general condition of the human frame, disease the exception, so that remedies only require to be used occasionally. "To a person," says Mr Thackray, "in full health, nothing is required but pure air, food, and drink. Every thing else is superfluous and consequently oppressive to the system." To justify therefore the habitual use of Tobacco on account of its medicinal properties is opposed to every dictate of right reason. It is frequently alleged that tobacco, if used in moderation, would produce hardly any perceptible deleterious effects upon the system. But what is moderation? Just as a glass of whisky may do no injury to one while it may greatly injure another, so a pipe of tobacco may have the same opposite effect upon different individuals. But supposing it were possible to define what moderation is, in terms so exact that the definition could be applied to all cases without distinction, we would have no hesitation in admitting that what would then be regarded by all as the moderate use of tobacco, would prove in almost every instance innocuous. This admission, however, has no practical bearing upon the question at issue, as tobacco is seldom used in moderation. Except young beginners and those who have been compelled partly to relinquish the habit, from having experienced its bad effects, smokers generally carry it to excess. This is only what in the circumstances may be looked for. When a habit is contracted, the longer it is persisted in, it grows stronger and leads its votary to transgress the bounds of moderation. The case is different in the use of ardent spirits. Temperance is the rule, intemper-

ance the exception. The reason for this difference is obvious; a man cannot go to excess in drinking, without losing his respectability in the world; whereas he may smoke all day, like the Turk and Chinaman, and yet maintain an unblemished character. In discussing the question therefore, we conceive the point to be determined is this,—whether tobacco as smoked in society (with few exceptions to excess) has the bad effects attributed to it. Here medical authorities are much at variance. Professor Christison states that "no well ascertained ill-effects have been shown to result from the habitual practice of smoking." On the other hand Dr Lizars, affirms "that smoking produces the most injurious effects on the animal organs and functions." In deciding between these two opposite opinions, we must be careful to distinguish tobacco pure, from tobacco impure. To the former alone, the discussion in fairness ought to be limited. It is notorious that adulterated tobacco is very commonly retailed in shops and used by smokers. The adulteration of tobacco consists for the most part of vegetable substances, such as the leaves of the dock, rhubarb, cabbage, collsfoot. To increase the weight saccharine substances are used, such as treacle, sugar, molasses, and beet root. To make it burn more easily and give it a white ash, such as smokers relish, nitre is very often employed. "We would undertake," says Dr Hassall, "to make as many seizures or rather detections of tobacco adulterations in one or other of its forms, in the space of three months, as are recorded in the return of commissioners of excise which extends over a period of ten years." The adulteration of tobacco has been overlooked by Dr Lizars. This is a defect in his interesting paper, as we could have wished very much to have known whether the ingredients sometimes found in tobacco are of such a nature as to be incapable of injuring the system, or if the contrary is the case, what the nature of these injuries are and to what extent they prevail. We are inclined, from our estimate of the nature of these ingredients, to infer that they are for the most part innocuous.[1] Assuming this to be the case, after a careful consideration of the subject, we are inclined to favor the opinion of Dr Lizars, and to regard the statement of so high an authority as Professor Christison, as erroneous. Questions of this kind can only be determined by evidence. Many of the examples adduced by the ex-professor are rather trivial, and had better have been omitted. For instance, he tells us that Napoleon the First, turned sick when he tried to smoke from a very fine oriental pipe presented to him by an ambassador at his court. Well, there was nothing wonderful in this. It was to be expected that His Majesty should be allowed to experience the same pleasant sensations as others do, when they first put a pipe in their mouth. He tells us also that Dr Darwin had a patient —a great smoker,—who died of a tumour of the pancreas, and repeats the old story of the Silesian brothers, Pumpernichi, who died of apoplexy after hard smoking. These instances are quite irrelevant. If a man is a smoker, is his death at once to be attributed to this when no other cause can be discovered? Certainly not. A connection must be shown

[1] We are not inclined to make a similar admission with regard to the ingredients used for adulterating snuff. These, which consist of lead, bichromate of potash, and hellebore, in many cases produce the most serious injuries upon the system.

to exist between the disease and smoking, and there must be a striking predisposition on the part of the smoker to it before we can come to any such conclusion. Were certain diseases generally found to prevail most among smokers the case would be different. Isolated instances are of no avail. They rather weaken than strengthen the argument, and afford ground for opponents to cavil. They resemble the openings in the coat of mail of a warrior armed *cap-a-pie*, which present marks to the enemy at which to launch his couchant javelin. We could have wished that Dr Lizars had been able to construct a more formidable Mamelon of evidence. As it is, however, it is most valuable. A *precis* of the evidence adduced by the ex-professor, and by other writers on the subject, we lay before our readers. It chiefly consists of testimonies borne by practitioners of high standing in the profession, as to the injurious effects of smoking, from the cases which have come under their observation. Dr Prout observes that "tobacco disorders the assimilating functions in general, but particularly, as I believe, the assimilation of the saccharine principle." He then alludes to "succhetic looks" and often "yellow greenish tint of their blood," and further says, "surely if the dictates of reason were allowed to prevail, an article so *injurious to health* and so offensive in all its forms and modes of employment would speedily be banished from common use." Professor Johnston in his "Chemistry of Common Life" speaks of the poisonous effect of its essential principle. "It is called Nicotine, and is as powerful a poison as prussic acid; a single drop will kill a dog. If evaporated in a small room, it renders the air unfit to breathe; and in smoking a quarter of an ounce of tobacco, there are drawn into the mouth two grains of one of the most subtle of all known poisons. . . . The cigar, especially if smoked to the end, discharges directly into the mouth of the smoker everything that is produced by the burning. Thus the more rapidly the leaf burns and the smoke is inhaled, the greater the proportion of the poisonous substances which is drawn into the mouth, and finally, when the saliva is retained, the fullest effect of all the three narcotic ingredients of the smoke will be produced upon the nervous system of the smoker. It is not surprising therefore, that those who have been accustomed to smoke cigars, especially of strong tobacco, should find any other pipe both tame and tasteless, except the short *cutty* which has lately come into favour among inveterate smokers; *such persons live in an almost constant state of narcotism or narcotic drunkenness, which must ultimately affect the health even of the strongest.*" Dr Pidduck says he has been 16 years physician to a dispensary, and has had most extensive opportunities, of observing the effects of smoking upon the system. He states "that leeches are killed instantly by the blood of smokers," and adds "that which is so fatal to insect life cannot be otherwise to the individual whose blood is poisoned." Dr Paxton says, "after the smoker gets over the giddiness of his first attempt, there follows, by insensible degrees, a weakness of the powers of the heart and circulation. The sallow complexion, and debilitated frames, and disordered digestion of the young men of the present day, attest the noxious influences of tobacco." Dr Pugh, has seen "softening of the brain, paralysis and amaurosis, arising from the nervous prostration" caused by smoking.

Dr Corsin of New York relates the case of a patient "who suffered from a gnawing capricious appetite, nausea, vomiting of meals, emaciation, nervousness, and palpitation of the heart, solely from smoking." After giving up the habit he became quite well. Dr Martin, the greatest authority in diseases incidental to tropical climates, says that "the habit of cigar-smoking has produced a great amount of pale sallow complexions amongst our young officers. Had the morbid complexion been all, the matter would have been of little importance, but here it means loss of appetite, defective nutrition, aneumia, and disordered nervous and muscular functions all in the same individual." Dr Higgenbottom of Nottingham, says, "the decision I have come to after fifty years most extensive and varied practice in my profession, is that tobacco in every form has no redeeming property whatever, and that at the present time it is a main cause in ruining our young men, pauperising our working men, and also rendering useless the best efforts of ministers of religion." Mr Anton is convinced, "that a soldier who is an inveterate smoker is incapable to level his musket with precision and without shaking his hand so as to take a steady aim." "He has known men who could send a bullet through a target at 800 yards distance, but who after they had commenced to smoke and chew, became so nervous that they could hardly send a bullet through a haystack at 100 yards distance." Dr Lizars testifies that cases of syphilitic virus, carcinoma, dyspepsia, deseased liver, congestion of the brain, apoplexy, loss of memory, amaurosis, deafness, nervousness, palsy, emasculation, have come under his notice, all owing to the habit of smoking tobacco. Mr Solly, in the Lancet, bears similar testimony and defends the views of the Edinburgh Professor. Dr Schneider quotes a statement to the effect "that out of 20 deaths in a town in America of men between the ages of 18 and 25, ten originated in the waste of the constitution from smoking." Dr Budgett, who has written a very interesting pamphlet on the subject, which we commend to the consideration of our readers, in support of the views of Dr Lizars, tells us that in America, "it is no uncommon circumstance to hear of inquests on the bodies of smokers, especially youths; the ordinary verdict being 'died from extreme tobacco smoking.'" He states also in the preface that "the combined experience of the medical profession has, I believe, without a dissentient voice, gone to prove the deleterious influence of tobacco on the human constitution." To this body of evidence the writer may add a few cases which have come under his own observation. One gentleman who had been a smoker for upwards of 12 years, informed him that he was obliged to renounce the habit. He found that smoking never failed to produce languor, nervousness, and sickness, as the immediate, and general debility, derangement of the digestive organs, and a tendency to colds, as the more remote effects. The cause which led to its ultimate abandonment was palpitation of heart. That smoking was the sole cause of this, seemed quite apparent from the circumstance, that after the first attack and recovery, he twice over took the pipe and was immediately threatened with vomiting and palpitation. Men of sedentary habits are great slaves to tobacco, and generally suffer more than others. Within the range of the writer's aquaintance, he knows of one who was

seized with violent palpitation from smoking, another who is afflicted with nervous derangement, and a third who has been obliged to relinquish his duties for a season from the same cause. As there is fraternity among drinkers, so there is among smokers. They are often led to associate together and enjoy the luxury of a smoke. The writer, while acknowledging that many pleasant hours have been spent in these generally casual meetings, unhesitatingly declares that he seldom or never met a confirmed smoker who was not willing to acknowledge that he regretted having contracted the habit, and that it was more or less attended with injurious effects. Robust youths, who have been newly initiated into the practice, will affirm with the greatest *nonchalance* that they feel no bad effects from it. They will be disposed to discredit the testimony of older men as to the bad effects of smoking, but a few years experience will convince them of their error, and lead them to regret their inattention to the sage and prudent counsels which were kindly administered to them. With these irrefragible testimonies then before you, reader, are you not disposed to give an affirmative answer to the question formerly proposed, viz., whether tobacco as smoked in society (*i.e.* with few exceptions to excess) has the bad effects attributed to it? We think in candour, you will not refuse. Cases have been adduced by medical writers which favour an opposite conclusion. We are told that Newton, who was a great smoker, died at the age of 85, that Hobbes, the great anarch, did all his vast mental work under a canopy of tobacco smoke, and that he died at the age of 91;—that there is at present an old woman at Swansea 108 years old, whose cutty is never out of her mouth, and that in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1832 is related the death of one George Learrey at Crondal, aged 103, a labouring man, who retained all his faculties to the last, and who for the last 70 years smoked three pipes a day. We are not disposed to doubt that such cases have occurred and that many others of a similar nature could be adduced, but to regard them as satisfactory evidence of the innocuous effects of smoking is quite unwarrantable. It would just be as legitimate to argue that because some drunkards preserve their health and live to old age, excessive drinking is not injurious to the system. These are exceptional cases, and only show that a few individuals, from possessing an unusually strong constitution or from being placed in circumstances which furnish powerful counteractives to the effects of smoking, do not sustain any serious injury by indulging in the habit.

Assuming then the noxious effects of smoking to be established by conclusive evidence, the next point to consider is the *cure*. Here we are disposed to recommend the prescription of Dr Lizars as infallibly the best that can be given—viz., "*throw away tobacco for ever.*" This is the only effectual remedy. Antidotes may be taken which will mitigate the disorders arising from smoking, but so long as the habit is persisted in, they will never be thoroughly removed. It is generally supposed that to drop the practice of smoking suddenly is attended with danger, and that to do so gradually is preferable. The latter method was adopted by De Quincey, in weaning himself from the use of opium. In his Confessions of an Opium Eater, (a work which will always be regarded as one

of the most delightful in the language, notwithstanding the farago of abuse with which it is assailed by Dr Milton in his "death in the pipe,") he tells us, that after a dose of the drug, he poured water into the phial which contained it, and thus gradually diminished its strength, till there was no opium left. We do not object to the gradual renouncement of the practice, though we regard it as the most annoying to the smoker, and the most likely to prove a failure. The supposition that to drop it *instanter* is dangerous, is quite an erroneous one. When suffering from Influenza and Fever, the smoker loses all relish for the narcotic. The pipe is left untouched for weeks and yet no bad effects ensue. After renouncing the habit, let an alterative be taken and the bowels kept open by aperients, and we are satisfied that the system will sustain not the slightest injury. When a few days have elapsed, change of scene and agreeable society, by counteracting the nervous depression which is apt to follow, and by diverting the mind, will greatly assist the patient in adhering to his resolution of abstinence.

To those who are not already smokers, we administer the earnest counsel never to begin the practice. A bad habit is easily contracted, but when contracted and fully established, to give it up,—"Hoc opus, hic labor est." Think of the expensiveness of smoking. Mr Solly calculates that £30 a year is a moderate sum for a cigar smoker to spend. He affirms that one person he knew spent £300 a year on tobacco. An operative, by dropping the practice of smoking, might save several pounds yearly, which might be profitably expended in the purchase of clothing for his family. How often do the poor complain of want of clothing, as the cause why themselves and children don't attend church. If the parent is a smoker, let the pipe be laid aside, and this urgent want will soon be supplied. Think too, of the vulgarity of the habit. James the Sixth, in his famous Counterblast, describes it as "a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless."[1] In many cases smoking is prohibited by masters, so that their workers can only gratify their appetite for the weed by stealthily infringing upon the rules which they have come under an obligation to obey. How many fires have been caused by smoking, tending to the loss of life and property. Persons of sedentary habits are most apt to plead for the use of tobacco. They tell us that literary labour is the most oppressive of all, and that some counteractive is necessary to divert the mind and soothe the nervous system. This is undoubtedly true, but that tobacco is the best *panacea* under the circumstances we stoutly deny. If a *literateur*, go and visit some sights and scenes in the city, which may afford relief to the mind, and exercise to the body, or, like the academics of old, select some pleasant walk in the *environs* where you may spend a few hours in recreation every day. If a clergyman, take your hat and staff and go out on a visit to your parish. If it is small, and the periodical visitation of it

[1] King James also informs us, that in his time, large sums were expended in the purchase of Tobacco. "Some of the gentry," he says, "bestow three and some four hundred pounds a yeere on this precious stink."

has already been completed, think of some poor widow prevented by her infirmities from going up to the house of God, where she once regularly worshipped,—a few words of counsel and comfort may be as manna to her hungry soul. Or think of some member of your congregation who is sick and languishing; by the divine blessing, a few words of humble supplication offered up at his bedside may be the means of his salvation. Or go visit your glebe or your garden, go any where in short, so that a due amount of physical exercise be taken, and we are persuaded that you will return to your study with buoyant heart and a mind cheerful and active, ready for any additional labour that may be imposed upon it. But flee to the pipe. Turn round your chair to the fire, and amuse yourself by watching the fumes of the sickening narcotic mounting in the air, your nervous system may be soothed and the mind relieved, but ere long, the injurious effects of the habit you have cherished will appear. The mind will lose its vigor, the body its strength, and a constant feeling of depression and dreamy languor, will render you unfit for the proper discharge of duty.

The practice of smoking is prohibited in railway carriages. This we think is very right and proper. We are sorry however to observe that in English lines this rule has been departed from, and that the Directors, in their benevolent desire to gratify the smoking members of the community, have caused smoking saloons to be attached to the trains. We see no necessity for this innovation, and we trust that it will not be adopted in Scotland.

Why should a man not be able to suppress the craving for tobacco, the few hours he may be seated in a railway carriage? If he is determined to smoke, *coûte que côute*, let him come out at some junction and go to the Queen's high-way, where he may do so with impunity. On many lines, the rules with reference to smoking are frequently infringed upon, to the great annoyance of passengers. The officials wink at the practice. We trust however that Railway Directors will look into this matter and see that no indulgences of the kind are permitted.

On board the ferry-boats, smoking is never prohibited so far as we are aware. There you are sure to find the smoker whiffing his cigar or pipe. This is an annoyance which should be put a stop to. In crossing the Firth of Forth, on a summer's evening, we have often gone to the deck, preferring a walk there to a lounge in the saloon, but the sickening fumes of tobacco and the constant showers of expectorated saliva soon drove us away. The accommodation on board a steam-boat is limited, but we think that some satisfactory arrangement for the comfort of the passengers could be made. Let smoking only be allowed in some particular part of the vessel, say the under cabin, the forecastle, or the part behind the binnacle. This would leave the deck free, and allow passengers, females especially, who are apt to suffer from sea-sickness, to enjoy the freshening breeze of the ocean.

EDINBURGH DISSECTED.[1]

Some time ago Dr Laycock had the manliness and honesty publicly to express his opinions upon the total abstinence question. This called down upon him the indignation of that bigoted and intolerant minority the total abstainers, who

> "Compound for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to."

And they, consequently, posted in all the public thoroughfares of our city, placards advertising a public meeting, headed by the words, "Dr Laycock dissected," which were conspicuously printed in large capitals. The students who attended the lectures of the learned Doctor, were justly indignant at the gross and vulgar impertinence of the placards thus obtruded on the public eye, and, by attending at the place of meeting, succeeded in preventing the promised dissection of their respected professor. The obnoxious term in these placards, however, although neither particularly euphonious, nor calculated to convey agreeable associations, seems to have recommended itself to a certain class of minds, and has been borrowed by the author of the volume before us. "Edinburgh dissected!"—a truly attractive and pleasant title; and one certainly which forbids the author to complain if the critic shall occasionally turn against himself the scalpel with which he threatens to anatomise a whole community.

We cannot, perhaps, better introduce our author's "dissections" of Edinburgh, than by quoting a few of his own opinions upon things in general, with a view of shewing how entirely one may rely upon the decisions of a writer whose taste is so fastidious, whose judgment so accurate. To begin then; our anatomist admires the statue of Her Majesty which surmounts the façade of the Royal Institution; considers the Bank of Scotland the finest of our local banks; would have crystal palaces, similar to that of Sydenham, placed in the *hollows* on either side of the mound below Pitt Street; and hopes to see the time when the summit of Arthur Seat shall be "crowned with a colossal statue, or some magnificent architectural structure, which shall make this suburban mountain still more an object of admiration." In literature, he believes in Sir Archibald Alison and the "gifted Gilfillan,"—and, in painting, informs us that the figures of Oberon and Titania, in Mr N. Paton's "Midsummer Night's Dream," may be considered as achieving the same triumph as the Venus de Medici and Apollo Belvidere in sculpture. He has also made some notable discoveries, such as that most of the congregations of the Edinburgh churches dine between sermons, and sleep during the afternoon service; and, with regard to the manners and general style of conversation in genteel society, he is perfectly at home, as may at once

[1] Edinburgh Dissected: including Strictures on its Institutions, Legal, Clerical, Medical, Educational, &c. To which are added, Confessions and Opinions of a Tory Country Gentleman; with a variety of Anecdotical and other matter. In a Series of Letters addressed to Roger Cutlar, Esq., by his Nephew. Edinburgh: James Hogg. 1857.

be seen from the following speech, which he represents as having been addressed to himself by a young beauty at an evening party, in answer to some observations of his own. The very lights must have burned *blue* at such a *tirade* as the following:—

"Well, I don't deny that I have written some verses, but my favourite study is Astronomy. I often visit Short's Observatory, on a clear evening, to pursue my explorations among the starry host. I have a theory on the subject of the heavenly bodies, which I cannot get any one here to comprehend; and Professor Nichol of Glasgow, the only astronomer who has sufficient imagination to do so, I have unfortunately never met.

"'You are acquainted, of course,' she continued, 'with Herschel's discoveries, and with the additions made to astronomical knowledge by means Lord Rosse's telescope. The human mind is too circumscribed to grasp, the language of Arithmetic too limited to express, the tens of thousands of millions of orbs which are already known to occupy the unbeginning, unending immensity of space. And who can conceive—what imagination, in the wildest exuberance of its creative power, can picture—those illimitable regions which extend beyond all that astronomical appliances have yet disclosed to view—regions where millions of millions of systems perform their appointed revolutions, and the light from which would not reach this globe even if its existence were prolonged to countless ages. All the beings now inhabiting this earth, and all that have ever breathed in it since the creation of Adam, would be as the small dust in the balance, when compared with the unnumbered and innumerable worlds that people the universe. And who shall dare to say that every moment of time may not be signalised by the birth of a new celestial system?

"'Yes!' pursued the lovely speaker, in a tone of impassioned eloquence, 'I believe that as man is born and dies, so are suns and systems ushered into existence, to run their alloted course, and then to perish. That as everything in nature is progressive, from a zoophyte to a Newton, so every new creation of Omnipotence will be a more perfect example of Almighty power, intelligence, and goodness. That man at the moment of his death is ushered into a new state of entity in another sphere, and on and on from world to world, a higher or a lower in the intellectual scale, according to his progress in virtue, till, having become purified through successive probationary existences, he shall attain to that perfect stature, and acquire that spotless purity, which shall fit him for the mansions of bliss, for the society of Christ, and for the enjoyment of God for ever!'

"'But how,' I asked, 'can you reconcile a theory so visionary with the revelations of Scripture!'

"'As easily,' she replied, 'as the Mosaic account of the creation of the world is made to harmonise with the geological history of its duration. I shall begin ——'

"Unhappily at this moment a gentleman approached, and reminding her that a dancing party was about to be formed, led her off to join a quadrille."

Only fancy the probability of a lively young beauty talking this way of "entities," and "zoophytes," and "probationary existence;" and imagine the astonishment of some well-whiskered exquisite at such an address from his partner, as—"You are acquainted of course with Herschel's discoveries." Ten to one he would imagine her to allude to some fresh variety of the polka, a new shape for bonnets, or a substitute for crinoline. We are afraid the nephew of Roger Cutlar, Esq., must have been a frightful bore at an evening party.

In his last chapter he puts into the mouth of one of his characters the following remarks upon the "Ulbster Hall Lectures," which have given so much instruction and delight to many among us:—

"Ulbster Hall is the name of a room set apart for the meetings of a benevolent society, lately instituted here, for the compassionate purpose of enabling authors to read their own works, lest nobody else should do so, and to relieve elderly gentlemen of pent-up jokes, and irrepressible anecdotes. Here you will have an opportunity of reading your letters to an audience consisting of all the literary foggies and blue-stockings of Edinburgh, not above one half of whom being allowed to sleep at one time, you will have the advantage of at least a moiety of open eyes to see, if not of open ears to hear, your performance."

The author of "Edinburgh dissected" was not without his thrilling adventures and hairbreadth escapes during his residence among us. He passed a night shut up in the Warriston Cemetery, of the horrors of which he gives a most elaborate and bombastic description, in the 30th chapter of his immortal work. The extreme probability of such an incident will at once occur to every reader, who remembers that the keeper's house is within the Cemetery, and only about 100 yards from the terrace in front of the chapel, where our "dissector" represents himself to have been, when shut in on the evening in question. But the locked gates, and thick fog, or perhaps the possibility of being mistaken for a body-snatcher, seem to have prevented his shouting for assistance. He attempts, however, to crawl to the house in question, and knocks his head against a tombstone; he then resumes the perpendicular, but with no better success; a thunderstorm now comes on, and our friend gets into a most unmistakeable "funk," and finally, after imagining all sorts of horrors, falls to the ground in a state of insensibility. All this may possibly seem very unlikely to some sceptical readers, but is it not written in the 30th chapter of "Edinburgh dissected?"

Mr Cutlar's nephew, besides devoting his energies to the dissection of the town which forms the special subject of his labours, favours us with his opinions upon a great variety of topics, upon religion, politics, literature, law reform, the currency question, non-intrusion, education, the Manchester school, Louis Napoleon, and many other subjects of general interest. His remarks are frequently characterized by considerable acuteness, and are often clearly and forcibly expressed, while, at other times, they seem the result of prejudice and ignorance. He exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the merits and relative position of the Established and Free Churches, and with the much agitated question of education; and we have seldom met with any thing more true and just than some of his views on these points:—

"As regards the Established Church, I cannot away with the bad taste which would hold up to public contumely its ministers, and, by implication, its people. Insufficient as the Parochial Schools now are for the wants of the age, who can speak slightingly or disrespectfully of a system which, in its day and generation, has been productive of such incalculable blessings? And becomes it Free Churchmen, of all others, to sneer at the Parish Schools—open, as they are, to every child, whatever may be the creed of

its parents—when, in order to escape from the contagion of a system, in their eyes, so vicious and latitudinarian, they have everywhere erected schools, so essentially exclusive and denominational, that, if not corrected by a parliamentary scheme, such as that which I now advocate, threaten to do more in narrowing the national spirit and perpetuating sectarianism, than aught that ever before was devised?

"I have no fear that the incorporation of the Parochial Schools with a national system would, in the smallest degree, accelerate a consummation so devoutly wished by many as the destruction of the Established Church; but I sympathise with those of its ministers and friends who cannot divest themselves of this apprehension; and although I believe, when the people shall take up the question of education zealously and firmly, that all opposition will be fruitless, yet I cannot join in the howl that has been raised against the Established clergy, for endeavouring to preserve inviolate their connection with such a time-honoured institution as the Parish Schools. And if they shall succeed in retaining the power of supervision, in concert with the government inspectors, I, for one, should not object, if this can be done without injury to the usefulness and universality of the scheme."

There is another subject in which we entirely agree with him, and that is the absolute necessity, in order to an effectual reform of the Scottish Universities, of taking the patronage of the chairs *entirely* out of the hands of the Town Councils. The evils of the existing system have been powerfully exposed by Mr Baynes in his admirable Essay on Sir William Hamilton,[1] and the views of the author of the volume before us are identical with those there so forcibly expressed:—

"There is one preliminary reform," (he says) "which I conceive to be imperatively required, and that is, the withdrawal from Town Councils of all patronage, management, and control of the colleges. Composed as these bodies are for the most part of half-educated men, of narrow and contracted views, and boiling with bigotry and sectarianism, I cannot imagine a more objectionable arrangement than investing such persons with the power of nomination to professorships. All such appointments should rest with the Crown. Her Majesty's Ministers would at least be free from that most odious of all influences, local religious prejudice; which, since the secession of 1843, is tainting the administration of municipal affairs, and promises ere long to convert Town Councils into mere sectarian cliques and kirk-session coteries."

The author of "Edinburgh dissected" has penetrated into the very essence of Free Churchism, and thoroughly comprehends the true principles and probable results of that remarkable movement. He points out that the dispute which terminated in the Free Church secession was really a most paltry matter, in which no great principle was involved. It was not a question of Trinity or Unity,—of the worship of Christ or Mary,—not even of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism,—of orthodoxy or heterodoxy. It was fighting for a shadow; and in after times will be viewed as one of the most erratic and uncalled for movements, lay or clerical, recorded in the history of mankind:—

"Whatever important principle may be supposed to have been involved in the cabalistic term 'non-intrusion,' I believe that practically it has already become inept in the Free Church itself. The boasted freedom upon which

[1] See Edinburgh Essays.

the title of the church has been somewhat presumptuously founded is simply a pleasing fiction. To have justified the assumption of a designation so imposing, the choice of a minister should have been determined by something very different from a mere majority of the male heads of families. If in any instance a vote should be conferred on women, it ought surely to be in the selection of their pastor, upon whose ministrations they are so much more faithful attendants than the men. But take the rule as it stands, with all its limitations, and let us enquire whether even this is carried out in all its integrity. I shall suppose that an opening occurs in one of the most important charges in Glasgow, and that the male communicants, not simply by a majority, but unanimously, give a call to Dr Candlish or Dr Guthrie to supply the vacancy. Would either of these magnates accept the harmonious invitation? Certainly not. It would not be for the interests of the church that such shining lights should be translated from the metropolis, the seat of the Assembly, of the College, and the bureau of that centralising conclave whose despotic rule might be envied by the Head of the Russo-Greek hierarchy himself. In like manner, should a call be given to a country minister, suspected of a want of subserviency to the powers that be, to occupy one of the Edinburgh charges, would means not be employed to thwart the wishes of the metropolitan malcontents, on the plea of a pious consideration for the immortal souls of his rural flock? Nor is this all. Instances are not uncommon of pretexts being found by Presbyteries for nullifying the declared wishes even of large majorities, whenever the minority consists of wealthy contributors to the schemes. The Church Courts, in short, are gradually assuming a dictatorial power in this the very marrow and the primary and leading feature of the Free Kirk, which will ere long leave the people without even a shadow of influence in the choice of their own pastors. To apply Dr Guthrie's expressive vocable, I believe the non-intrusion principle to be nothing better than a 'sham,' and no one sees this more clearly than the worthy doctor himself; and when the day comes for his giving the Free Church the 'fling,' as he would significantly express it, it will be highly edifying to hear his graphic exposure of the grand fundamental humbug."

Afterwards he points out the close resemblance in principle between Popery and Free Churchism :—

"In both there is the same arrogation of priestly dominion and the subjugation of the laity under the clerical hoof—a central power whose fiats are as inexorable as the bulls of the Vatican—the same disposition in the one as in the other to encourage the granting of bequests in behalf of the church—the same deferential respect for lords and millionaires, rich dowagers, and well-dowried spinsters. In the Free Church we find the same intolerance, the same rigid spirit of separatism and exclusiveness—in short, the self-sufficiency and infallibility which were wont to be considered as the inherent and peculiar attributes of Romanism.

"Upon the whole, therefore, I have some doubts whether the advantages conferred by the Free Church may not to a large extent be counterbalanced by the bigotry, sectarianism, and Popish tendencies which it has evoked. Mistaking the objects of the secession by confounding the decisions of the civil courts with the Stuart persecutions, and led to look upon their ministers as so many persecuted saints, the laity have passively surrendered to them their religious liberties. And looking back to the history of clerical domination and ambition, and more especially to the ulterior objects to which the Free Church still clings, there is too much reason to apprehend that the interference of the pastors with their flocks will not be confined to matters merely ecclesiastical. A colossal power like this, overspreading the

whole land, is not likely to be unmoved spectators of passing events, nor to sit quietly during the excitement of municipal and parliamentary elections. Already, indeed, in this city, as well as in some of the smaller boroughs, has the new secession banner been unfurled, and religious animosity threatens to embitter the discussion of every public question. The dangerous doctrine is unscrupulously avowed and enforced, that the chief, if not the only, question for the consideration of constituencies, in the selection of candidates for the office of Town Councillors and Members of Parliament, is, not their political creed, their aptitude for business, their capacity, or general qualifications, but—whether they are members of the Free Kirk. I have read of the hardships and disabilities inflicted by the old Test and Corporation Acts, but here we have a test ten times more galling and intolerable, imposed, not by the Legislature, but by the very parties who are vociferating against the test applied to parochial schoolmasters as the most flagrant iniquity. Oh, *freedom, freedom!* what lamentable things are perpetrated in thy sacred name! Established churchmen in the meanwhile are folding their arms in passive indifference, and will only be roused from their apathy when, awakening some misty morning in November, and groping their way to the Council Chamber, they discover that the patronage of the City Churches and the University has been seized by a body of Free Churchmen!"

It humbly appears to us that few dispassionate and attentive observers of the history of Free Churchism will be inclined to dispute the force and justness of these remarks, and, for our own parts, we would earnestly beg to press upon all friends of the Establishment the necessity of attending to the caution in the last paragraph—supineness has hitherto been their great error—let them now be up and doing, before all power of free and effective action is snatched from their hands by their persevering and unscrupulous opponents.

We cannot better conclude our quotations from "dissector's" remarks upon the clerical state of Edinburgh, than by the following paragraph, in every word of which we cordially agree:—

"While in one section of the Episcopal Church we witness such a deplorable tendency to resolve all religion into mere external observances, and in the Free Church to revive Puritantism in its most pernicious forms, it is more than ever incumbent on the Church of Scotland, and the anti-puseyite members of the Church of England, to resist these dangerous tendencies, by a strict conformity to the true spirit of the gospel, in which nothing is more frequently and more beautifully enforced than the union of piety and morality, and purity of heart as opposed to outward pretension. I rejoice to find that, in the two principal Episcopal churches in this city—St Paul's and St John's—which are the only chapels of this persuasion I have yet visited, the services are conducted free from every newfangled interpolation or fantastic observance; and never do I listen to the venerable bishop's calm and unassuming performance of his sacred duties without the inward acknowledgment that it is not his fault, if I do not retire from the sanctuary a holier and a better man."

Law and lawyers are "dissector's" utter abhorrence; and in many of his remarks upon these, his *bêtes noirs*, he allows his passions to get the better of his judgment. He announces it as his deliberate opinion, that if there was not a single lawyer on the face of the earth it would be all the better for humanity, and thinks that a little of the virtuous indignation that is so lavishly expended in denouncing slavery and similar

abominations, ought to be reserved for "holding up to merited condemnation the whole system of English and Scottish jurisprudence, and lawcraft generally, in all its endless ramifications." He laments the decadence of talent at the bar as well as in the pulpit, and informs us, (of what we were not previously aware,) that all "the legal talent is now in the provinces, and if not recruited from the provincial bar, our sheriff courts will . . . ." We are delighted to hear of this great amount of latent provincial talent, but should be sorry to see it removed from its legitimate sphere.

Doctors scarcely fare better than lawyers in the hands of "dissector," who certainly handles the scalpel with praiseworthy impartiality. Only second to the clergy are the doctors in their passion for notoriety.

"The grand secret of success in the medical profession is to make yourself be talked of. No matter how you accomplish it, your fortune is made when all the world begins to speak about you. I don't refer to your advertising quacks only, but to your regular diplomatised surgeon and your graduated M.D., whose whole art of success consists in acquiring a name. Write a book, and puff yourself off as the inventor of an instrument for distilling woman's tears, not into a cosmetic merely for beautifying the skin, but into an elixir for perpetuating juvenility, and you will have the whole sex weeping in the arm-chair of your surgery or consulting-room in the twinkling of an eye. Assume the disguise of a Polish refugee, spell your name with thirteen consonants, speak broken English, and announce yourself as the most famous adept in homœopathic or hydropathic cures that ever existed, and you will be the residuary legatee of every darling spinster that comes to consult you. Go to church, and, planting yourself in the pew behind my Lady Sincope's, contrive to waft towards her olfactories, when she is heavy with slumber, the perfume of your pocket-handkerchief, and the moment she drops off in a fainting fit be at her side to revive her with a stimulant you have brought with you for the purpose. Lead her off to the vestry, with the assistance of her toady, Miss Daisy; accompany her home in her carriage; call next day; and you have secured her ladyship's patronage for life. If, in addition to this, you cultivate your *chevelure* till the flowing locks fall over your ears like the mane of a Zetland pony, with whiskers, imperial, and moustache to match, then your triumph will be complete, and not a lackadaisical girl or hypochondriac old lady, in town or country, that won't flock to your levees, and lay her life and fortune at your feet."

Having thus satisfactorily disposed of Law, Physic, and Divinity, our anatomist proceeds to the country and visits a Mr Orland, the tory country gentleman, whose opinions, and gradual conversion to the principles of free trade, he records at great length in his 23d and 24th letters. Mr Orland is an anecdotical old gentleman, and relates several stories which are retailed by "dissector." The following are among the best of them:—

"'It was in one of the north-eastern counties (I don't remember which), that an eccentric clergyman flourished in the last century, of whom many droll stories are related. Besides being the minister, he was the proprietor of an estate in the parish, which entitled him to a vote for the county. On one occasion of a contested election, when politics were running high, and even Sunday was no holiday to those engaged in the canvas, the agent for

one of the candidates made his appearance just as the minister was about to enter the church to perform divine service. The former had just time to whisper to him the object of his visit. 'Bide a wee, then,' said the reverend elector, 'and I'll be with you in a crack.' True to his word, he reappeared in a few minutes, and taking the arm of the agent who was waiting for him in the churchyard, they walked off together. Having sauntered to a considerable distance from the kirk, the agent, apprehensive that he was detaining the pastor too long from his flock, was beginning to apologise for his intrusion at such an unseasonable time. 'Mak' yoursel' easy about that. I hae gi'en them a bane to pick that'l ser' them till I gang back. I gave them the 119th psalm to sing before I left.' Being asked one day how it happened that, having such a good example before them, so many ministers' sons should turn out ne'er-do-weels. 'That's easily accounted for,' said the worthy divine. 'The deevil kens he canna get haud o' the geese, and he mak's grabs amang the gaislins.' I don't know whether it was he, or the minister of another rural parish, of whom the ancedote is told, that, having neglected in a season of protracted drought to pray for rain, was waited upon by a deputation from his parishioners to remonstrate with him on the omission. 'Weel a weel,' said he, 'I'll pray for't to please ye, but the feint a drap ye'll get till the change o' the moon!'"

We must now take leave of Mr Roger Cutlar's nephew, believing in the honesty of his intentions, thanking him for the good he has said of us, and almost excusing him for the evil. At the same time, we cannot help saying that a little less pretension and a little more diffidence would have been becoming in so very youthful a writer as the author pretends to be. From the style and tone of the letters, it is indeed perfectly evident that he is a practised *litterateur*, but had this been less apparent, it would have assisted to maintain the *vraisemblance* of the title page. We shall close our extracts by presenting to our readers the following brilliant picture of the magnificent future which the author anticipates for Edinburgh:—

"While leisurely passing along the spacious road which connects Granton with the Queensferry highway, I paused again and again to admire the splendid view of the city and its circumjacent eminences which rose up in majestic beauty before me. A hundred years ago, thought I, not one of those superb edifices, those domes and spires, which now lift their lofty heads on this side of the Castle, existed—the ploughman whistling o'er the lea, the maiden bearing the milk pail on her head, the cattle pasturing on the green braes, and the yellow corn waving in the autumnal breeze, where now the traffic of a great city bewilders with its unceasing din, where gorgeous saloons for every variety of merchandise, magnificent churches, and streets of palaces, astonish the beholder! And who can tell what another century may bring forth? With its University enlarged and liberalised, its sectarian rancour subdued, and all its institutions simplified, purified, and improved, Edinburgh will become more and more the resort of all who desire to cultivate the society of the learned and refined, as well as of those who in foreign lands may have realised fortunes, and may wish to educate their children, and spend the close of their life amidst scenes of unrivalled beauty and magnificence. And ere the close of the twentieth century, the whole space that now intervenes between the present city and Leith and Granton will be covered with streets, each more splendid than another—when Portobello and Joppa will be the boundary to the east; Liberton and the Braid Hills to the south; and the dazzling crescents to arise on the acclivity of Corstorphine, will be the west end of the town!"

AURORA LEIGH.[1]

In all the poems of the present day—ambitious and less ambitious—one cannot fail to observe two gross and glaring defects—viz., the utter want of a well-wrought-out plot—nay, of any plot at all; and the mystico-metaphysical jargon of abstract thought with which every page is defaced. Now although we do not hold it absolutely necesary that a poet should be bound down by the strict rules of his art, in the working out of his plan—nor even that that plan should be elaborate in its details, and highly finished in the general result—still it cannot be denied, that a grandly conceived and well-wrought-out plot, lends a grandeur to the whole, and gives to it an air of completeness, such as a poem, with a plot, meagre, ill-digested, and ill-arranged, can never posess. We were wont to think that no man—nor woman either—was worthy of the name of poet, who was deficient in the faculty of conception, and that no poem was entitled to be called great, unless its conception were essentially grand. It may perhaps be necessary now to state this opinion with considerable modification, yet—*caeteris paribus*—there can be no question as to which of the two will,—and ought to have the preference, both in the estimation of the public, and in that of the critic and the man of taste. Our earlier poets seem to have thought this indispensable; and accordingly we find that the structure of their poems was very carefully attended to. How much this adds to the beauty and grandeur of their works the man of taste and judgment knows right well. Not only does it give them a higher finish and a more artistic completeness, but what is of more importance still, especially in poetry—it serves to rivet the attention of the reader, and to keep it up till the close. Of all men a poet should strive to give effect to the instructions he has to communicate; in this lies his success. In a grave metaphysical discourse the subject matter is everything; the manner is of small importance. In a poem however, the case is different. For even granting that instruction ought to be the main object of the poet; yet that instruction must be conveyed in the most pleasing manner: and nothing can be more pleasing nor more interesting than a well-arranged and a well-managed plot. Now the most of the poems that have appeared of late years, seem to have been written in utter disregard of the readers' patience. You have three or four characters, introduced into an epic—or at least what is intended for one—who muse and moralize, and moralize and muse through three or four hundred mortal pages, until both the patience and the temper of the reader is exhausted, and he flings down the book in despair. And how can it be otherwise? All the rules of the poetic art are broken through with as little compunction as they would inflict upon the reader, one hundred pages of reflections on a dunghill. As for the unities, heaven bless you! they are so loose and ill-defined that one could drive a coach and six right through and through them any day, and be esteemed the greater poet for so doing. We say this with no bitterness of feeling, nor with any wish to detract from the well earned reputation and justly awarded honours of the poetic *genus* of our own day: but from an anxious desire

[1] By Elizabeth Barret Browning. Second Edition.

to put a stop to the downward progress of the art—for it is a downward progress—and to see a return to the good old way. Edgar A. Poe, we are aware, asserts that a great poem is only a collection of small poems: but this eccentric genius is either egregiously wrong in his mode of expression, or he here enunciates a gross fallacy and deception. For, were we to accept this definition as it stands, the result would be, that in judging of a great poem, we should take no account of the structure at all. Now this would not only be wrong, as regards the nature of the case; but it is wrong in point of fact. For it has ever been the practice in estimating the grandeur of a poem, to give very considerable weight to the conception. Viewing this definition, moreover, in another aspect, there have been many great poets who never did write, and who perhaps never could have written what we call a great poem. These men were poets nevertheless. To pass from this subject however, we cannot but deplore the symptoms of decadence in the poetic art, which this defect undoubtedly displays.

The other defect to which we alluded—to wit, the mystico-metaphysical nature of all our poems—is not less prevalent nor less pernicious than the one we have just mentioned. We are not averse to the study of metaphysics: but then we like to have every dish served at a proper time and in its own place. What we delight to read in the pages of a Locke—a Berkley—a Hume—a Hamilton—or a Ferrier, we feel an utter disgust for, when done into verse, and served up to us in the shape of speeches, letters, reflections, and moral musings. This is by no means a metaphysical age, and yet, sooth to say, our poetic literature is full of abstract thought and metaphysical momenclature. We are tired of the eternal poetic prating about generalization and abstraction, analysis and synthesis, the finite and the infinite, the conditioned and the non-conditioned, with their "spontaneities of the individuals" and their "formal universals." We are tired, we say, of hearing this misnamed *true poetry*.

We are sorry indeed to have to charge the two defects we have mentioned upon the poem under review. With all its beauties,—and we are not blind to them,—"Aurora Leigh" is sadly deficient in its structure, and vastly overloaded with metaphysical momenclature. Extending as it does over four hundred pages with little or no plot,—and even that not too well managed—the reader finds his patience wasted, and his interest gone, before he gets over the first hundred. And who, that has read it from beginning to end,—we take great credit to ourselves for this feat—feels the least astonishment at this? Has the reader not to wade through pages of descriptions, education reflections, speeches, letters, criticisms, and a host of other things too numerous even to name? The great good one gets from the perusal of this poem is the healthy exercise of that noble virtue patience. There are no doubt individual passages of very great beauty: but as a whole we cannot help thinking that it has been vastly over-rated. Some critics in their admiration have declared it equal in merit to the immortal productions of Shakspere or Milton. To meet this by a counter-assertion would be foolish. An analysis of the poem will lay open its merits and defects; and accordingly

while we do this we invite the reader's most serious attention—reserving any further remarks we may have to make till the close.

The father of "Aurora Leigh," was an "austere Englishman" well versed "in College learning, law, and parish talk." But having been "flooded" with a "passion" for travelling, he found himself one summer morning musing in the streets of Florence. As he mused there chanced to pass that way—

> "A train of priestly banners, cross and psalm—
> The white-veiled, rose-crowned maidens, holding up
> Tall tapers, weighty for such wrists, aslant
> To the blue luminous tremor of the air.
> . . . . .
> From which long train of chanting priests and girls
> A face flashed like a cymbal on his face."

In other words, he loved and married one of these same maidens. His married life was short; for

> "Thus beloved she died,"

leaving him a widower with Aurora, an

> "Unmothered little child of four years old."

Nor was it long until she lost her father also: and thus being left an orphan, she was brought to England and consigned to the tender mercies of a maiden aunt. Aurora has given us no favourable picture of her "father's sister"—whose name in fact she never mentions but with a sort of shudder. Her personal appearance must have been by no means prepossessing—with her "narrow forehead,"—"a nose drawn sharply,"—"a close mild mouth,"—"eyes of no colour,"—and

> "Cheeks, in which was yet a rose
> Of perished summers. . . . . .
> . . . . . —if past bloom,
> Past fading also."

With this we have no great fault to find: the description may be true or false for aught we know or care; but when Aurora comes to settle down, and to tell us all about her early education, we must confess that we could have wished she had spared us the tedious recital. There are few young misses who feel that their education is a fitting subject for the muse to celebrate; and certainly in the case before us, Mrs Browning has not been successful in throwing around the subject the charm of poetry. Thus Aurora tells us,—

> "I learnt the collects and the catechism,
> The creeds from Athanasius back to Nice,
> The Articles—the tracts *against* the times,
> (By no means Buonaventure's prick of love),
> And various popular synopses of
> Inhuman doctrines never taught by John,
> Because she liked instructed piety."

Now we should like to see the man or woman who would call this—and a great deal which follows in a similar strain—by the name of

poetry. Such it is not; and, moreover, it is only very indifferent prose. Mrs Browning evidently means it as a hard hit against every thing like routine in the matter of education. Now however much we are opposed to routine, yet we must confess that our sympathies are all with the old aunt of Aurora. We like "instructed piety" just because there can be no piety but that which is instructed. Moreover, we believe that more real good will be got out of books than will be obtained from gazing eternally on green fields and peering for ever along hedgerows. To converse with nature—the material creation—is grand; but to converse with mind is grander still,—mind on which that very matter is dependent for all its properties, and which it can bend to its sovereign will. We should like to know indeed what those "inhuman doctrines" were which John never taught, and which Aurora Leigh was compelled to learn, for we confess that we are somewhat curious in regard to education and its concerns. But the truth is, that the whole passage is no better poetry and far worse prose than Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley;" and might be cut out without destroying the beauty or symmetry of the poem. But such a system of education was lost upon Aurora, for she was a poet and studied love and nature. And although, as she tells us, she

> "Read her books,
> Was civil to her cousin Romney Leigh,
> Gave ear to her vicar, tea to her visitors"—

yet there was an inward something which, in her present state, rendered her unhappy. In a word, she was an embryo poet, and could no more help loving nature than she could help being disgusted with the education of ordinary mortals. Having thus discovered this latent quality—this "quickening inner life," she stops its onward progress to indite an apostrophe to the

> "Virtuous liars, dreamers after dark,
> Exaggerators of the sun and moon,
> And soothsayers in a tea cup."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "The only speakers of essential truth
> Opposed to relative, comparative,
> And temporal truths; the only holders by
> His sun skirts, through conventional grey glooms."

But this "inner life" could not long be hid. Her aunt half suspected it; and in her walks with her cousin Romney, and Vincent Carrington, "the rising painter," she would at times burst into "voluble ecstacy;" and of these ecstacies she has left us a very fine specimen indeed. We only wish we could say as much of the entire poem as we could do of the following passage:—

> "I flattered all the beauteous country round
> As poets use—the skies, the clouds, the fields,
> The happy violets hiding from the roads,
> The primroses run down to carrying gold—
> The tangled hedgerows, where the cows push out
> Impatient horns and tolerant churning mouths

'Twixt dripping ash-boughs—hedgerows all alive
With birds, and gnats, and large white butterflies,
Which look as if the May-flowers had caught life
And palpitated forth upon the wind,—
Hills, vales, woods, netted in a silver mist,
Farms, granges, doubled up among the hills,
And cattle grazing in the watered vales,
And cottage-chimneys smoking from the woods,
And cottage-gardens smiling everywhere,
Confused with smell of orchards."

But all this dreaming must come to an end. Aurora, feeling that she was a poet, longed, like other poets, to be crowned. For this mock crowning she chose a morning in June:—

"What, therefore, if I crown myself to-day
In sport not pride, to learn the feel of it
Before my brows be numb as Dante's own
To all the tender pricking of such leaves?"

The reader, however, may guess her dismay when, drawing the wreath across her brow and turning round, she stood face to face with her cousin Romney. Caught in the very act and no mistake, what wonder if her

"Blush was flame
As if from flax, not stone."

We cannot see, however, why this unexpected meeting should give occasion to the poet to introduce a dialogue of seventeen mortal pages. This speechifying is one of the main faults of the poem. Moreover, all that one learns is that Romney pops the question, and is refused. The reader absolutely feels glad when the conversation is rudely broken in upon by the old aunt:—

"With smile distorted by the sun-face, voice
As much at issue with the summer day,
As if you brought a candle out of doors."

However much one may dislike the "distorted face," still one cannot help feeling pleased that it made its appearance. Aurora's answer to Romney cannot be hid from her aunt, and then follows a round and sound scolding—in which she is told, among other things, that unless she marries her cousin she will be left a beggar; because, according to a clause in the entail, her father had disinherited his daughter by marrying her mother—a foreigner. However, Aurora was soon left her own mistress by the death of her aunt,—

"On the sixth week the dead sea broke up.

. . . . . .

"The clock struck nine,
That morning too, no lark was out of tune;
The hidden farms among the hills, breathed straight
Their smoke toward heaven; the lime tree scarcely stirred
Beneath the blue weight of the cloudless sky
Though still the July air came floating through
The woodbine at my window, in and out,
With touches of the out-door country news
For a bending forehead."

It was on such a morning as the beautiful lines describe that her tormentor died, and left Aurora free. Free indeed she was, but only as beggars are. And after receiving what her aunt's will had left her, and refusing a very generous offer of money from Romney, she bade farewell to Leigh Hall.

Seven years after this found Aurora in some indifferent sort of a dwelling in London, well nigh worried to death with literary work; but as yet "uncrowned:"—

> "I wrote for cyclopædias, magazines,
> And weekly papers, holding up my name
> To keep it from the mud. I learned the use
> Of the editorial 'we' in a review,
> As courtly ladies the fine trick of trains,
> And swept it grandly through the open doors,
> As if one could not pass through doors at all
> Save so encumbered."

In the midst of all this literary drudgery, a lady unceremoniously introduced herself to her one day—so unceremoniously indeed that had we been "Aurora," we should have kicked her down the stairs for her impertinence—and after a somewhat lengthy preface, at last came out with

> "I think you have a cousin—Romney Leigh."

Her name she said was Lady Waldemar, and she had come to make a frank confession—that she loved Romney Leigh. Then follows twelve or fourteen pages of dialogue between Aurora and the Lady Waldemar, during which the reader learns that Romney has not fallen in love with, but intends to marry a certain "Marian Erle," a "drover's daughter." This *seems* good news to Aurora—for the reader by this time begins to suspect that after all she loves Romney—and she bursts out into the following unpoetic unintelligible effusion of as gross jargon as ever was uttered by one whose sole knowledge of metaphysics lies in the mere terms in which philosophers delight to express themselves:—

> "And thus she is better haply of her kind
> Than Romney Leigh who lives by diagrams,
> And crosses out the spontaneities
> Of all his individual, personal life
> With formal universals. . . .
> . . . . . .
> "What if even God
> Were chiefly God by living out himself
> To an individualism of the Infinite
> Eterne, intense, profuse—still throwing up
> The golden spray of multitudinous worlds
> In measure to the proclive weight and rush
> Of his inner nature."

The end of the matter is, however, that she visits Marian Erle, "within St Margaret's Court," and learns from her the story of her youth, and how she was introduced to the notice of Romney Leigh. The sum of her history is this:—She was born upon the "Malvern

Hill," of poor and degraded parents; and after a life of misery and wretchedness, to save her honour, was obliged to flee from home. Being found half dead on the roadside, she was brought by a kind waggoner to a distant town, and taken to an hospital. It was when about to leave this all unprotected, that Providence threw Romney in her way, who sent her to a

> "Sempstress house
> Far off in London."

The upshot of the whole matter was this, that Romney determined to make "Marian Erle" his wife, not because he loved her, but out of pure philanthrophy, and so

> Half St Giles in frieze
> Was hidden to meet St James in cloth of gold
> And, after contract at the altar, pass
> To eat a marriage feast on Hampstead Heath."

The marriage, however, was never consummated: for while the party "in cloth of gold" waited those in "frieze," Romney received a letter from Marian which put a stop to the proceedings in a most mysterious way.

After this event, and despairing of finding Marian Erle, Aurora,—putting her "book" in the hands of the publisher—set out for her own dear Florence, leaving Romney to pursue his schemes of universal goodness and benevolence. Of course she took Paris in her way: and one day, judge of her astonishment when "walking on the quays" she spied a "face,"—that face was Marian's. But—

> "Confront the truth, my soul!
> And oh as truly as that was Marian's face,
> The arms of that same Marian clasped a thing
> Not hid so well beneath the scanty shawl—
> I cannot name it now for what it was—
> A child."

Before, however, she could recover from her surprise, Marian was lost amongst the crowd. But as fortune would have it, she met that "face" again, and taking Marian with her, or rather following her to her residence, she learnt what had befallen her since the morning when the marriage should have taken place. By the intrigues of Lady Waldemar, she had been spirited away—dishonoured and deserted; and thus she was when Aurora found her. In the meantime, she learns that Romney is to be married to Lady Waldemar; and under this impression sets out direct for Italy, taking Marian with her. Her journey thither gives occasion for some fine description: but on this we cannot dwell, for the story draws to a close.

Florence is reached. Marian is beginning to look cheerful; and one evening when she "sate alone" upon the terrace of her tower, who should drop as it were from the clouds but Romney Leigh. Sure enough though it was Romney, and after an interlude consisting of about forty pages, it comes out that her cousin is not married to Lady Wal-

demar, as Aurora supposed, but that on the contrary he had come to claim Marian Erle as his wife. Aurora says,

"Not married?
'You mistake' he said,
'I'm married. Is not Marian Erle my wife?
As God sees things I have a wife and child,
And I, as I'm a man who honours God,
Am here to claim them as my child and wife.'"

At this act of self-denying generosity, the poor outcast exclaims:—

"O Romney! O my angel! O unchanged!
Though since we've parted I have past the grave,
But death itself could only better *thee*,
Not change thee—*Thee* I do not thank at all,
I but thank God who made thee what thou art
So wholly godlike."

But Marian's determination was taken. She could not now love Romney:—

"I have not so much life that I should love
Except the child. Ah God! I could not bear
To see my darling on a good man's knees,
And know by such a look, or such a sigh,
Or such a silence, that he thought sometimes
This child was fathered by some cursed wretch."

Marian Erle refuses to become the wife of Romney; and here the story ends. As for the rest the reader may guess it. After all this beating about the bush, Aurora becomes the wife of Romney Leigh with much to forgive, and much to be forgiven.

Such is a brief analysis of this lengthened poem. The reader, however, will form but a faint idea, after all, of the lumbrous machinery employed in working out this one might almost say, immoral tale. The dialogues become intolerable; the oft repeated speeches are drawn out to an enormous length; and one has actually to wade through page after page of metaphysical disquisition, and unmeaning verbiage. Sometimes the descent or ascent is made to the absolutely unintelligible. For instance we meet with the following in the very first page:—

"I have not so far left the coasts of life
To travel inland, that I cannot hear
The murmur of the outer infinite,
Which unweaned babies smile at in their sleep
When wondered at for smiling."

Then again we find what might be termed hyperbole, expressed so paradoxically, that it reaches the ridiculous. Thus:—

"'Then the bitter sea
Inexorably pushed between us both,
And sweeping up the ship with my despair,
Threw us out as a pasture to the stars.'
Ten nights and days we voyaged on the deep,
Ten nights and days, without the common face
Of any day or night."

And what, perhaps, is worst of all, the effort at passion is *vox et praeterea nihil.* Of this we could heap example upon example. Thus—

> "O my God, my God,
> God meant me good too when he hindered me
> From saying yes this morning."

Again :—

> "A moment. Heavenly Christ!
> A moment. Speak once Romney, 'tis not true—
> I hold your hands, I look into your face—
> You see me?"

And once more :—

> "But oh, the night! oh bitter—sweet, oh sweet!
> O dark, O moon, and stars, O exstacy
> Of darkness! O great mystery of love."

These it must be confessed are mere expletives, and are as far from the expression of true passion as prose is from poetry. There are other faults as glaring and absurd. Thus we meet with such expressions as "a snow of Ghosts"—"a greatened man"—"a meekened child;" and one learns for the first time in his life perhaps, that "a white soul can be tossed out to eternity with thrills of time upon it." There is too, a reckless use of the sacred names of God and Christ, of Heaven and Hell. For instance within the compass of two or three pages we have such beautiful Billingsgate as the following :—

> "With what a devil's daughter I went forth,
> . . . . .
> In such a curl of hell-foam caught and chocked.
> . . But if one cries from hell,
> What then? . . .
> . . Hell's so prodigal
> Of devils' gifts.
> Pushed out from hell itself to pluck me back,
> The devil's most devilish when respectable."

We wonder where Mrs Browning learned this infernal sort of language. This is not passion, but sheer absurdity. Nor are the characters at all well drawn. Aurora herself is neither to be admired nor loved, and the reader is ever inclined to suspect her of insincerity towards Romney—as if she would fain say, "Romney I love you," but was withheld by some undefined something. Romney on the other hand with all his generosity is no better than a visionary fool; and if the reader suspects Aurora of insincerity, he is half inclined to forgive it when he knows that it is exercised only in reference to a stupid universalist. Marian Erle is perhaps the best drawn character in the poem, and around her the reader's sympathies will be found to centre: while of Lady Waldemar it is enough to say—if we may be allowed the expression—that she is a "simulatrix ac dissimulatrix."

Notwithstanding these numerous and glaring defects, however, we are fully alive to the beauties of "Aurora Leigh." As a great poem we

believe it to be a great failure, but there are passages in it—not indeed worthy to be compared with the sublime poetry of Milton and Shakespeare—but certainly superior to any of the poetry of the present day. There is throughout the whole of the book a fine appreciation of nature and natural scenery. Nature is here described by one who has not only seen it, but who has actually felt its power, and tasted its delights. The poem displays, moreover, the possession by its author of a strong vigorous intellect—an intellect which we cannot help thinking would be better employed in writing prose than poetry. In fact the greater part of it,—despite its poetic garb—is prose and not poetry. The cause of this arises from the nature of the subject itself:—for "convictions upon life and art" will take the form of expression which is natural to them—and that form is undoubtedly prose. The social evils of the times are too real—too actual—too matter of fact—too practical to be dealt with by the mere poet. His world is an ideal world; but plain practical men, must take things as they are, and deal with mankind as they find them. The great problem of the age, viz., how the mass of corruption which exists in the lanes and closes of our large cities is to be reached and dealt with, can never be solved by him or her who soars too high for ordinary mortals. No; let them indeed sing on, we love their warbling; but sterner hearts, and cooler heads, and more iron hands than theirs are needed to work out the social redemption of the race. The means are being employed; under God we trust these means will be successful, but let not poets think that by their "ideal" they will be able to "blow the dust off the actual," or that we fail

> "Because not poets enough to understand
> That life develops from within."

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S DUTY TO THE MASSES.[1]

The subject embraced in this pamphlet, whether we regard it religiously or socially, is one of the most important that can be brought under the notice of a Christian community. That there are thousands and tens of thousands of human beings living in the midst of us, who have as little knowledge or feeling of their relation to God and eternity, as the beasts of the field, and that this state of things is the cause of all or most of the crime chargeable against our poorer population, are facts which the author sets forth with so much clearness and boldness, that it would be difficult to gainsay. Nay, no one accustomed to perambulate the lanes and wynds of the Old Town of Edinburgh, or of any other town in Scotland, but must feel the overwhelming truth and force of his statements. The wonder, therefore, is not that the evils exist, but that some more powerful remedies have not long ere now been adopted for their removal or

[1] The Church of Scotland's Duty to the Masses; or, the Territorial System of Operations in Large Towns Advocated. By the Rev. Andrew R. Bonar, one of the Ministers of Canongate. Edinburgh: Myles Macphail, 11 St David Street Glasgow: Thomas Murray & Son.

amelioration. If a man in a state of utter poverty and destitution casts himself in despair into the sea, the most careless passer by, actuated by the common sympathies of our nature, makes every effort to save his life; and the fact of his having done so, is no sooner proclaimed to the world, than an ample provision is made for the poor unfortunate, to prevent the recurrence of the event. But we are sorry to think, that there is no such strong corresponding tendency on the part of individual man or society to prevent the spiritual death of his fellows. Although thousands and tens of thousands are constantly perishing around us for want of spiritual instruction, yet there are but few to put forth their hands and vouchsafe assistance. Drunkenness, prostitution, thieving, and every form of criminality, are the inevitable consequences of ignorance—and innumerable hosts of human beings are submerged in these abysses of profligacy and crime. Now the author of the present pamphlet proves, that even by the slender exertions that have been made by Christian philanthropists, that large numbers of these have been reclaimed from their evil ways, and induced to lead religious and moral lives. In this field of exertion, Drs Chalmers, Dickson, Guthrie, and a considerable host of minor names, have worked with untiring perseverence, but the evils are so large and monstrous, that nothing short of the utmost efforts of every civilized and Christian man amongst us can remove them.

The author especially points out the exertions that have been made by the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and their missionaries, in ameliorating this state of things, but he shews at the same time, that all these are inadequate. He calls upon the Church of Scotland in particular, to put forth all her strength in this direction, for although she has not been altogether idle, yet sufficient attention has not been given to bring back or reclaim the waifs of society. The ministers of the Church may go on for centuries preaching man's duties from the pulpit. Mere ministrations may to some extent influence or affect their hearers, but they never reach either the ears or understandings of the poor and degraded portion of their parishioners. As it is the duty of the physician to attend chiefly to the condition of the sick, so it is surely the duty of the Christian minister to attend mainly and chiefly to the condition of the morally deseased. He must not wait, however, till the profligate and criminal members of the community come to him. He must go forth, visit the inmost recesses of their dwellings, and by quiet, submissive, but persevering persuasion, induce them to attend to their religious duties, and thus gradually win them back to society. We must not even forget to assist and advise them with respect to their merely worldly interests, for by combining both, the Christian minister enlists their better sympathies in his favour, and thus induces them to attend to his spiritual ministrations. But every true disciple of Christ knows his duty in these particulars full well, and requires no advice or admonition from us. The condition of a large portion of the poorer classes is so well described by our author, that we cannot refrain from quoting him:—

"In the large towns, however, of Scotland, the plan of our Reformers cannot be said to have had fair scope, though all ministers of the

church had been energetic, and none of them supine. One or two ministers can do comparatively little in labouring among the enormous masses of people assigned to their nominal supervision,—a population of a migratory character, whose condition is not unfrequently such that thorough attention to them would require almost weekly visitation, and not a few of whom are utterly destitute of habits of care and providence. To accomplish the whole work assigned to him in such a sphere, a minister would need to possess the eyes of Argus, the strength of Hercules, the capability of performing his public duties almost independently of study, and freedom from the calls and clamorous intrusions which scare away the genius of contemplation, and often make miserable havoc on his time. Instead of one thousand or two thousand souls, he has, perhaps, to take charge of *six*, *seven*, or *ten thousand*. Instead of having beside him a band of individuals to help and cheer him, on pioneering a way for his efforts on the out-field population, he may be left to struggle well-nigh single-handed and alone.

"Such circumstances ought to be borne in remembrance, as accounting for the existence of the evil; but it is also to be remarked, that the fact of so many of our places of worship being inadequately filled, in districts of dense population, corroborates the assertion made, and shows that the number of our fellow-beings who, habitually or for the most part, neglect the public observances of religion, and—if the public—*a fortiori*, the private duties of the household, is much larger than the test already referred to would indicate.

"With irreligion, poverty is often combined; poverty often superinduced and aided by intemperance. There is a stage of depression too frequently arrived at by many belonging to an old town population, in which a short and transitory relief is craved. Little do those of my readers who have no experience of similar circumstances understand the severity of those trials to which not a few of the poor are exposed. Amidst their often squalid and unattractive homes, subjected to the depressing influence of an unwholesome atmosphere, ground down by hard, ill-remunerated toil, can we wonder that they have recourse to the easily procured, but unwholesome stimulant? It makes them forget for a space their wretched condition,—supplies the want of solid food,—lights up the dreary garret with an imaginary sunshine,—drowns the suggestions of fear, and the forebodings of an hereafter,—and makes them repose as soundly on the pallet of straw, and beneath the cover of rags, as if they lay on a luxurious couch. It is an enjoyment doubtless short-lived; but it lulls many a wounded and bleeding heart to a temporary oblivion;—temporary, for the helpless subjects of it awake to a miserable to-morrow.

"I enter into no inquiry how far legislative enactments may contribute to remedy this evil. Men will *not* be made religious by act of Parliament; yet it is of consequence to have the scenes of Sabbath temptation and riot at least veiled from open view, and the public-houses closed on that day, which is especially needful for the good of our working population. This has been hailed as a boon by many who are engaged in the traffic. They have thankfully availed themselves of the privilege; and none who wish well to the operative classes will fail to desire that in their families, and about their own firesides,—in the hallowed intercourse of relatives and friends,—exchanging thoughts, and entering into conversation upon the highest of all subjects,—they may find the Sabbath's rest the antepast of Heaven itself. When we enter some of the houses occupied by individuals belonging to this class,—when we find the indications of humble but unobtrusive piety, the heart of the Christian minister cannot but rejoice, for he knows that his labours have not been wholly in vain. Such, however, is far from being the prevailing description applicable to the habitations of our

labouring poor. Cases are met with in which there is almost a total ignorance of what it most concerns human beings to be acquainted with,—in which there is a complete forgetfulness of parental duty,—a stolid ignorance, which the most persevering efforts are called for to meet. Sometimes there is a glaring amount of sin, and an utter recklessness which is fitted to dismay the Christian philanthropist. The fact cannot be disguised, that while the missionary societies of our various churches care for those who are in distant lands, and give liberally, that means may be used, and labourers supported, who shall devote themselves to the spiritual enlightenment of the Hindu, the New Zealander, or the Caffre,—they are apt to forget the proximate claims which should call for primary attention,—the great field of enterprise, —laborious, self-denied, untinged by any romantic glow—which lies within reach of their firesides and homes. We honour the men who have devoted themselves to fields of foreign labour; but we could wish, also, that nearer claims were not so apt to be forgotten."

Again in the following passage, there is so much truthfulness and force of delineation, that the author must have drawn his sketch from life:—

"The evil of *poverty*, for which true religion alone offers a palliative (for 'the poor,' we are told, 'shall not cease out of the land'), is sufficiently obvious; yet it admits of being alleviated by commending the truth of the gospel to the hearts of the thousands who now endure its bitter pangs. If we can be the means of raising them to the rank of Christians, we shall be the agents in dispensing a 'charity' which is 'twice blessed.' Meanwhile, sights distressing to the eye and trying to the senses, present themselves; gaunt and squalid forms are seen looking at us in despair with the sunken eyes of disease and want; children, uncared for almost from infancy, stunted in growth, and brutalized in manners, are obtruded on the gaze. But let us not rest satisfied with 'the waifs and strays' of suffering humanity we may thus casually encounter: would we know the prevalence and pressure of this distemper of society, we must set out to make observations for ourselves, at whatever sacrifice of inclination. Accustomed to a luxurious, or, at all events, to a comfortable home, little do some know about the circumstances under which many of the indigent maintain a constant and formidable struggle with want and famine; many really ignorant of the quarter whence the next meal is to come. These are not all vicious, however much neglect may expose them to multiplied temptations; nor drunkards, in spite of inclination to make the draught of fiery, and often adulterated spirits quell the cravings for wholesome food, which they have not the means of obtaining, or of making ready. They have not all lost the sense of shame; for many shrink from notice; many, too, remember better days, when their condition was decent, and they seemed '*well to-do*' in the world. Nor are all disposed to be idle; there are hundreds who have in vain sought work, such as they are able to perform, and have not found it: at this moment, there are many who would undergo hard drudgery, if it could procure for them daily bread. There are defenceless females cast, unprotected, as upon a rough and stormy ocean; deprived by death of husbands or of parents; and there are those whom commercial depression or some other blow has ruined—"unable to dig, and yet ashamed to beg.' Few, comparatively, as these better cases may be supposed to be, yet such exist; and experience will testify that the proportion is larger than we may be at first apt to imagine. Bearing this in mind, let us make a survey of some of the places in which they live. Take, for instance, a portion of the Old Town of Edinburgh, with which the writer has some acquaintance. Go up one of the more dingy-looking tenements that front the street; each *flat* in which was,

perhaps, fifty or thirty years ago, the commodious, well-furnished house of the opulent shopkeeper and substantial man of business, before the new edifices—worthy of a city of palaces—on the other side of the 'North Loch,' —had spread out their tempting attractions, and their undeniable advantages, especially for families naturally anxious and probably able to live better than their fathers did. A different, but still a respectable, and reputable set of tradesmen's and artisans' families have succeeded them; generally of good moral habits, and of decent appearance. But often also the house once of this nature has been split up into half-a-dozen smaller ones—large families living in single rooms; the atmosphere of the apartment is close and loaded—the walls are dingy—the floor not in a state of unsullied purity—nay, personal cleanliness, naturally, almost necessarily, somewhat at a discount. For water perhaps is scarce, and has to be carried from the nearest well, up a long flight of steps, in which noisy urchins, and little girls of astonishing strength of lungs, and hair in much-admired disorder, whose hands and faces allow you to draw an easy inference that they are much addicted to dabbling in the neighbouring gutter —are romping, to the serious interruption of the chance explorer. You ascend to a greater, but not always to an improving altitude; you have quitted the temperate, and are now come to what, in sober reality, is the *frigid* territory; for, as you stoop your head, lest it come abruptly in contact with joists and rafters in the long passage of the attic regions, you see on either side of the way a succession of what appear to be doors, but some mouldering on their hinges, and incapable of being fastened. Enter at some of them, and you may chance to see what kind of *dens* the poor are often forced to dwell in; what *had* been panes in the broken windows, stuffed with rags; the pervious roof filtering every shower and storm upon the inmates; the gaping crevices that let through November blasts, at least serving to banish noxious exhalations, however productive of cramp and rheumatism, even to originally the strongest frames. In these, however, in spite of all disadvantages, decency is often predominant; you will find in some of them poor creatures, with wonderful resignation, with meek and quiet spirits, making the best of the miserable dole of parish aid; while in others, poverty and crime, reckless improvidence and dissipation, alternating with pinching want and rueful reflection, have their abode."

But the infidel or careless observer maintains that he cannot see how religion can by possibility raise this order of society from their degraded and prostrate condition; and that all that is pretended to have been done is nothing more than the dreams and hallucinations of visionaries. Now we cannot possibly address this class of reasoners excepting after their own utilitarian fashion. To tell them of the spiritual delight and comfort of a true believer, appears to them nothing more than a collection of fantastic and idle expressions. But when we inform them, and insist upon our position by referring to positive evidence, that a knowledge of true religion, united with a feeling for it, expands the whole faculties of man, and that for this simple reason, it fits both his intellectual and moral nature for wider and more expanded operations. Let him once feel strongly and truly that he has a sense of law within him which demands absolute obedience, and which he feels he cannot realise, he not only becomes a better being morally, but he studies with greater accuracy the laws of the material universe. By his religious nature being awakened, man thus becomes not only a better but a more intellectual being; he is anon a more useful member of society, a better ser-

vant, a more dutiful husband, and a kinder father. We have accordingly often felt astonished that the unbeliever, taking the mere utilitarian view of the question, has not hastened with the Christian to promote the religious culture of the humbler classes,—for his interests and much of his happiness are dependent on them. But though these mere materialistic benefits necessarily accrue from the dissemination of true religion, yet the Christian is actuated by no such narrow-minded motive. His desire alone is the dissemination and culture of true religion, and the consequent happiness of all believers both in this world and the next. For these reasons we would earnestly recommend the perusal of this pamphlet to our readers.

And we cannot more appropriately conclude these remarks than by giving our author's solution of this problem, a solution which has not hitherto been earnestly and systematically attempted on the part of the Established Church:—

"The Secession, or as some call it, the Disruption of 1843—an event itself deeply to be deplored, carrying away so many able ministers, faithful elders, and attached people, from the Establishment—after the first stunning shock was over, served but to call forth new strength and energy, never, assuredly, more required. That the effects of this movement were peculiarly marked and disastrous in most of our large towns will be admitted by competent judges. A large proportion of the pulpits in Glasgow, an equally large proportion in Edinburgh and elsewhere, were devoid of ministers; nor could it be expected that those nominated to the vacant charges could at once devote themselves to vigorous aggressive efforts to elevate the more destitute part of the population. Our Endowment Scheme, so vigorously worked by Dr Robertson, has been attended by a large measure of success; the eloquent pleadings of its convener set forth its claims on the confidence and support of the members of the Church. But its working out, so as to overtake the large amount of spiritual destitution existing, is neither so flexile nor speedy in its operation as to admit of pausing on that account; and it is the Church's duty to go forth without delay to the lanes and closes by her messengers, to scale the lofty tenements, and penetrate their recesses, that the inmates may be awakened from the sleep of spiritual death, told of a Saviour who 'waits to be gracious,' and admonished to 'put off the works of darkness,' and 'put on the armour of light.' She must be up and doing, from higher motives more especially, inasmuch as her ministers and office-bearers are called upon to 'watch for souls' as those who must 'give account;' and also because of this subordinate reason, that others are stepping in to supply the want, are occupying the ground to her inculpation, are caring for the poor and destitute, and taking away from her ancient reputation as the Church of the needy—the carer for the careless. Is it symptomatic of a full amount of zeal in the cause that, with almost the single exception of Mr Robertson of Greyfriars' well-meant experiment in the Grassmarket,—an experiment tried on rather a reduced scale,—scarcely one additional place of worship in connection with her has been erected for the last fifteen years, with a view to the benefit of the dense masses of our Old Town population? Other bodies, meanwhile, have built their territorial churches, whose spires are seen rising amidst the haunts of poverty and vice, and within whose walls numerous worshippers statedly attend, supplied by a ministry specially for the benefit of the poor. Experience has by this time taught that the most necessitous part of our population derive but little benefit from our stately and splendid ecclesiastical edifices, with their extra-

parochial congregations, recipients, merely, of the Word, and too little concerned about endeavours to bring others within reach of its sound. Poorly attired, these are scared away by the gathering of better dressed worshippers; while many of them require a special, plainer, and more illustrative method of address. They need, moreover, to be invited and wrought upon by earnest persuasion to 'come in;' for they will not come of their own accord. The gospel must be brought to their homes ere it will gain a lodgment in their hearts. They need to be affectionately dealt with, by families, and even individually, to be plied by repeated visitation, to be assured of cordial and Christian sympathy. They must be made the objects of fervent, persevering prayer, if souls are to be saved from the destroyer, and the moral wilderness is to 'blossom as the rose.'

"But *how*, the question may well be started, is such a work as this to be accomplished? Where are the agents? Is it not, after all, no more than a chimera? The poor we shall always have; and is it not vain to dream of plucking these unfortunates from the mire of sensuality and the 'Slough of Despond?' Let us, in reply, advert to a worse state of matters. Let us look upon a world full of vice and darkness—power and authority everywhere enlisted against the claims of Christianity—its Founder slain upon the cross—its advocates and heralds but a few fishermen of Galilee. It may, indeed, be alleged that those early messengers of 'Christ and Him crucified' were endowed with the power of working miracles, and were accredited by attestations from on high. But this we know to have been an exception to the ordinary course of the Divine procedure; and because of its exceptional nature we are not the less encouraged to go forward to the work of faith and the labour of love. Have we forgotten the wonders done of old? or the fact that, in our own land and elsewhere,—among many of the islands of the Pacific, in the valleys of New Zealand, among the turf huts of Ireland, as well as amidst the homes of the cottager and the artisan,—the Word has had 'free course,' and been brought home to the conscience and the heart. The old parochial machinery of Scotland, with its manageable parishes, zealous ministry, and numerous working eldership, and its disciples, 'living epistles of Christ,' with, as an important adjunct, its Scriptural school, intended by our Reformers to have been erected in every parish, whether urban or rural, and without any barrier in the way of the poorest of the people frequenting the sanctuary; with such means sufficiently provided in our large towns, with—and destitute of this, all will be comparatively useless—the revival of a warm, genial, energetic, and enterprising piety among the members of the Church, its present shame and scandal will be removed; for it is a matter of reproach, and a source of weakness, that the public should behold unendowed congregations not only paying their minister and meeting the whole expense of ordinances, but, in addition, founding schools, establishing home missions, and erecting new places of worship in destitute localities; while, with all the money at the command of the members of our Church, many of them contribute less to the spread of the gospel, even at home, than would provide for but one of their sumptuous entertainments; so that hardly a single step has been taken, at least in the metropolis of Scotland, beyond the ancient landmarks. Not a few, indeed, of our places of worship, even in the Old Town, may be respectably occupied; but it is chiefly by those who already set a measure of value on religious ordinances, or who have not thrown off the restraints of early habits. But *where are the poor*, generally speaking, so far as she is concerned? What amount of trophies have been won from out of the populous court or the teeming thoroughfare? How many outcasts, in connection with our several congregations—in proportion to what *might* have been the case, had there been greater zeal, devotedness, and effort—have

been brought, 'clothed and in their right mind,' to sit at the feet of Jesus?

"The question arises, What shall be done to remedy this evil? Or must thousands of our fellow-immortals be allowed to drift into eternity, having it to plead that, whatever others might attempt, the endowed Church of their country failed to reach them with the voice of warning and exhortation, surrounded, as they were, by temptation, too often having ground to say, 'No man cared for my soul.' Other brethren are working in this field zealously and well. Shall we not seek to meet with them upon this common ground, on which denominational differences—disputes about external polity—may well be merged in the high endeavour to bring souls to Christ? Let us not talk of the idea as chimerical, for its solution has already been exemplified. But it is a work of patient labour, self-denial, and faith, in the case of those who take active part in it, and one, moreover, which demands liberal contributions from those who have the highest good of others at heart.

"Those of our congregations who have means and some portion of time at command (and it is wonderful how true Christians will find labour in the Lord's vineyard compatible with the discharge of week-day duty) should, if genuine Christians, consider themselves as called upon to act in a *missionary capacity*—urged to come forth to the 'help of the Lord against the mighty.' Many may not have the 'tongue of the learned,' or ability to plead; but there is a charm, almost a magic power, in the efforts of love, against which few human hearts can remain altogether proof. Did not the paid merely, but the unpaid advocates of the gospel endeavour to act amongst the dense masses of our population with prudence and zeal, they might become more useful pioneers. Their occasional presence would light up the homes of the poor. Their well-considered help might be of the utmost consequence; and a way would be prepared for the reclaiming of many who are now outcasts, leading careless lives, which continuing unchanged, must conduce to a miserable and hopeless eternity."

THE ACCORDANCE OF CHRISTIANITY WITH THE NATURE OF MAN.

In the three great domains of man's investigation—the physical, moral, and metaphysical—we are continually striving towards simplification. It would, indeed, almost appear that the only mission of the unfortunate creature, man, is to pull down the great toy—the world—to see if possible the original springs and pulleys, and then die in despair. Haüy strains after the original form of the crystal, and his spirit flew off in a hypothesis. Schwann gets to the cell, the protoplast of all organic life, and cannot get any further—he has only destroyed an amount of muscle. Faraday, with more destructiveness in his analysis, tears away at the toy, and thinks he has got at the secret by an assumption of spheres of power. He leaves energy and takes the concrete clean away. Leibnitz, in an analagous way, within the strange domain of his metaphysics, resolves all things into his monas which has no dimensions—only energy. Perhaps no man ever got further into the toy, if the objection be not, that he went farther than he can be followed except by those morbid creatures who are cursed or blessed with the metaphysical bias. We use the alternative because we do not know whether they be

nearer to, or further away from a knowledge of God, than those who are contented with the world as they find it with all its wonders of design—whether for good or evil—its beauty and its deformity. But we are scarcely doubters,—analysis does not lead to God. It leads to nothing—a point without dimensions—a molecule which is neither something nor nothing—a spirit which is merely attenuated matter—a matter which is only a kind of coarse or vulgar spirit. There the speculator ends, puffing away his life in a philosophical euthanasia. The practical thinker does not take down the watch and analyse the matter of the wheels to follow the force to its ultimate, with the vain hope of seeing how the hours—those cycles which are only the reductions of the planetary laws—are bound up in an energy which flies from him as he pursues it, clinging to every atom of the concrete, and nevergratifying his eyes with the sight of it as a *spiritus purus*. He only examines and understands, and by natural logic attributes the engine work to a mind; and in a way analogous he gets to a knowledge of God, not by alembics, microscopes, or telescopes, or a differential calculus, but by an imperative law which has no modes or figures of logic about it to obscure and mislead—only an energy which is irresistible, and an object which is sufficiently cognizable by the internal sense.

Returning to our subject, it is only where we carry our so called investigations too far that we find ourselves always ready to fall into atheism or pantheism. Nay, the beauty of design increases as we get nearer the simple. There is nothing more delightful than the theories of crystals, and cells, and logical figures. They are the protoplasts by which nature works up her great achievements, and we must follow as she builds, tracing the forms and colours of the gem, the structural beauties of the flower, the developments of animal life and the steps of the syllogism. Our admiration is raised by our progress again from the simple to the complex. We do not dwell sensuously on the beauty of the mere results. Our sense of the beautiful is not so much enhanced as changed by our feeling of wonder—the true source, as Ganganelli said—however mean it may appear, of all natural theology.

So, too, there are crystals, and cells in the domain of morals and religion. These moral crystals are great beauties in their own pure nature, nor are they less wonderful when laid open to us in their simplicity than their analogues in the physical world. The difficulty is to find them, for they are not to be produced by combinations of elements like the false diamonds of Crosse, or the artificial rubies of Ebelmann; neither when they are found are we, like Helvetius (de l'Esprit) to apply to them the blow pipe of a sceptical analysis, and fuse them into the dust of atheism or irreligion. It is, indeed, a strange power that gives us these moral gems. We find it in Aristotle more than in almost any other man. The possessor of it must be so much of a sceptic as to be able to clear away all the rubbish with which they have been encrusted by gradual accumulations ever since the fall, and yet so much of a dogmatist as to be able to hold fast by the inestimable jewel while he is charmed by the glory of its refulgence. How near David Hume was to this type. If he had read less of the academics and more of the

Bible; if he had been a Christian, no mind that during the Christian era has appeared to reconcile the great mission to man's aspirations, could have succeeded like his, so clear, so logical, yet so simple, in the very chaos and tourbillons of error.

When we consider a little what is called the progress of society, we are often inclined to ask with Mr Disraeli, progress to what? We know better what the progress is *from* than what it is *to*. On questions purely theoretical, the world had a sounder heart hundreds of years ago than now. The practical reason is the great rising product of civilization. It is a twin brother who increases in strength, leaving his companion of the womb to the dominion of rickets, with wasting flesh, knobbed bones, knotted sinews, and an "auld farrant" wisdom which makes healthy people laugh. Every thing conspires to this result. The hunt after material wants is always on the increase, sensualism not only gets rhetorical but rational—rhetorical because the poet is essentially a sensualist—rational because a wish is the mother of practical logic. The good old theories of morals, religion, and metaphysics, come to have a dry macerated abstract appearance with no pabulum for the big paunch of an advanced civilization. We daily see the old rational landmarks broken up. Reimar began with holy writ. The good old opinion that the bible was inspired, was touched with the kakodyle poison of progress, and every year since has witnessed farther applications by Strauss's, Newman's, and Macnaughton's, till even sensible people begin to spin their wish-born dialectics, and think they have a right to criticise very ancient and very reverent things. The old doctrine of the fall, too, with its fine venerable aspect and dramatic reality, used to be satisfactory to those who examined it with simplicity of heart. To the practical reason there is a myth in all things, and in none greater than in the Mosaic revelations. Just see how that book, "the testimony of the rocks," has been run after by the wise children of progress. If it has an unctuous rhetoric about it, a smack of the spices of figures of speech or thought, it is of small importance whether it sacrifices to God or Baal. They read with the "leaping eye" of delight how Lucifer, the son of the morning, having rebelled against God, is cast down upon the earth, at that primeval time a fiery hell. The arch-fiend witnesses creation going on under God's hand, race succeeds race, animal destroys animal, and as he slouches among the dense araucarian forests he wonders at that creative power, but he laughs, too, till the echoes resound through that ancient night when he sees the fierce creatures tear each other limb from limb, and devour each his brother created thing—created by God, whom the fiend now has reason to accuse of being the very direct cause of that very evil he himself glories in, and for a demonstration of which he is to be punished. No wonder that he grins with delight in his own fiendish way; but there is some wonder that the readers of this "paradise never won" should grin also. It may not be much to say that there could be no fall where innocence—in the midst of ravenous beasts—was impossible; that all our good old sacred notions are rooted up, that the corner stone of the Christian edifice is overturned and hurled into a ditch; but it is something to say, that the testimony

is credited and applauded as something new and very wonderful, without, too, a single attempt at either a natural or a revealed theodicæa to account for this terrible discrepancy between the testimony of dead matter, and the revelations of the living spirit.

It is some comfort to go back from the last mile-stone of this progress, to Mr Fry, who, though bodily of the present, is spiritually of the good old times. He has given us some essays[1] which are remarkable for that kind of simplicity, which can be arrived at, only by good thinkers. The book is a quaker in the Vanity Fair of our rhetorical literature,—humble and gentle—humble in that it avoids all questions which are beyond human reach, and gentle in that it seeks for truth in the spirit of a true Christian philosopher. Mr Fry does not enter into the strife between Moses and the Geologists, nor into the higher question whether the bible scheme was worthy of God; but assuming that the doctrine of man's fall and redemption is true, he enquires whether, according to a reasonable expectation, we meet in human nature as known to us, any traces of that purity in which man was created, along with any evidences in the soul of a perversion of its functions. It is not pretended that there is any novelty in this argument. We are aware there is not, and we are aware also, that being one of analogy between things material and things spiritual it never can pretend to a probation. We may concede that "an instrument or a machine that has originally been designed with skill for any given end or process, will retain evidences of it to any skillful observer even if it may have undergone such injury or perversion as at present to answer that end or purpose inefficiently,"—without being able to admit that the fact of the conscience is an evidence of a perversion of man's nature. The cases are essentially different, in so much as we have no experience of any perfect human soul. We admit at once that it is a fair assumption, in the question that conscience, as a judicatory, is a fact in the nature of man. Hutchison and Butler are too much for Paley and Mandeville. We might as well say that there is no intuitive power of vision because our sense of sight requires, as Berkeley shewed, to be instructed by the movements of the hand, as that there is no connate faculty of distinguishing right from wrong because the internal judicatory requires to be instructed by an amount of experience. The mere fact, as insisted for by the old writers, such as De Vayer, that the judicatory may, in different countries award different judgments on minor matters involving taste, does not affect the case in any degree, and indeed, the good sense of mankind has settled this once vexed question for good and all. But the ulterior question, whether conscience is a sign of perversion of the original nature of the soul, is one of so much greater difficulty, that we are even met by a low theodicæa which insists for conscience being an evidence of a present existing dignity in man's nature. The place which Mr Fry occupies is therefore some where between the Calvinist and the mere moralist—"the springs of Calvin" and the "Drumly dubs of our own delving." To the one, he can say what the English gentleman said to Boston when he had heard him unfold the terrible doctrine of

[1] Essays on the Accordance of Christianity with the Nature of Man. By Edward Fry. Constable & Co.

man's complete corruption, "You do not leave me even so much of goodness as to enable me to know my wickedness." And to the mere moralist, who insists upon conscience being the regulator of a mind perfect in its species, he can say, "Conscience is more of a censor and reprover of the acts of the will than a director of that will;" and here indeed lies all the strength of Mr Fry's position—the fact which can scarcely be denied of a conflict between the conscience and the desires, in which the desires obtain the victory, only to be reproved and condemned by the conscience.

But from this conclusion, that the higher part of man's nature is for ever censuring and regretting the condition of the lower as something perverted from a better state, we are in carrying out the enquiry precipitated into questions still more formidable, and indeed so difficult as apparently to mock us. There must be an inheritance of evil. It may be true, as Mr Fry argues, that there are such characteristics as national types and family likenesses, in which last respect we could help him with remarkable cases, such as that of the Claudian family of Rome instanced by Dr Gregory—that of the Cassini's, that of the Bernouilli's, with which every biography is conversant, that of the Gregorys of our own country, and many others; but why treat a question of this kind by having recourse to what botanists call the trivial characters? Mankind physically and mentally is one species. This may be at once admitted; but the Christian doctor immediately shrugs his shoulders as he thinks of the heterodox Sonnerat, and the terrible profanity of the propagation of souls. So, too, Mr Fry shrinks from any allusion to the old heresy with a thousand anathemas on its head, at the very time that his delicacy forbade any reference to, though his argument almost rejects the orthodox theory of a new soul prepared for every body, and inspired into the fœtus within a given specified time calculated to a day by the old anatomists. We do not even get quit of the difficulty by discarding the old Catholic dogma, for which there is no direct authority in Scripture, and adhering to an inheritance of sin as a counterpart of the propagation of souls, for we are immediately met by the objection that such propagation is destructive of all identity, independence, and responsibility of individual spirits. But why so? simply because we are led by analogies drawn from physical things. The seed is the connection between the young tree and the old. There is only one tree of each species on the face of the earth. There is not a second. It has grown—only casting off the old parts—for thousands of years—yea since that moment when God called it into existence.

Yet with this terror of a loss of personality in a confused consubstantiation, the Nicene doctors, proceeding on sacred authority, decreed the doctrine of the Athanasian Creed—unity of substance in the Divine Trio, and a distinction of persons. Had there been the same or similar authority in the other case, they would not have hesitated in decreeing a personality of the souls of men as perfectly consistent with an apparent unity of substance, and by this means they would have saved their dogma of the inheritance of sin, while they avoided the inconsistency of a pure emanation at every birth becoming corrupted when it enters the

precincts of the bodily temple. That there is no authority for such a doctrine may fairly be admitted; but, on the other hand, there is no authority except that of the mystagogue against it,—surely that which is not derogatory of God cannot be derogatory of man. And, after all, the "Hermit shadow" of religion cannot shew us more wonders in the hall of mystery than we can find in the arcana of nature.

For all such revelations man has a faith,—a subject on which Mr Fry has given us a very ingenious essay, characterised by the same clearness of thought and simplicity of diction. This is a subject on which there has been no agreement among metaphysicians. It is curious enough that among the old scholastics we seldom or ever find the words belief or faith. They generally used assent—a consequence probably of their division of all mental acts into knowledge and opinion, the latter soliciting assent according to its support, the former comprehending the assent in its very nature. The later metaphysicians have been sorely puzzled how to define belief, and it seems still to be a sphynx. Hume, Reid, Kant, Jacobi, and Kames have all given us different accounts of it; the real Œdipus seems still awanting, and probably ever will be. It seems to belong to the intellect, and yet laughs at its master. It sometimes despises the desires, and pretends to be independent of all moral influences as being beneath it. At other times we see it the very slave of a paltry feeling—hanging upon the accents of a lover's lips, and turning an adder's ear to the notes of inspiration. Often it mocks the very senses while it worships the wildest mysteries. Imaginations even more monstrous than the splitting of the moon by Mahomet, or the churning of the ocean into butter by the Indian god, are not only not too much for it, they claim also adoration. At other times it rejects all association with, and all obedience to, the clearest dictates of experience, lying in gloomy obstinacy amidst the charms of nature, and crying all is vanity and lying appearances.

The most startling peculiarity of this extraordinary act or power of the human mind is, that it is essentially the same in all cases whether the fact believed be true or false. Faith, which is a belief in things unknown, is the same in a philosophical sense as it appears in the Hindoo or in the Mahomedan. It is a species (spiritual) with infinite varieties, but in this analogy to physical dichotomy we must always keep in view, that while in physics there is no falsehood, all mind is liable to error. A variety of rhododendron is never false to nature as a variety. A variety of faith may be false to the God of faith. In judging of cults we must therefore have recourse to—as the last court of appeal—the judicatory of the intellect; but Mr Fry says that this is either impossible or impracticable, at least that we never find in the world that men act upon this principle. The most important truths he asserts are beyond the reach of the intellect altogether. He is here in the track of Kant, who brings in the practical reason to resolve by the will which is free, all the doubts of the theoretical reason; but he improves so far upon the German, that he weaves an ingenious argument in favour of Christianity out of the old elements,—shewing that all the importance attributed to faith in the sacred writings,—an importance

which could scarcely be justified by viewing religious belief as a mere act of the intellect alone,—is consistent with our nature, which concedes to the moral power a privilege of so leading the intellect, and of being so led by it that the result is a belief produced by, and producing a godly life. The only objection to this is, that it applies to any religious cult which patronizes virtue, but to claim for it a preference in favour of the Christian scheme, we have only to fall back on the supremacy of that faith in its capability of rational proof, and in its striking adaptation to the nature and exigencies of the human mind.

Nor are we to forget that every religion, the true as well as the false, must be founded in mystery. The difference is, that in the false the mystagogue, or interpreter, is an inspired idiot or a disciplined knave; in the true it is man's spirit brooding over the mystery of his being, and searching to find how far the exigencies of his nature are satisfied by the visions of his faith. A low cult may satisfy a savage, but it is only the highest and the best that can be accepted by the highest educated and the best instructed of the nations. That acceptance in our time, when considered in reference to the acceptors, is the best proof of the superiority of that which is accepted,—an assertion which can be redargued only by him who rejects all religion, and he may be safely left to the tender mercies of the mystery in which he is born, in which he lives, and in which he must die. On such grounds we find Mr Fry inquiring how far mysteries are agreeable to the nature of the human mind, and here we must accord him the praise of that same clearness of thought which pervades all the essays, and reminds us of a distinction all but lost sight of, that as there is a beauty in the sentiments independently of figures of thought or speech, so there is a beauty in the intellect apart from the influence of the pathological aids of emotion. The great difficulty which attends religious mysteries, is not that they transcend the reach of our instruments of thought, for that which lies beyond the boundaries of our experience may be any thing however incongruous or absurd, if it may not be that the more absurd the more probable. It is that they often present to us contradictions not as opposed to that which we know, for we are prepared to expect that, as all our ideas of a necessary connection between cause and effect are dependent on experience, a cause might be any thing other than what we find it to be, but as conflicting between themselves, and, therefore, suggesting the nature of an impossibility. But here we are always running the risk of the common mistake of not recurring to the distinction insisted upon by the old metaphysicians—that which obtains between an impossibility *in re* and an impossibility *in deo*. If we overlook this distinction, and judge of mysteries as true or not true according as they harmonize or conflict among themselves, we must reject them altogether, and along with them all schemes of religion. This would appear absurd even as viewed from the standpoint of our daily experience; for, as Mr Fry observes, we often in a court of justice find facts apparently so conflicting as to excite our ridicule, and yet in the end reconciled by some incidental proof altogether unexpected. But it is even more absurd when viewed from our most ultimate point of scientific reach, for that point is always a sheer assump-

tion—say a pure mechanical point without dimensions—a pure substance or essence without qualities—a pure moral law without an emotion of beauty in the right or of ugliness in the wrong. How can dimensions co-exist with no dimensions—a quantitive with a nonquantitive—a qualitative with a nonqualitative—a moral law without a sanction of approbation or reprobation. Yet these contradictions are daily accepted by us by a kind of a necessary philosophical humility which is the true sign of a complete intellect.

Without being more paradoxical than nature herself, we might say—if we were to judge in a sense at once transcendental and natural, that it is of the very essence of a mystery that it bears some contradiction to another mystery, for if we found a perfect harmony, we would have revealed to us something which is not to be found within that scope, to the term of which we are daily pretending that our faculties extend. It would be no mystery to reveal to us that God is all good,—the mystery is evolved when we are told that God also permits evil. There would, in like manner, be no mystery in the enunciation that the world had a beginning in time and space, but when it is added, that space is eternal, as an attribute of God, the mystery appears.

We are aware that we here take ground so much higher than that occupied by Mr Fry, that we run the risk of appearing paradoxical; so far he certainly goes with us, but while we say with Kant and Sir William Hamilton, that these contradictions are incapable of explanation, he attempts a reconciliation, by suggesting that the contradictions arise from some wrong inferences which we draw from one of the conflicting terms:—"thus for instance, we are not called on in regard to any mystery to hold directly that God is good, and that God is not good; though we are so called on to believe that God is good, and that he permits the existence of evil, which seems to conflict with the inferences which we draw from his goodness." This is the common language, but we suspect it is no better for being common; if indeed, the commonest people among whom the seeds of atheism have a warm bed, do not view it altogether as a *nihil dicit*, or even something worse. The knot is too hard for a Gordian—the muscle too tough for a Pappin. We cannot both have a mystery and no mystery in the revelation of the same idea. The concessions of the learned, are the opportunity of the unlearned. The little atheist is generally a great speaker; the smallest inconsistency—great to him if it came from a great authority—is sufficient to make him a polyglott. The thick head of ignorance is a charged mine, ready at all times to explode by the application of a spark of false learning. One of our small spasmodic cultivators of the poetry of universals, has said in his own way, which we cannot imitate, that so harmoniously formed is this universe of ours, if it were to be destroyed in some of the mad fits when worlds crash against worlds, so grandly described by the author of "Night and the Soul," it might be reconstructed out of the fragment of an idea—so may it be said in another sense, that a theism which is very well supported by mysteries, not attempted to be interpreted, may be destroyed by a false gloss rendered by a single ray of reason.

UNIVERSITY REFORM.

WHAT's in a name? It governs the world. Nations enlightened and unenlightened, savage, half-civilized and civilized, are all alike led on and governed by names. The conquests of the world, and the fierce butcheries of revolutions, take their beginnings from names, dexterously made use of by dexterous men, who know how to turn the name to the furtherance of the cause they have espoused, and their own peculiar ends. Is a province to be enslaved, a country to be revolutionized, or in a word, is there to be any change in the political or ecclesiastical institutions of the country, there is some specious name made use of, wide and indefinite, yet of sufficient power from its talismanic influence, to sway the minds of the majority to the end desired. Liberty, fraternity, equality, were powerful words in France. Liberty is the dominant word in America. Reform is the word with us.

Let no one for a moment imagine that we are opposed to a healthy, rational, and needful reform in any part of the constitution. Neither let any one think from what has been said or from what may be advanced, that we are opposed to a change in the educational institutions of the country, when it can be shewn that these changes are not only in themselves real improvements, but are not more than counterbalanced by the ultimate results of these changes. No change is worthy of the name of reform, which does not possess these three requisites, that it be a necessary change, a real improvement, and that no injury be done to the general interests. Professor Blackie and the other Scottish University Reformers, cannot get quit of the consequences which may be the result of the proposed changes in our colleges; for although a philosopher may be allowed to repudiate the consequences which may be deduced from his system as not his, yet in the practical affairs of life, these must all be taken into account.

We wish our readers to bear in mind, and the reformers, that we are not the opponents of high scholarship in Scotland; we are glad to see an attempt made to introduce a higher scholarship. We have no quarrel with the reformers on this point, but object to the method by which it is being attempted to bring it about, and the tendency to monopoly which the movement is taking, and the evident preference it is giving to capital, to money, which we shall expose as we proceed. But meanwhile we turn aside to say, that in our simplicity, we thought the only sure way of making scholars, was to carry along the steady lads who come up from the country to our colleges in a steady way, giving to them such exercises as would lead them to a thorough knowledge of the language, and prescribing to them such readings in Greek, or whatever else, as would ensure that all, or the greater part done, should be the result of their own labour; that they should not be compelled from too long readings, to have recourse to "screws," which are often made use of to prepare the Professor for the students, and the students for the Professor.

We have spoken of "screws;" our readers know not what these

mean, and begin to picture to themselves a long line of bottles, with an immense screw destined to uncork the vast array. Let no one take alarm. The only immorality suggested is, to go to the theatre on Saturday, church on Sabbath, and consummation devoutly contrived to unscholarize Scotland;—sleep the remainder of the week!! This shews reform to be wanted, but where? This is a method by which Scottish scholarship is to be elevated, and learning made easy!! We thought a different method would better answer that purpose. This in our simplicity. A Professor very suddenly took some strange notions into his head about the peculiar and proper status and dignity of a professor, and resolved no longer to give in to the vulgar idea that a Professor was to be a Dominie, and teach as had been done in former years; but to teach after his own idea. So would we have every man do. But first get that machinery at work which shall answer your idea, or otherwise, instead of producing what you so earnestly desire, the result will be to unscholarize Scotland. It is not unreasonable to attack a system even when pursued by a high authority. Nor is it, though it bear that image, attacking a man personally. We are most anxious that our readers observe, that although we shall in these remarks criticise the system of one man, we have no quarrel with him as a man,—as a man who means well by education, we respect him; as a Professor, he is capable of inspiring his Students with a high enthusiasm and a strong desire for high attainments—as a Reformer he shews himself to the world, his own methods and plans must stand the test. Of the system then, not the man, we speak.

We are deemed by the *Times*, the most prejudiced of nations, and are thought by that most English of English papers, to be making a retrograde movement. There may be some slight sprinkling of truth in the assertion made by a paper not the freest of national prejudices, that we are a prejudiced nation,—yet we think, a Scotchman in the lower ranks of life has some reason, when he is compared with his neighbour in the South from the same ranks, to be proud of the Institutions of his country, which are such as to allow him to attain a good, a useful, a cheap, and classical education in our Universities; which, if they did no other good, would yet have a tendency to humanize and polish the mind, by the mere congregation of the most active and restless minds of the country. This is that of which the present movement is to deprive us, and if the movement should have no other injurious tendency than this, it would be sufficient to raise the opposition of all who would wish to see a general scholarship rather than to see a few very great and high scholars. The movement tends to limit our Institutions to a few, not to open them to the many; it is restrictive in its operation, and this is called a reform.

Now, we put it to the common sense of every one—of the reformers themselves,—whether it will not tend more to our progress as a nation, and national progress depends upon individual developement, that our Educational Institutions take in a larger rather than a smaller circle? which will be most beneficial? A few highly educated men such as are in England, whose influence will scarce be felt beyond the sphere in which they themselves move, or a larger, much larger number, not

so highly trained in Latin and Greek, but yet with a respectable acquaintance of both languages, and a vigour of thought on other and philosophic subjects for which the English Students are not so famous. Which is better, that there should be a wide-spread and moderately high knowledge, or a high knowledge, but limited to a very few? For the general interests of the country, we think few can hesitate between the two alternatives. If we were compelled to make a choice —but we are not driven to either alternative,— we do not see why both objects might not be attained. In the movement as urged by our friends the reformers, we see only one alternative taken—high scholarship. Both might be attained, were the Professor to apply himself to the duties of his chair, instead of favouring his students with Lectures on everything under the sun, except that for which his chair was established. A Professor may please his fancy, and contribute much to the amusement of his students by loose, long, and rambling speeches, and were it impossible to get these out of College, one might there pay for them and be thankful, but in this utilitarian age, people are very unwilling to pay for such windy displays. Better the Professor would keep to his teaching, and not drive away from our Colleges country lads who in the end prove the best students.

The change proposed is undesirable at the expense. We are as favourable to high scholarship as the Reformers can be, but we oppose high scholarship when it is proposed to put it in place of an extensive, general scholarship. It will never do for Scotland, now in the nineteenth century, to adopt any measure which will have the tendency to throw the great body of the people, the general mass, behind the age in which they live, to adopt a measure which will lessen that general intelligence of which they have reason to be proud. Nor would we wish them to entertain too high a notion of their intelligence; we hope they shall always have the good sense so to estimate it, as to be always prepared for taking advantage of any means of progress put before them from whatever quarter it come.

We have all along wished our readers to bear in mind that we are not opposed to a reform, when it is one. We do not belong to the genus non-progressive. We advocate a moderate and a judicious change. Our reformers enter our University class-rooms and pretend to see there the cobwebs of ages, which they heroically and with a firm resolution sweep away. In their desire for change, they propose to divert the purposes of the chairs, and would have the professorial platform a stage on which to display all their little eccentricities, or muster all their whims and strange doctrines to the admiring gaze of the boys who sit before them. It is right and proper to excite thought, but we may pay too highly for such exhibitions.

Reform we need, not so much within as without the walls of the University. Or if you will, the original purpose of the chairs is good and we need no change here. It is as regards the students who attend that the change is needed.

The paucity of Scottish scholarship arises not so much, or not at all because the system hitherto pursued in our chairs is ineffectual to the end proposed, but because there is in Scotland no encouragement

for scholarship of a high order. In Scotland scholarship seems not only not encouraged, but systematically discouraged. There is too much of the popular element in all we do. We do not object to this element, but it may be carried too far, and in Scotland it is. In England there is every encouragement for the highest attainments. A young man, after having studied in one of the English Universities, and with a moderate degree of talent may leave his College in possession, we believe of £300 per annum, so longs as he keeps out of the blessed state matrimonial. His scholarship is profitable to him; he has the means of living. He is free to prosecute his studies if his inclination tends that way, or enter into the duties of active life.

No great thanks to our English friends that they excel us in Latin and Greek, the two points of scholarship in which they do surpass us. No thanks to them we say; give to us in Scotland the same or equal inducements, and ye'll find not one nor two, ye'll find every man of us scholars. The bare possibility of having such a competency for life would be sufficient to raise Scottish scholarship from the lowest to the highest point. We wish our reformers all success in the accomplishment of this incitement to Scottish scholarship; and if Professor Blackie can accomplish this, he will be entitled to a place with Wallace, in whose cause he is so enthusiastic, in preference to his friend Dr Guthrie. But this is not the only inducement to scholarship which a student of Oxford or Cambridge possesses. There are the places in the English Establishment, many of the benefices being in the gift of the Colleges, and almost all of them bestowed for attainments in the classics or science. Ten thousand a-year is no inconsiderable inducement for a man of perseverance and talent to strive through the course of a long lifetime, if there is but the chance of obtaining it. And no one in the Church of England can be excluded from the competition. In England every encouragement is given to scholars.

How stands the matter in Scotland? The student, as soon as he leaves his College, is left to sink or swim for aught the Colleges can do or care, for, unless one or two at most, we believe none of the Scottish Colleges have a place to offer to any one of their deserving students. The Scottish student in Scotland has not been tempted with the offer of £100 per annum, except for a short while before the Edinburgh Music Chair became so avaricious as to gulp down £60,000 for its establishment, and that of a yearly concert for the amusement of the lieges. It was tried for a short time, and with what success the Professors are the best judges. A young man is thrown upon the world as soon as he leaves the University, and from want of leisure and the distraction consequent on duties which he must exercise for the means of subsistence, he is never again heard of. He may have taken his degree, but he fares no better except that he may, if contented therewith, obtain a parish school with just as much as keep him but not more. This, we apprehend, is not the mode to get teachers of great attainments and cultivated minds; it is not the way to get a man with any mind at all. The elevation of the teacher in a money view is an absolute necessity, and we rejoice that our re-

formers are compelled to take this along with them in the movement. But soft, not so fast! What should a teacher know more than the rules of his art? The age is running to seed; education, a University education, is now beginning to be deemed a luxury for a teacher, and government are to blame for the tendency. Now we never revile the powers that be. We are strong for the government, but we cannot understand why the Council on Education should oppose classics and mathematics, as if the two should not be united. Ah! well! 'tis very considerate, and just what you would imagine a fond parent would do who had a view to the welfare of his child. "Tommy could not learn the classics, being bent to the mathematics; I shall not bother Willie with mathematics for his talent lies not that way; no child can be good at every thing." 'Tis considerate, and should be adopted with dull boys whose spirits are immobile.

LITERARY NOTICES.

National Education, Religious and Secular; as exhibited in the Common Schools of Canada. By the Rev. Alex. R. Irvine, Minister of Blair-Athole. Edinburgh: Myles Macphail.

This is a most opportune, and admirably reasoned pamphlet. We believe that Mr Irvine has had access to important illustrative documents, of which he has judiciously availed himself, and we think the Church and all interested in the cause of sound education are under a deep debt of gratitude to him for supplying the means of information of the working of the Common Schools of Canada. There has been no ordinary labour and care bestowed in the production of this brochure; and the fact which Mr Irvine establishes of the foundation of schools based upon the principles of our Parochial System being resorted to, by those interested in the godly upbringing of the young in that country, is the clearest and most satisfactory evidence of the correctness of his conclusions as to the inefficient and defective system of the Canadian Schools, so absurdly recommended and advocated by Lord Elgin, for adoption in this country.

We extract the following quotation as illustrative of the working of the Common School System:—

"Were the common schools of Canada as well fitted for giving an efficient secular education as we have shewn them to be the reverse, still we should anticipate the most lamentable consequences to result from the utter want of thorough religious instruction. We are happy to quote the following passage from the report of the Rev. Alexander Mann, superintendent of Packenham:—'I have done what I could to introduce the Holy Scriptures into all the schools in this township. In four of those, having been aided by the cordial co-operation of trustees, my efforts have been successful. I consider it to be a matter of vital importance that the Word of God should be daily read in every school in the province. Independent of far higher considerations, this seems to me to be essentially necessary for promoting the future welfare of Canada. I am convinced that any scheme of education that is not based on the oracles of eternal truth, will eventually prove itself to be false, vain, and in no ordinary measure mischievous, not only as respects the momentous concerns of eternity, but merely as regards the comparative minor

interests of time. Much is, no doubt, being done by teachers of religion and others, and by sabbath schools and otherwise, to advance the real good of the rising generation; but the population of Canada is truly a mixed multitude, and, consequently, cannot all be reached by these philanthropic endeavours. Many are altogether indifferent to religious matters, and on this account unite themselves to no religious denomination: and as they do not appreciate these things themselves, it is most preposterous to suppose that they will recommend them to the serious consideration of their offspring. All those in any respect connected with the education of youth, in such circumstances, are solemnly bound to use prudently every legitimate means in their power to remedy these present and prospective evils.' All very true; but how with teachers as 'mixed' as the 'multitude' who elect them, these evils ever can be remedied by making the common schools of Canada, in any proper sense of the words, religious schools, is what we are unable to comprehend. We give a list of the religious denominations of the teachers employed in the Upper Province: 'Church of England; Roman Catholic; Presbyterians; Methodists; Baptists; Congregationalists; Lutherans; Quakers; Christians or Disciples. Reported as Protestants; Unitarians; Universalists. Other persuasions; not reported.' Such is the list as given in the official returns; and if we were to add the denominations in the Lower Province, not mentioned above, we would still further increase the members of this happy family, as Dr Guthrie would style them. What form or method of religious instruction could possibly be adopted, that would be at once efficient and acceptable to all the denominations we have above enumerated? What creed, or catechism, or commentary could be used as a school book that would not be objected to, on the score of sins of omission or commission? When we learn, as we do on undoubted authority, that neither schoolmaster nor visiting clergyman, dares, on pain of instant dismissal as regards the one, and of having the schoolroom shut against him as regards the other, open his lips to explain to a child the meaning of the passage of Scripture he is reading, it is only carrying out to its legitimate and necessary consequence the principle on which the common school system is founded. We believe that the utmost length to which religious instruction could be carried is that mentioned by the Reverend George Hill, superintendent of Markham, 'many' of the schools in whose district have attained the unusual distinction not merely of opening and closing with prayer and reading the Scriptures, but of 'having the ten commandments taught in them.' He adds, 'In the present state of society, and mixed up as the different denominations are, *this is all* we can hope to do in the way of religious training under any *national system of education*.'"

Travel and Recollections of Travel, with a Chat on Various Subjects. By Dr John Shaw. London: Saunders & Otley.

The volume before us contains nothing that is very new. But the writer belongs to the class of "*originals*," and without any graphic powers of description, and rambling somewhat from one subject to another, he still gives us some interesting sketches of scenery and adventures. We would advise him, in a subsequent edition, to cut out all the poetry and a good part of the moralizing.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Ordinations.—On Thursday the 7th ult., the Presbytery of Stirling met in the parish church of Dollar, and ordained the Rev. Wm. Irvine to the pastoral charge of the parish and congregation of Dollar, vacant by the decease of the Rev. Andrew Mylne, D.D. —On the same day the Presbytery of Aberdeen moderated in a Call to the church and parish of Newhills. The call in favour of the Rev. James Adam of Monquhitter, was numerously and respectably signed.

Ordination.—The Presbytery of Arbroath met on Thursday the 1st inst., in Carnoustie Chapel, and ordained the Rev. Wm. Allan to the pastoral charge of the congregation.

Ordination. — The Presbytery of Dunbar met at Whitekirk upon the 7th May, and ordained the Rev. William Paul, A.M., as minister of the united parishes of Whitekirk and Tyninghame. The Rev. Mr Marjoribanks preached and presided.

Ordination.—The Presbytery of Ayr met at Dalmellington, on Thursday the 14th instant, to ordain the Rev. David Stirling to the ministerial charge of that parish.

Induction.—The induction of the Rev. James Anderson as minister of Forteviot, took place on Thursday the 30th ultimo.

Election.—The Rev. Allan Campbell, Assistant, Steeple Church, Dundee, has been elected minister of St James's Church, Forfar.

Presbytery of Lanark.—On Thursday the 14th inst., this Presbytery met for the purpose of moderating in a call to the Rev. W. Struthers, A.M., of St Leonards, Perth, to be minister of the church and parish of Carstairs. The call was most harmonious. All the elders and every individual present signed it. His induction is appointed to take place on the 4th of next month.

Rev. Dr M'Taggart of Aberdeen.—A fortnight ago we stated that Dr M'Taggart had informed his session he did not mean to demit his charge of Greyfriars. We have reason to know that statement was correct. Since then a deputation from Glasgow has, we understand, visited Aberdeen, and the result of their labour is, that on Friday the rev. Doctor intimated to his session his intention of recalling his former declinature, and accepting the pastorship of St James's, Glasgow.—*Aberdeen Herald.*

Scotch Presbyterian Church in England.—The Synod of the Church of Scotland in England held their annual meeting in the Scotch Church, Swallow Street, Piccadilly, London. There was a good attendance of members. The Rev. Ranald Macpherson, of Swallow Street Church, London, was chosen Moderator for the next year. The business before the Synod was of the usual routine character, referring chiefly to the internal affairs of the churches within its bounds. It is satisfactory to know that the Church of Scotland continues to prosper in England.

Degree of D.D.—The Senate of the University of Glasgow have unanimously agreed to confer the degree of D.D. on the Rev. James M'Letchie, one of the ministers of the High Church, Edinburgh.

Inspectors of Schools in Scotland.—Her Majesty in Council, upon a representation of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, has been pleased to appoint David Middleton, Esq., A.M., to be one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in Scotland; and David Munn, Esq., Mathematical Master in the Dumfries Academy, to be one of Her Majesty's Assistant-Inspectors of Schools in Scotland.

Died, on the 6th inst., the Rev. Wm. Stewart Martin, minister of Kirkton, Roxburghshire.

Died, at the Manse, Marykirk, on the 20th inst., the Rev. Alexander C. Low, minister of the parish.

Died, at the Manse of Balmerino, on the 22d instant, the Rev. John Thomson, minister of the parish, in the sixty-first year of his age, and thirty-third of his ministry.

MACPHAIL'S

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ANALYSIS OF THE DEBATE ON THE GRANTS IN AID.

WE can now breathe freely; the painful suspense is past. The Assembly has nobly vindicated those great principles, on which, not merely the prosperity of our mission, but the cause of religious education throughout the world depends. We were, perhaps, doing wrong to the Church, by even supposing it possible that she should have acted otherwise; but, still, the fact that the doom of our India Mission would be sealed, and the cause of religious education at home put in imminent peril by a reversal of last year's judgment, could not but lead us to look forward with deep anxiety to the result of the Assembly's deliberations.

In order to perceive the momentous character of the debate on the India grants, it is necessary to have a clear conception of the principles involved in the question. Taking the matter in its widest significancy, the problem to be solved was that of a national system of education, in which religion forms an essential element; and, considering the great peril of our home education, no discussion could be more opportune. No one can be alive to the present state of things, without feeling that the curse of a secular system of education is certain, if the Church do not arouse herself from her fatal security; and it is necessary not merely that she pronounce in favour of a religious over a secular system, but that she emphatically enunciate the principles on which a religious education can alone be secured. The importance of the India question lies in this, that it presents, in the simplest form, the only conditions on which a religious system can be based, where there is a diversity of Christian communions, each claiming a share in the education of the people. The question at home presents such complexity, that it is hard

to see one's way through the difficulties,—but in India, the data of the problem are much simplified, and the way to a solution much clearer.

The Assembly have, by a majority of 140 to 39, pronounced in favour of a system of national education, in which the religious element is secured by the only true scriptural guarantee, the superintendence of the Church. It would be wrong, however, to conclude that the minority were favourable to a secular system of education. Many, if not all, who voted in the minority, held the general principle of religious education as strongly as the majority. The majority did not accuse the minority of, intentionally, excluding the religious element, they only charged them with advocating a system of religious education, which would, inevitably, end in out and out secularism.

The opinions regarding the system of education in India, may be reduced to three. The first is the voluntary position, according to which the government is not entitled, either *directly* or *indirectly*, to deal with the religious element in education, and hence the advocates of this opinion hold that government should not introduce religion into their own schools, or aid any schools in which religion is taught. The London Missionary Society, supported by the dissenters of England, acts on this principle, and refuses to accept of the grants in aid. They are the avowed advocates of a national system of education which shall be purely secular. The second opinion is that advocated by the minority in the Assembly. According to this view, the government is bound, not only to introduce religion into their own schools, but to teach it through its own officials, and, in the case of grant receiving schools, to enforce the religious element through the inspectors. The objection to this scheme, is that it countenances an Erastian principle, against which the Church of Scotland has always lifted up her voice. The third view is that which the Church of Scotland recognises as the only scriptural one, viz., that while the state is bound to promote the religious element in education, it is not warranted to communicate it *directly* through its own officials, but only through the medium of the Church as in the case of the parish schools. The parish schoolmaster is not a state official. By the Church's statute of 1849, he is recognised as an ecclesiastic, and consequently, to put him under the direct control of the state, would be Erastianism in the grossest form. The minority were opposed to the grants in aid, as the state did not take a more direct control in enforcing the religious element. The majority, on the other hand, while protesting against this state control, as, in its effects, equivalent to pure secularism, accepted the grants as the only scriptural mode of introducing the religious element, and as affording the only means of ultimately superseding the secular schools of the government.

One reason for renewing the controversy, was that, in last Assembly, the case of the objectors to the grants was but feebly represented; but when it was understood that Dr Grant was returned by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, it was felt by all that this ground of complaint would be entirely removed. No man in the Church is better fitted to put any question under debate in the clearest possible light, and to marshal the arguments for or against in the most imposing and telling manner.

His wisdom, is, indeed, sometimes at fault, in choosing his side of a question, but the keenest logic is never wanting to support his position when once it is taken up. A subtle dialectician of this order is sometimes tempted to espouse the weaker side of a question, that he may display the keen edge of his logical weapon with greater effect. One cannot but admire the chivalry of such conduct, though the knight errantry of Dr Grant, in the question of the grants in aid, was a little too romantic, even for his logical powers. It was the general remark, that he had not acquitted himself with his usual talent, and that he seemed to have lost his acknowledged skill in dialectics. We, however, do not coincide in this opinion. All that mortal man could do was done by him for the cause. The fault lay, not with the logician, but with his theme. Even last year, the opponents of the grants felt that they had the most insecure ground to go upon: still the subject was involved in considerable darkness; and, taking advantage of the comparative ignorance prevailing on the subject of the Despatch, they urged many arguments, which could not, in the then state of ignorance, be altogether repelled. Evidence, however, accumulated during the year. The nature of the affiliation, inspection, and neutrality, embraced in the Despatch, came to be clearly understood; and this new information left the opposing party without a single argument to stand upon. It is not surprising then, that Dr Grant should appear to have lost his usual powers of persuasion. We could not, however, but admire his courage in still sticking to the cause he had espoused. He looked like a brave old captain, who, though he had not another shot in reserve, still nailed his colours to the mast, and braved the foe. He wisely eschewed the logical discussion of the details of the question, and contented himself with general oratorical appeals to his audience. There was only one point in his argument, requiring special remark. Principal Tulloch had argued that the fallacy of the opponents of the grants consisted very much in laying upon corporate bodies a religious responsibility that belonged merely to the individual Christian. In reply, Dr Grant argued that corporate bodies, as well as the individual, are bound to act as Christians; and this simple statement he evidently regarded as a most triumphant argument. Now, there is no doubt, that corporate bodies, as well as individuals, are bound to act as Christians; but this is not at all the question. The point is, What is their appropriate sphere of Christian action, as a corporate body? In the case of the Court of Directors, the answer of Principal Tulloch, would undoubtedly be, if allowed to reply, that, while they were bound to act as Christians, it would be a most unchristian act to usurp the functions of the Church of Christ, by enforcing religion in the school through their own secular functionaries. He would hold that they acted in the most Christian manner, by acknowledging the right, conferred on the Church by her Divine Head, of guaranteeing the religious element, while they themselves presumed to take *direct* cognisance only of the secular element. We cannot take leave of the Rev. Doctor, without remarking, that the Church lies under a debt of obligation to him, for presenting, in the most favourable aspect, the position of the minority. It was important that a question of such

moment should be sifted to the bottom, and that before the Church took any irrevocable step, the views of the objectors should have the ablest advocacy the Church could furnish. It was all-important, in this crisis of our mission, that the mind of Christ should be ascertained, as far as this can be by a church court; and the presentation of difficulties, in their most formidable aspects, was needful for the attainment of this object. The overwhelming majority of the Assembly, could not be regarded as so decisive an expression of the mind of Christ, if both sides of the question had not been so ably put before the house.

Perhaps the speech that produced the happiest effect on the Assembly, was that of Dr Stevenson, on seconding Dr Grant's motion for rescinding the decision of last Assembly. It did not indeed secure unanimity, but, by its generous spirit, it tended greatly to impart a right tone to the whole debate. He did not take the unconstitutional view of the extreme party in regard to the principle of the grants; he viewed the matter rather in the light of Christian expediency. In all his general positions, we cordially concur. His allusion to the Report was felt by all to be a generous and graceful acknowledgment of the impartiality and candour of the convener. Every scrap of information the convener could lay his hands on, was unreservedly laid before the Assembly. He did not give a one sided view of the matter: he published much that a less candid man would have considered as furnishing dangerous weapons to his opponents. But, confident in the goodness of his cause, he kept back nothing that could throw light upon the subject, although it might appear to tell rather against, than in favour of his views. Besides the voluminous reports containing the views of the missionary boards at the three presidences, the Assembly were supplied with copies of the Despatch and Dr Inglis's letter to the people of Scotland. The Assembly were thus put in possession of all the documentary evidence bearing on the subject. Hardly have they ever had a question so thoroughly sifted before deciding upon it. Another most important point adverted to by Dr Stevenson, was the real amount of good done by our Institutions in India. We are apt to complain of our own want of success, when we compare the small number of converts reported by our missionaries, with the thousands that have rewarded the efforts of other missionary bodies. It, however, ought never to be lost sight of, that the nature of our missionary operations, as contrasted with that of others, consists in dispensing, in a great measure, with present results, for the sake of the final convulsion, which is to prostrate the superstitions of India in the dust. When missionary labour consists chiefly of elementary education, the immediate results may be encouraging, but they have not so momentous a bearing on the final destiny of India. The man who chips away pieces of stone with his hammer, may seem to be making a greater impression on the rock, than the man who has been for months sinking a deep mine without any apparent results. But the labour of the latter is amply rewarded, when, at last, the mine is sprung, and the whole stupendous cliff is shattered into fragments. It is this last result that the higher education, communicated in our institutions, contemplates. It works upon the minds

that are to tell most powerfully on the fate of India. The history of Christianity tells us, that the conversion of the masses is determined usually by the few leading minds of the nation. We have no reason to believe, from the experience of the past, that the conversion of India will be a a piecemeal thing. The past triumphs of the cross have not been in this way,—nations have been born, as it were, in one day. This entirely harmonises with the evidence given before the select committee of the Lords on Indian Territories. We give the following extract as illustrative of this. Question 6858. (Lord Bishop of Oxford.) "Can you tell the Committee what the comparative results in the way of conversions to Christianity have been from the education already given in the missionary and in the government schools?" Answer. (Sir C. F. Trevelyan.) "Before I left Calcutta, I had a list made of all the converts to Christianity from the educated classes, and I found, that at that time, the majority of this class of converts, whose character, and cultivation, and strength of mind, offer the best assistance to Christianity, were from the Hindoo College. I think many persons mistake the way in which the conversion of India will be brought about. I believe it will take place, at last, wholesale, just as our ancestors were converted. The country will have Christian instruction infused into it in every way, by direct missionary instruction, and indirectly, through books of various kinds, through the public papers, through conversation with Europeans, and in all the conceivable ways in which knowledge is communicated, and then, at last, when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, and public opinion has taken a decided turn in that way, they will come over by thousands." Our high class institutions may, therefore, be most effectually fulfilling their purpose, though they may shew but little tangible fruit in the meantime. The snowy mantle that covers the mountain may be long imbibing heat before any part of the surface is laid bare; but when the saturation of heat reaches the melting point, the whole covering may disappear in a single night. Let us work and wait in faith. The revelation of the Lord's arm may be very near, though we know it not.

The next point insisted upon by Dr Stevenson, was the peril of a mere secular education. "It should be borne in mind," he said, "that the European education given in that vast country, could not be inculcated without leading to the desire for liberty and independence; but if European literature was only communicated in a secular way, let them not forget the results of the teaching of the French Encyclopædiasts, and remember that it was only by communicating Christianity to the natives that they could be bound to this country, and its ascendancy maintained." Such warnings cannot be too often repeated, and the whole evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories bears out the necessity of such a warning in the case of India. To give mere secular knowledge, would be the most direct method of undermining our power in the East. A godless education would be equivalent to the accumulation of combustible elements, which a spark might at any time explode. Dr Duff well remarks, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee, while urging some such scheme as that of the Despatch, that "high English

education without religion was a blind and shortsighted suicidal policy." Previous to 1854, there was no recognition whatever of missionary agency. Nay, the students, trained in the missionary institutions, were laid under grievous disabilities; for the government obstinately refused to affiliate them with the other institutions qualifying students for government appointments. It was, however, at last seen that the only true conservative element was Christianity,—that this was the only influence that could consolidate our empire in the East; and it was at last, though tardily, resolved to enlist the missionaries in the cause of education, and to remove the disabilities so long complained of. The despatch of 1854 embodies this Christian policy, as opposed to the pure secularism that formerly prevailed.

It is sometimes complained of by the advocates of secular education, that we denounce their views as if they were opposed to the religious training of the young, whereas they only hold that state has no right to interfere with religion, and that religious education is a matter that concerns only the church and the family. No doubt it would be wrong to deny them the credit of a sincere interest in the religious welfare of the young, but such solemn warnings as that of Dr Stevenson are not the less necessary, for if we are fully alive to the evil of mere secular knowledge, we shall be more careful to adopt the right method of securing the religious element. If the mariner is fully alive to the horrors of a shipwreck, he will likely be the more careful to adopt the right method of avoiding such a catastrophe. We are willing to admit that all parties, at present engaged in the educational controversy, are alive to the importance of religious education, and that they differ only as to the mode of imparting it; but surely this does not hinder us from pourtraying in the most vivid colours the incalculable evils that must result from unsound theories on the subject. It would be wrong to accuse the minority on the grants in aid question, of advocating a secular education, but it is quite legitimate to shew that their plan for infusing the religious element, would, as in every other country where it has been tried, end in pure secularism, and entail an unspeakable calamity upon the nation. While we then deprecate secular education as the greatest national calamity, let us not forget that the real problem of the age, is the determination of the *right method* of imparting the religious element. Many who conscientiously condemn secular education, yet advocate methods of imparting the religious element which would inevitably land in pure secularism. The importance of the Assembly's decision consists not merely in its pronouncing in favour of a religious system of national education, but in its indicating the only scriptural, constitutional, and practicable method in which the religious element can be imparted.

Dr Gillan proposed, as a counter-motion to Dr Grant's resolution to reject the grants, "That the overtures, to the effect of reversing the decision of the General Assembly, on the subject of grants in aid, be dismissed; and that it be remitted to the committee to carry out, in the time and manner that may seem to them the most judicious, the proposal contained in the report; especially to give greater prominence to the preaching of the gospel, and the employment of all means that may seem best fitted

to convey to the natives of India, clear and correct conceptions of Christian truth, and to lead them, through the teaching of the Spirit of God, to attain to an enlightened faith in Christ as the only Saviour."

The mover displayed much of his characteristic eloquence, but his speech was on the whole more remarkable for the minute knowledge and thorough grasp of the subject which it displayed. In attacking the position of the opposite party, he was pungent but at the same time playful; so that while his arguments told powerfully, he kept his opponents in good humour. He rebuked the tone assumed by some of the overtures. He vindicated the decision of last year as giving emphatically the opinion of the church at large. He shewed that by accepting Privy Council Grants, the church had, long ago, committed herself to the principle of the India grants. He demonstrated the Erastian position of the minority, when they called upon a commercial company, such as that of the Court of Directors, to assume the spiritual functions of the church, and infuse directly the religious element in education. He pointed out that the India grants did not involve the government in the guilt of countenancing error, as the Privy Council grants at home did. He concluded by clearly proving that the policy proposed in his motion, was most in harmony with the original conceptions of the founder of the mission. Dr Gillan has been long favourably known for his brilliant wit, which has done much good service in the cause of truth, but he has now shewn that his logic is quite as telling as his wit.

It was felt by all that the absence of Dr Bryce was a great blank. He was playfully called by Dr Stevenson, the "Nestor" of the controversy, and no designation could be more appropriate. From his long acquaintance with the East, and his great attachment to the early scene of his labours, he has been regarded by the Church as the best exponent of the wants of India. It was only medical restraint that could keep him from his post in the Assembly on the occasion of the debate. We believe that his illness was brought on by fatigue undergone in the cause of the Church, and for the good of India. He had been to London to urge upon the authorities the claims of the Church to an increased number of chaplains in the East, and his too great devotedness to the cause laid him prostrate on a bed of sickness, while he might have been advocating, with his wonted earnestness, the cause of Christian education in India. He did not, however, till the very last, despair of being in the Assembly, and he, accordingly, on Wednesday, got a friend to lay on the table of the House, a resolution which he intended to move in his place on Friday when the debate came on. When the day came the spirit was willing, but his debilitated frame was not equal to the task. We however, give the motion in a note.[1] It will be seen that it does not differ, in

[1] "The General Assembly—having had brought before it Overtures, from several Presbyteries of the Church, on the question of 'Education in India' and 'Grants in Aid' of Missionary and Christian Schools in that country—and duly considered the same in connection with the Report of the Foreign Mission Committee, and the interesting and important communications furnished to that Committee by the corresponding Boards of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, now before the Assembly,—1. Feels called on with profound and hearty thanks to Almighty God, to acknowledge, as it ventures humbly to hope and believe, that the hand of

substance, from the motion that was carried. It would involve, however, a more searching discussion of the great principles at the bottom of this controversy. No member of Assembly could be better qualified for this. It was he that drew up the memorable educational testimony of 1849, which now stands upon our records as one of the statutes of that year. It is that statute which defines the educational position of the Church of Scotland at the present moment, and it certainly would have been of advantage to have it demonstrated, by such an able authority, that the Church could not, in consistency with the scriptural principles there laid down, act otherwise than she has done. We are glad to hear that this venerable and much esteemed father of the Church is now much better; may he live to the years of Nestor, and may he still ripen in wisdom as he advances in years.

Dr Pirie, in his usual emphatic and telling way, supported Dr Gillan's motion. His line of argument was, however, somewhat unguarded, as one, not acquainted with his real sentiments, would imagine that he was defending the secular system of Government, instead of applauding them for the religious element introduced by the Despatch of 1854.

The speech of Dr Laurie of Monkton was important, as coming from one who had so long laboured in India, and who had every opportunity of making himself acquainted with its wants. It is a fact of no ordinary significancy, that just in proportion as ministers know from personal experience the real state of India, the more zealous are they in their advocacy of the Grants in Aid. All our chaplains, as far as we are aware,

an all wise and gracious Providence has hitherto guided and blessed the Church of Scotland in all her strivings to afford a sound, intellectual, moral and religious instruction to the native population in India.—2. The Assembly further regarding the truly important era in the history and progress of its school and mission in India which these labours as hitherto pursued, and the events in Providence now occurring in that country, as they have been placed before it in the various and interesting documents brought under its notice, are at length opening up to the bringing of its tribes to the sound confession of Christanity through *Native Agency*, trained in the knowledge of its evidences and history—duly instructed in the distinctive doctrines and truths of the Gospel—and rightly prepared and employed under the superintendence and authority of the Church of Scotland in India, in teaching and preaching the same—Resolves,—that the exertions of this church, through its school and mission in India, be more and more assiduously directed to this department of duty—direct the Foreign Mission Committee, to keep it specially before them in all the measures which they may adopt, and in all the communications they may hold with the corresponding boards in India—authorize these boards in terms of the deliverance of last Assembly to accept the 'Grants in Aid' and other advantages now offered by the Supreme Government, so far as these are to be obtained and made available to the great Christian purpose of rearing up a NATIVE MINISTRY of the Gospel as instruments under Providence of spreading the knowledge and confession of the truth as it is in Jesus among their countrymen —enjoin the several Presbyteries at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, to be watchful and diligent in discharging their truly important duties, which with this view have been laid upon them by the General Assembly 1854—and earnestly exhort all the ministers of the Church to set before their several congregations, the obligations now becoming more and more incumbent on them to be aiding and assisting with their 'prayers and alms' in carrying on the great work in India, in which the Church of Scotland has been so long engaged, and for which Providence appears to be opening up a wide and more and more encouraging door for Christian exertions."

are on the side of the majority, and their convictions are just in proportion to their length of service and amount of knowledge.

Sheriff Tait, in his own clear and logical manner, shewed that the rejection of the grants would be tantamount to the ruin of our missionary operations in the East. It is to be regretted that he adopts so conversational a tone in speaking, as it injures the excellent effect which his statements are always calculated to produce.

Professor Swinton, from his knowledge of all the educational movements of the Church, was well fitted to guide the Assembly in the present crisis. He shewed the wisdom of the Church's policy, in accepting the Privy Council grants at home, and that a similar policy dictated the acceptance of the grants in India. He read an extract from a communication of Dr Duff, which shewed that this devoted missionary was called on, along with the missionaries of other bodies, to assist the government in organising the universities. It appeared from this communication, that all the suggestions he submitted for the purpose of aiding the cause of Christianity, were at once adopted by the government, so that we are to regard this part of the educational system as the embodiment of the missionary wisdom of India.

The shortest, most telling, and most heroic speech, was that of Sheriff Barclay. He frankly confessed that he had voted with the minority last year, but that he was now to vote on the other side. This was a noble abnegation of self for the glory of God. He made no surrender of principle, but with a candour, too seldom shewn, he admitted that he was now compelled to vote for a different policy.

Dr Nisbet took up one of the most important points of the question. He shewed that the acceptance of the grants was absolutely necessary to develop aright our Missionary enterprise. To give due prominence to the preaching of the gospel, it was necessary to accept of government aid for our purely educational institutions.

Principal Tulloch has gained for himself a high and well merited position in the religious and philosophical literature of our country, but he has also now shewn how well fitted he is to take a lead in the councils of the Church. He has proved that the old eloquence, that used to thrill every heart in our Assemblies, is not yet extinct. His powerful appeals in this, as in other cases before the Assembly, contributed much to lead the Church to a right decision. He alluded, in his speech, to important evidence before the Lords' Committee, to the effect that more Christian converts have been educated at the government colleges, than at the missionary institutions. We suppose the allusion was to the evidence of Sir C. F. Trevelyan, which we have already quoted. This evidence, however, referred only to Calcutta. The evidence of Mr Marshman is for the whole of India, and is founded on definite statistical information. He states that one-third of the converts received their education in government colleges, and the other two-thirds in missionary institutions. This is an important fact, but it was unfortunately misinterpreted by a subsequent speaker. Were it the fact, that the government colleges, by their own independent action, promoted the interests of Christianity better than our institutions, there would be

no argument whatever for keeping up the latter. But from other evidence before the Lords' committee, it appears that, in the case of converts educated at the government colleges, their conversion can, almost always, be traced to the influence of the missionary institutions. They have either gone to study at them, or they have come in contact with students who have received their education there. Our institutions have produced a Christian atmosphere, without which, the converting influence of the government colleges would be quite inappreciable. So far, then, from the above facts being a reason for letting down our institutions, they are the best argument for keeping them; for, if let down, there would be the loss, not only of our own converts, but also of those from government colleges. Principal Tulloch also ably exposed the unsoundness of the principle, that would call upon a secular board, like the Court of Directors, every member of which, by its constitution, may be a heretic or an infidel, to draw out a creed, and force it upon their subjects. The only answer to this by Mr Phin was, that he held, that it was the duty of the government of India to profess Christianity. We, however, would go a great deal farther than this. We hold that it is their duty to become not merely Christians, but good Presbyterians, and to subscribe to the standards of the Church of Scotland. Arguing as members of the Church of Scotland, we consider it to be clearly their duty "to accept our confession of faith as the confession of their faith, and to disown all Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Bourignian, and other doctrines, tenets and opinions whatsoever, contrary to and inconsistent with the foresaid confession of faith;" but surely this truism is not to be regarded as a reason for exempting the Board of Directors from the duties incumbent upon them under their present constitution. It is but trifling with the great problem, to attempt a solution of it, not with the actual, but with imaginary data. In regard to the secular element in education, it was very properly argued by the very Rev. Principal, that secular knowledge is as much God's truth as the Bible, and that we are not warranted to disparage the one, that we may exalt the other; that it is our duty, instead, to give each its due place in education. He, however, stated his views with a generous unguardedness, which was, at once, taken advantage of by Mr Phin, who, in reply, argued as if it was intended to put secular, in opposition to religious, education. In support of his position, he proceeded gravely to quote from a pamphlet by Mr M'Leod Wylie, to shew the evils of a purely secular education, as if these evils were actually called in question. Every testimony, however, against secular education, should be gladly received in whatever spirit it may be given.

Mr M'Leod Wylie, who has long acted as a judge in Calcutta, is deservedly regarded as a very high authority. The following extract is from his last pamphlet,[1] and we think it must be the one quoted by Mr Phin. "It should ever be borne in mind, that secular education, important and indispensable as it is in its place, can never purify and sanctify the heart of man; the most polished ages of Greece and Rome were the most corrupt. It is only Christian principles that can regenerate the world, so that the temporal benefits of truth, fidelity, enter-

[1] India as a field for Commerce and Missions. 1857.

prise, diligence, public spirit, and all the springs of social improvement, may begin to work. Mere secular learning nourishes pride, scepticism, intense selfishess, atheism, a debasing love of money, ambition, oppression, cunning, fraud, the indulgence of the lowest and vilest appetites of our nature, and a total want of confidence between man and man." If this truthful picture was given as Mr Wylie's, a mistake must have been made, as it is only a quotation, with approbation however, from a thanksgiving sermon delivered by the Bishop of Calcutta. As might be supposed, from his entertaining such sound views of the evils of secularism, the Bishop is one of the most ardent supporters of the system of Grants in Aid. So enthusiastic is he in his admiration, that he declares "the University of Calcutta is perhaps thirty years in advance of the age." Then, as to Mr Wylie himself who draws still sadder pictures of poor humanity guided merely by the light of reason, Does he disparage the efforts of Government, as embodied in the despatch of 1854? No! so far from this, he most cordially rejoices in these efforts, and gives information which entirely corroborates the statement of Dr Duff, quoted by several of the speakers. "With respect to the proposed Calcutta University, it is very interesting to notice that the committee of arts, to arrange the course of literary study, comprised not only some of the leading members of the Government—Mr J. P. Grant and Mr Beadon—but also Principal Kay of Bishop's College, Mr Duff, Mr Ewart, Mr Ogilvie, and Mullens from our mission; and that their resolutions have passed the general Committee, and doubtless will receive the sanction of the Governor-General. They embody some important modifications in the examinations, and appear to recognise some principles of extensive application. The history of the Jews is expressly included in ancient history. 'Waylands' Moral Science,'—one of the many admirable books for which, in late years, we have been indebted to the United States—and Butler's Analogy, are text-books. And students are to be at liberty to take up Christian evidences as one of the discretionary subjects; so that attainments in that branch of knowledge, will give a title to a number of marks, equivalent to those allowed for certain other branches, from which students, in addition to the compulsory subjects, are to select. Looking back but a very few years, we cannot but feel how very great a change in the sentiments of the government these resolutions imply." This, however, is not the most important testimony of Mr Wylie. He advocates the views, in regard to the religious action of government, for which we have always argued, viz., that any direct action of government should be regarded rather with jealousy, and that the religious element can be safely imparted, only through schools under spiritual jurisdiction—schools, indeed, aided by government, but altogether free from government interference in religious matters. "But I must say, that I have great distrust of education of this kind, I mean even such education as includes sound Christian text-books and subjects, unless it is accompanied from within or without, by devout spiritual teaching. And in this country, it appears to be unquestionable, that that teaching, at any rate at present, will come better from without than within." This passage exactly expresses the position assumed by the Church of Scotland, viz.,

that the government of India is not entitled to impart the religious element from within, or through their own secular agents; but from without, or in other words, through the medium of the Church. It would have been satisfactory, had Mr Phin stated, that both the Bishop of Calcutta and Mr Wylie approved of the government measure. Having, however, inadvertently omitted this, the Assembly must have naturally supposed the contrary, and must have been somewhat surprised that those who so fully understood the evils of secularism, should yet be opposed to the praise-worthy attempt of government, to impart the religious element through the medium of the Church.

Dr Hill, though voting in the minority last year, still generously remained on the committee, and aided it by his invaluable counsels. In his own characteristic, peace-loving spirit, he refused on this occasion to vote with either party. By taking this position, he practically vindicated the neutrality of the India Government, by shewing that a man may be quite justified in occupying neutral ground in a religious question.

It was important that the Grants in Aid question should be carried not only by a majority, but by a majority so large, as to shew that there was no wavering on the part of the Church. Few could have anticipated a majority so decided. Last year, the majority was as three to one; this year, it was more nearly four to one, so that the mind of the Church could not be more emphatically expressed. In one point of view, it is to be regretted that even 39 should be found dissenting from the majority; but, in another, it is satisfactory that the minority is sufficiently large to indicate that the question was thoroughly sifted. While agreeing with the majority in their vote, we cannot but bear grateful testimony to the ability and courtesy which, on the whole characterised the speeches of the minority. The losing party are entitled to retire from the field with the honours of war. They have done all that talent and earnestness could do for an indefensible cause; and they have helped to solve one of the most momentous problems ever presented to a Church Court for solution. We ought not to grudge the three years' controversy, if it has secured a sounder basis for our missionary operations in the East. The question of the home grants, and the principles on which a sound religious system of national education must be based, took also three years for their settlement, and we ought not to be surprised at this, when we remember how slowly the great ideas which now rule paramount in the Christian Church have arisen. How slow has been the growth of the ideas of religious toleration, and of the obligation of missionary effort.

It is satisfactory, in looking over the list of speakers and votes, to observe hardly any trace of party bias. The views of the minority were certainly more in accordance with the sympathies of the Moderate party, which has always leant to the side of an undue influence on the part of the civil power in religious matters. Still we find the two heads of the Moderate party—Dr Bryce and Dr Grant—ranged on opposite sides of the question. The old party distinctions are now so much obliterated, that it is difficult to say, except in the case of those whose antecedents go considerably far back, to what party a member belongs. There may be found indeed a trace of a preponderance of Moderate votes in the minority,

but this is so slight as not to give it, to any extent, a party aspect. It is well that it should be so, and in the missionary experience of the Church it has always been so. The founder of the India Mission was one of the leaders of the Moderate party, though he received more support from the opposite party than from his own.

It is interesting to note how the laity voted on this question. The clergy are necessarily more open to the influences of party bias, and are more likely to be swayed by logical subtleties. It is an admirable provision of the constitution of the Church, that the practical wisdom of the laity should come in and act as a corrective. On this occasion only twelve elders voted in the minority; whereas fifty voted on the other side. Taking the clerical votes, the division was as three to one; but in the case of the elders, the proportion was four to one. All honour to the right hearted laity who came forward, not only with their votes, but also with their purses, to save the Church from the disgrace of a defalcation in the revenue of the mission.[1]

The recent events in India, and the discussions in the House of Lords, furnish a most significant commentary on the proceedings of the Assembly. Had the Government of India been concussed by us to take the unscriptural and unwarrantable step of forcing, by their own instrumentality, the Christian religion on the natives of India, it is plain that not only would their own sway be endangered, but the tide of evangelization might have been thrown back for many long years. The speakers in the House of Lords accused the Government of going too far; the minority in the Assembly accuse them of not going far enough. The Church has come forward at the very right moment to indicate the only scriptural and safe ground on which the Government can act in aiding the cause of Christianity. The mutinous spirit in the army is no doubt alarming, especially as it wears a religious aspect; but we need not fear while we follow the leadings of Providence, and act on sound Christian principles. He who leads can also control. It is not to be expected that Satan's strongholds are to be stormed without opposition, and this feeling in the army may be only one of the symptoms of the breaking up of the superstitions of India. The discussion in the House of Lords recognizes the great fact, that the missionary influence is one that is now telling powerfully on our Eastern empire—so powerfully, that it is a ground of complaint that the Governor-General contributes to missionary societies. One cannot but be struck with the fact, that the Governors-

[1] "The Committee, however, are able to state that the deficiency on the whole income, arising from collections and subscriptions, amounts only to about £120. On this deficiency becoming known to Sir James Campbell of Stracathro, John King, Esq., Adam Paterson, Esq., James Hannan, Esq., James A. Campbell, Esq., and Dr Moses Buchanan, they placed at the disposal of the Convener the sum of £125, in order to make up the falling off of the revenue from these sources, accompanied by a strong expression of their cordial approval of the course adopted by the last General Assembly. The Committee are gratified to add, that the Dean of Faculty, and John Lowis, Esq. of Plean, have also placed in the hands of the Convener the sum of £50 each, as an expression of their cordial concurrence in the same views."—*Report given in by Dr Craik.* It appears that the falling off in the Presbytery of Edinburgh alone, exceeded considerably £120, so that, with the exception of this Presbytery, the Church went beyond her usual liberality to the Mission.

General have, in recent times, vied with each other in commending and countenancing the efforts of missionaries. No doubt this may be ascribed, in large measure, to the Christian character of the individual, but this policy would not be so general, were it not seen that the missionary influence is destined to mould the future of India. We grumble, and very unreasonably, at the fewness of our converts; but how gladdened would the founder of the mission be had he lived to see this day! When he planned the Calcutta Institution, missionaries were looked on by the government with the utmost suspicion. They were sometimes expelled the territories, and at others, apprehended as criminals. But now, in the course of thirty years, such a revolution has come about, that government are glad to do homage to Christianity through missionary institutions. Lord Ellenborough seems to be rather behind in his knowledge of the educational movements in India, when he accuses the Governor-General of contributing, though only as an individual, to missionary societies. The fact is far stronger than this; the Government of India have contributed, as a government, to missionary societies; and they have besides moulded their educational system in accordance with the suggestions of missionaries. Now this marvellous revolution, affecting the religious welfare of so many millions, has been brought about chiefly by the institution of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta. This seminary has been the germinal centre from which have sprung so many kindred institutions, calculated to tell most powerfully on the native mind. Formerly missionaries had only dealt with the more superficial aspects of Hinduism, and aimed only at fleeting though popular results. The great merit of the scheme of Dr Inglis was, that it, at once, dealt with the higher intellect of India, and aimed a blow at the very vitals of Hinduism. How wisely that scheme was planned the course of events is now telling. We see the superstitions of India now reeling and tottering under the blow, and we have enlisted a once adverse government in the glorious work of rearing a temple to the living and true God. Can we think of this without devoutly praising God for the wonders he has wrought through our feeble instrumentality?

It is with a pang that we contemplate the dilapidation of our Calcutta institution, which has been blest of God for so much good. We fervently hope that we shall yet be saved from this dire necessity. We entirely concur in the feeling of the Committee, that it is now time that greater prominence should be given to the direct preaching of the gospel; but it is sad to think that this cannot be done without greatly reducing, or entirely closing, our Calcutta institution. The question is a purely financial one, In what way can we best apply the limited resources at our command? The *beau ideal* would be, to keep up our central institutions in all their efficiency, and, at the same time, develop the preaching element; but then, our funds will not admit of this, and we must seriously think of abandoning our high educational position in India. But surely the paltry £3000, which we have been hitherto giving, is not to be a stereotyped sum. We can hardly conceive it possible that the Church of Scotland, now thoroughly awake to the marvellous opening which God in his providence has furnished, will not largely increase her

liberality, and rescue from destruction the noblest missionary institution ever planned by human wisdom. Is our three years' controversy to go for nothing? The heart of the Church has been stirred to its depths, and is all this to be in vain? Is the whole to prove a mere war of words? And are we to relapse into our former indifference, and content ourselves with the miserable sum which we have hitherto contributed? Let the ministers of the Church go down from the Assembly, and tell their people of the great work going on in the East. Let them re-echo the cry of the missionaries abroad, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes," and we cannot conceive that the right-hearted people of Scotland will not respond liberally to the appeal. It can hardly be that we shall be allowed to abandon the field, when it is just whitening to the harvest. Our institution cannot, however, exist as it is. Its staff of teachers must be increased if it is to aspire to the rank of a college, and to tell most powerfully on the native mind; but this cannot be done without largely increased subscriptions. We hope an opportunity will be given to the people of Scotland of saving the institution, before any irretrievable step be taken in the way of its dismemberment.

The objections of some members of the Missionary Board of Calcutta, are now removed by the concessions of the Government, as detailed in Dr Duff's communication. It was naturally supposed that if the institution were affiliated, undue importance would require to be assigned to the mere secular branches of education. The Government has now consented to take the religious subjects taught in missionary schools as qualifying for degrees; so that no change need be made in the present branches of education. The only effect of the university upon our religious training will be to insure its thorough character. It will require the Bible and the evidences of the Christian religion to be throughly mastered, and not taught in a perfunctory manner. This surely ought not to be regarded as a very hard condition in a missionary school.

In the course of the present controversy, the contending parties have usually dealt only with the general principles of the question. It may be of advantage, however, to look into the actual working of the institutions of India as compared with those at home. Let us take one of the secular colleges of India, and compare it with one of our own secular colleges; and let us see which is the most godless. Our advocacy of Grants in Aid does not at all require us to defend the secular institutions of Government; but it is, at the same time, important to know that the Indian colleges are by no means so godless as those of Scotland. Let us take the case of two youths, one studying in an Indian, the other in a Scotch college. Which of these two youths will be most favourably situated for the growth of Christian principles in his heart? Let us take the worst supposition, which, however, is still possible, that the professors in both the colleges are infidels. In the Scotch college, an infidel professor may, if he choose, introduce the Bible and ridicule its doctrines. A professor of moral philosophy may take the Bible as his text book for exposing the immoral tendencies of Christianity,—and he might do this without infringing the mock test which he at present signs. The infidel professor in an Indian college is rigidly restrained from such profanation of the

Holy Scriptures. Again, let us suppose that, in each college, there is a Christian professor; were the Scotch student to go and say to his professor—it may be the professor of mathematics—that he would like him to form a class for private instruction in the doctrines of Christianity. Would he not at once be met with a look of wonderment at such a proposition? In the Indian college, the student is empowered by statute to make such an application. But the chief point of difference lies in the degree, and the degree is every thing in India, as it is the qualification for holding government offices. Were the Scotch student to go before the examining board, and profess the Bible as part of his examination; were he to plead that it was surely as important to be acquainted with the facts of the Bible as with Greek and Roman mythology,—his plea would be met only with ridicule. He may be as ignorant as a heathen of Christ and his disciples, but he is sure to be plucked if he is not familiarly acquainted with all the brood of classic gods. In the Indian college, every student—Hindu, Mohammeden, or Christian—must be familiar with sacred history. The facts of the Bible form an essential part of the curriculum; and no one can gain a degree without an acquaintance with Christianity. Again, were a student at a Scotch college to propose substituting the evidence of Christianity for the evidence of some scientific doctrine, he would be told that the thing was entirely out of the question. The Hindu student is, however, entitled to this privilege,—and he can, therefore, make his Christianity a stepping-stone to a degree. But the climax of the whole is, that the Indian Government exact this Christian knowledge from the students, though they have only to engage in secular pursuits, whereas the Church allows her students to go through an entirely godless curriculum as a suitable qualification for the holy ministry, and she will admit no one to license who has not gone through this course. What inconsistency then would it be for the Church to condemn a secular body for giving a secular education to students destined for a secular occupation, when she, a spiritual body, allows a godless education to be given to her students destined to hold a spiritual office. Are we then to be content with the secular colleges of India, superior though they be to our own Scotch colleges. No; the great merit of the Dispatch is, that it enables the Church to organise colleges of her own, in which the student, at every step of his curriculum, may have his mind embued with Christian truth; and the practical question before the Church is, Will we raise our Calcutta institution to the rank of a Christian college, qualifying for degrees, or will we allow it to go down, and its place to be taken by one of the government secular colleges? The liberality of the Church can alone settle this point. The Free Church institution is already in the position of a Christian college. If we give up our collegiate education, we abandon the high position we have hitherto occupied, and surrender our right to co-operate with the State in wielding the spiritual destinies of India. The Free Church will, no doubt, represent Scottish Presbyterianism; but is it right that the Church of Scotland should be lost amongst the subordinate elements of dissent in India.

Let us now take, not a government institution, but an elementary

missionary school, to which indeed the controversy has chief reference. Let us compare such a school with our parish schools, which, on the whole, form the best system of national education which Europe has yet seen. The appointment of the parish schoolmaster may be altogether irrespective of his religious character; nothing more is required than that he should sign the Confession of Faith and the formula. The Presbytery could not reject on the score of personal piety. In the missionary grants in aid school, this personal religion may be made *a sine qua non*. The parish schoolmaster, when admitted, may make the religious instruction a mere sham, and nothing can be done to remedy matters except by advice, which he may scornfully reject. The whole tone of his character may be adverse to religion, and yet, there is no remedy. He may be immoral to the very verge of libel, and yet, there is no remedy. He may even pass the line, and yet, no party may venture to brave the odium, uncertainty, and expense of libel. He may be notoriously incompetent, even though willing, to give a right religious training, and yet, there is no remedy. Now, in all these respects, the missionary aid-receiving schools have a prompt and efficient remedy. The teacher can at once be removed by the Church, and a pious and efficient man substituted in his room. All that the inspector does, is in the way of rendering the secular part of the missionary education more efficient. He sees that the children read the Bible and the Catechisms correctly, and have an intelligent understanding of them. The mere reading and intellectual comprehension are regarded as the secular elements. The inspectors report as to these, but are not allowed to give an authoritative opinion on the nature of the doctrines, or the mode in which the doctrines are brought home to the consciences of the children. Still, limited as their functions are, they must exercise a good influence, by enforcing a high standard of religious knowledge. The Church has the exclusive power of prescribing the subjects to be taught, and the inspectors are bound to see that these subjects, religious or secular, are taught well. Seeing that we have a far higher guarantee for the religious element in our grant-receiving schools in India, than in our parish schools, nothing but gross misconception can explain the opposition of a party in the Church to the former.

We now take leave of the controversy to which so many of our pages have been already devoted. It is usual for people to deplore the bitterness of party strife, but in the present case there is little ground for this. With the exception of some rather sharp pamphleteering, the controversy has throughout been conducted in a proper spirit. The good of such a controversy greatly preponderates over the evil. We needed much, as a church and nation, to be roused to the great work awaiting us in India, and this controversy, like a trumpet call, has summoned us to the battlefield. May the Church of Scotland not be found wanting in the day of trial![1]

[1] Since the above was written, the Appendix to the Free Church Report on the India Mission has been printed. It appears from it that there are 24 ordained European missionaries, 9 ordained native missionaries, 5 preachers, and 13 full catechists. This is conclusive as to the developing power, when vigorously worked, of institutions, such as that of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE ROCKS.[1]

We took up the "Testimony of the Rocks," with no ordinary feelings of of sorrow, ushered into the world as it was, not merely as a posthumous production, but dyed, so to speak, in the blood of its lamented author. Its appearance, moreover, stirred up a host of mournful associations, which now invest the very mention of the Physical Sciences. Chemistry had lately registered the name of Dr Samuel Brown amongst the martyrs of science. Natural History had previously tendered Professor Edward Forbes for similar insertion; and Geology has very recently added Hugh Miller to the scientific calendar.

"Edward Forbes was a conformist—ran against no man or thing," is the estimate formed of his character by his friend Dr S. Brown, and in connection with this lay one of the secrets of Forbes's boundless popularity. He joined no new cause; he assailed no old one; nay, he even assailed no new one. Even in natural history, he brought no agitating or perplexing news—perplexing men with fear of change. He sailed nobly with the wind and tide of ordinary progress, not needing to carry a single gun, but the foremost of this peaceful fleet. This was all very delightful and wise; yet let a word be said for the man-of-war, John Kepler and the rest; and also let a distinction between the two orders of men be remembered. To forget such distinctions, is to confound the morality of criticism. He of Nazareth, not to be profane, brought "not peace, but a sword," the divine image of "the greater sort of greatness."

Adopting his own self-expressive metaphor, Dr S. Brown was a non-conformist—ran against every man and every thing, tossed novel theories of Christianity, as well as of science, *pro bono publico*, out of his prolific, intellectual, and physical laboratories; and if at this early date, he must only be regarded as "the thinker, worker, and seeker, rather than the discoverer," there cannot be a doubt that he has earned for himself, "the greater sort of greatness," in originating those impulses palpitating for expression in the breasts of numerous disciples who imbibed his inspirations, and served themselves heirs to his noble aspirations.

Hugh Miller belonged hitherto, without question, in public estimation, to the former class; we say hitherto, for the examination of his last and most matured production bears incontestable evidence to the fact, that truth at once demanded subscription to the claims of science, and non-conformity; in proof of which, we shall appeal to his dying "Testimony."

"The Cromarty Mason," was no stranger to our readers either in Britain or America. He ranked amongst the "great men of the time." Consequently, we do not deem it necessary to impose upon ourselves the task of sketching his life, recorded as it is so graphically and elegantly,

[1] The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed. By Hugh Miller, author of "The Old Red Sandstone," "Footprints of the Creator," &c. &c. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co.; Shepherd & Elliot. 1857.

The Chronology of Creation; or, Geology and Scripture Reconciled. By Thomas Hutton, F.G.S. Captain, Bengal Army. Edinburgh: Moodie & Lothian. 1857.

in "My Schools and Schoolmasters, or the Story of my Education,"—one of the most instructive autobiographies which the present age has produced. All the world knows that Hugh Miller was born of sea-faring parents at Cromarty, in the Scottish Highlands, in 1802, cotemporary or nearly so with the origin of the Geological Society at London, and commenced his life of labour in a sandstone quarry in the district, an occupation which formed an appropriate apprenticeship for his future geological career. He roughed the migratory life of a stone mason for some years—swallowed the contents of every book he could lay his hands upon—carried off the legendary lore from every district he visited—traded upon the capital, and presented the public with the traditional Highland conglomerate, styled "Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland." Story-telling was his forte even at school. But when the *cacoethes scribendi* had seized upon the aspiring author, never did his prolific pen drop from his hands, until he threw it aside, after penning that mysterious letter found beside his corpse.

Scotland raged at the time with that ecclesiastical controversy which ultimately issued with the secession of the Free Church of Scotland. He threw himself might and main into the heart of the struggle, and dealt that blow with his "Whiggism of the Old School," against ecclesiastical patronage, which reverberated through both Houses of Parliament. The Free Church leaders instinctively pounced upon the author as a fit and powerful defender of their ecclesiastical policy, and installed him as Editor of the *Witness Newspaper*, an office the arduous duties of which he has discharged, generally speaking, to the no small satisfaction of the party with which he connected himself, as well as to the general public; for those contributions to geology which he afterwards reprinted and entitled "The Old Red Sandstone," appeared originally in the columns of his own newspaper.

The "Vestiges of Creation," no sooner appeared in the scientific world, than the "Footprints of the Creator" trode upon the heels of the modern advocate of the development hypothesis. The epoch of Public Lectures had lately been inaugurated, and "the man of the people" became the popular expounder of Geology—the newest of the sciences. The sphere of his geological observations had been limited; and no one felt more than himself, the irreparable loss he had sustained in this respect. The area of Scotland is a speck in the ocean, compared with the various continents in the eastern and western hemispheres. But his Journal bound him with a Gordian knot, and admitted only of a temporary tour during the summer vacation, to the better half of Britain south of the Tweed, the result of which was his "First Impressions of England and its People,"—a sentimental journey adapted and modernised by a geological antiquary.

All the world, we have said, is familiar with the autobiography of Hugh Miller. It lies upon the drawing-table of the peer,—it is well thumbed in the work-shops of the artisan,—and his geological productions have earned for him a world-wide reputation. Men of science asserted that they would give their right hand to purchase the style of the self-taught mason, and harmoniously unite in acknowledging the numerous

contributions the author of "The Old Red Sand Stone," has made to the science of Geology.

His career has been essentially polemical; and in this, as well as in all other respects, the boy has proved to be the father of the man. He draws his knife upon his youthful antagonist at school, and stabs him in the thigh. "Ye big blubbering blockhead," he shouts to another, howling and crying on the reception of *palmies*, at the hand of the village dominie, "take that for a drubbing from me," and lastly braves his very master himself in a wrestling match, and to the no small delight of his Schoolmaster,—is overpowered and soundly thrashed. "Conquered but not subdued," however, he took his cap down from off his pin, marched straight out of school, never to return; and avenged himself by writing a pasquinade upon his pedagogue.

It was as an assailant of Scottish High Churchism that he commenced his literary career as a pamphleteer. "The editorship of a non-intrusion newspaper," he honestly admitted, "involved as portion of its duties, war with all the world."

> "Here lies W. W.,
> Who will no longer trouble you, trouble you,"

was the epitaph which he once carved upon what he deemed the tombstone of a silenced foe; and even his friends dreaded, deprecated, and deplored the attachment of the awful motto, during the reign of terror which they had instituted. The development hypothesis proved at all times a popular butt for the display of his slashing chisel-and-mallet style. So did High Churchism—Scottish or English—no matter what -ism of Ecclesiasticism claimed hereditary and prescriptive reverence,—Moderatism, Puseyism, or Romanism. Never did a mason perform such feats of intellectual gladiatorship. You would have thought that the spirit of a Scandinavian Jotun had burst from the Valhalla of the gods, and stormed the antiquated systems of modernity. Watch him planting his chisel against Lay-Patronage in the Kirk of Scotland—he strikes, and the rubbish of centuries tumble round the ears of the terror-stricken peers! or again, mark him down in England—he raises his hammer, and the lofty cathedral aisles crash into ruin—fonts, vestments, and candelabra are enveloped in common destruction!

"There was some wild blood in his veins," is the personal record of Hugh regarding his father, "derived mayhap from one or two of his buccaneering ancestors." And undoubtedly it flowed, though diluted, through the stalwart frame of the seaman's son. He was a literary *Buccaneer;* and in saying so, we mean only to class him with a host of his compeers who have climbed, by the dint of assiduous study, to the same height of popularity. Brave hearts were those sea kings who bore down the wind on the first foe they spied—boarded, and carried off the golden prize to decorate their ocean homes. And, what, we ask, has the literary and lineal descendant of the Buccaneers done? What is the final result of his lifelong laborious career? What *magnum opus* do his cotemporaries point to, as the source and foundation of his future fame with posterity? We do not intend offering a detailed reply to

these searching interrogatories; but is it not a fact, we ask, that he started into notice by grappling with the heroes of a hundred fights, on the ecclesiastical controversies of his country? won his "legends" from the traditional tales floating in the imaginations of village gossips? and collected those geologic stores with which he afterwards adorned the columns of his newspaper and his successive productions, from his contemporaries and predecessors? We neither charge him with plagiarism nor inefficiency. Nobody doubts that he was a practical geologist—witness his extensive geological museum. The name of Hugh Miller will always be deservedly associated with the illustration and discoveries of "The Old Red Sandstone,"[1] but the sentence of scientific tribunals will bear us out in the assertion that he was after all a literary Buccaneer; and mysterious enough, he did not escape "the hereditary fate" of his ancestors and family, as all that are acquainted with his tragic death must be aware.

Such was Hugh Miller, the Cromarty Mason,—the popular Editor, Literateur and Lecturer—the practical Geologist—poet and polemic withal,—the Coryphaeus at once of Theological and Geological orthodoxy, and last, not least, the self-styled representative man of the people. Such was Hugh Miller, we repeat, in public estimation, a thorough conformist in science, prior to the publication of his dying "Testimony," to the examination of which we now address ourselves. What then forms the leading purpose of this posthumous production? The dedication leaves no doubt upon this subject. "This volume is chiefly taken up," the writer distinctly announces, "in answering to the best of its author's knowledge and ability, the various questions which the *old theology* of Scotland has been asking for the last few years of *the newest of the sciences.*" These questions relate, as every body knows, to the Creation and the Deluge—to what may be termed the theology of geology. And what conclusions does the geologist proffer as the result of his latest and most matured convictions to the supporters and defenders of the "Old Theology?" We quote the prefatory advertisement to the reader, wrested from the author, by the inexorable demands of truth:—

"It will be seen that I adopt in my Third and Fourth Lectures, that scheme of reconciliation between the Geologic and Mosaic Records, which accepts the six days of creation as vastly extended periods; and I have been reminded by a somewhat captious critic, that I once held a very different view, and twitted with what he terms inconsistency. I certainly did once believe, with Chalmers and with Buckland, that the six days were simply natural days of twenty-four hours each—that they had compressed the entire work of the existing creation—and that the latest of the geologic ages was separated by a great chaotic gap from our own. My labours at the time as a practical geologist had been very much restricted to the Palaeozoic and secondary rocks, more especially to the Old Red and Carbiniferous systems of the one division, and the oolitic system of the other; and the long extinct organisms which I found in them, certainly did not conflict with the

[1] If we may judge of the value of Hugh Miller's contributions to science by the amount of the pension—£70 per annum,—conferred by the Governmental Patrons of Literature upon his surviving widow and family, we may point to it as a confirmation of the sentiments we have expressed.

view of Chalmers. All I found necessary at the time to the work of reconciliation, was some scheme that would permit me to assign to the earth a high antiquity, and to regard it as the scene of many succeeding creations. During the last nine years, however, I spent a few weeks every autumn in exploring the later formations, and acquainting myself with their peculiar organisms. I have traced them upwards from the raised beaches and the old coast lines of the human period to the brick clays, clyde beds, and drift and boulder deposits of the Pleistocene era, and again from these, with the help of museums and collections, up through the mammaliferous crag of England, to its Red and its Coral crags. And the conclusion at which I have been compelled to arrive is, that for many long ages, as man was ushered into being, not a few of his humbler contemporaries of the fields and woods enjoyed life in their present haunts, and that for thousands of years, anterior to even *their* appearance, many of the existing molluscs lived in our seas. That *day* during which the present creation came into being, and on which God, when he had made 'the beast of the earth after his kind, and the cattle after their kind,' at length terminated the work by moulding a creature in His own image, to whom he gave dominion over them all, was not a brief period of a few hours' duration, but extended over mayhap millenniums of centuries. No blank chaotic gap of death and darkness separated the creation to which man belongs, from that of the old extinct elephant, hippopotamus, and hyaena; for familiar animals, such as the red deer, the roe, the fox, the wild cat, and the badger, lived throughout the period which connected their times with our own; and so I have been compelled to hold, that the days of creation were not natural, but prophetic days, and stretched far back into the byegone eternity. After in some degree committing myself to the other side, I have yielded to evidence which I found it impossible to resist; and such in this matter has been my *inconsistency*,—an inconsistency of which the world has furnished examples in all the sciences, and will, I trust, in its onward progress, continue to furnish many more."

We mistake much the nature and bearings of this, as well as several other passages of the present volume, if they do not betoken a revolution in the sentiments of the author, contemporary in our estimation with the new epoch in science, which undoubtedly dates from the transition-period of the nineteenth century. On no other ground can we account for the reiterated allusions to Galileo and Columbus, but by way of warning and admonition to "anti-geologists," and perhaps our readers will recognise the necessity of the hint, when we register the important *admissions* which the geologist has "been compelled" to make at the bar of public opinion. We do not base their importance upon their novelty; they have been ringing in the ears of the public for half a century. But we deem the fact worthy of all attention that the Christian advocate has stamped these hitherto disputed doctrines, with the *imprimatur* of Geological orthodoxy, whatever may be the consequences to Theological orthodoxy. We merely catalogue these acknowledgments at present, leaving their discussion to the sequel. (1.) No previous harmony between the Mosaic and geologic records is satisfactory. (2.) No catastrophic period occurred at the creation of Adam. (3.) Death was not introduced at the creation. (4.) The 6 days of Genesis are not natural days of 24 hours' duration. (5.) The Deluge was not universal. And (6.) The narrative of Genesis (chaps. i. ii.) is not historical.

Before proceeding farther, however, we shall offer a *resumé* of the

history and state of the controversy, waged between the theologians and geologists. When we survey the history of science or philosophy, of art, or of civilization itself, we cannot fail to observe that each and all are equally characterised by what may be correctly designated, a periodic evolution and progress. Peruse, *e.g.* the History of the Inductive Sciences by Whewell, the History of Philosophy by Lewes or Morell, and the Theory of Human Progression by Dove, and we are persuaded that our general affirmation will be crowned with sufficient confirmation. As it does not, however, comport with our present design to illustrate the theory of progress, except in so far as it bears upon the subject under discussion, we shall therefore confine our preliminary observations to the science of astronomy—a science the history of which, as our readers must be aware, records a series of conflicts and controversies waged between the disciples of science and theology, bearing a striking resemblance to those carried on by their successors in the present day. What then is the history of the opinions that have prevailed during the consecutive period of scientific evolution regarding the heavenly bodies? Do we not discover that the history of astronomical revelation is characterised by the tedious tardiness of progressive development, exhibited alike by physical and sacred revelation? Is it not a fact that the primitive forefathers of humanity ignorantly regarded the heavens as the curtain of a tent bespangled with stars, spread over the horizontal surface of the earth, and superstitiously invested the heavenly bodies with divine honour and authority? that the Persian prostrated himself in prayer before the glorious Ruler of the heavens, and that the Chaldean, aye even the European astrologers prognosticated the destinies of nations and individuals, from the aspects and portents of the stars? that the light of science, however, projected by the telescopes of a Copernicus and Galileo, at length penetrated the atmospheric veil of earth and ignorance, and revealed to a wondering world the sublime knowledge of planets, satellites, suns and systems, revolving in harmonious order and undeviating regularity in the realms of limitless space?

Need we remind any one that Galileo was summoned before the ecclesiastical tribunals of his age,—a fact of which Hugh Miller frequently reminds his readers,—charged with the high crime of publishing and disseminating the heretical doctrine that the earth performed her revolutions round the sun? that his accusers fortified their position by adducing the testimony of the sacred oracles, to the effect that the earth was laid upon foundations that it should not be removed for ever? or finally that though the sun and moon are recorded to have stood still at the bidding of the Hebrew warrior, Christendom does not hesitate to accept the Heliocentric in lieu of the Geocentric theory of the earth? But have we therefore deemed it incumbent upon ourselves to exclude either sacred or astronomical revelations from our scientific and theological creeds? Undoubtedly not. And on what ground do we base our justification of the acceptation of a paradox, the original assertion of which drew down the anathemas of ecclesiasticism and philosophy, but on the principle of periodic evolution and progress—a principle in accordance with which the popular statement of sensational, synonymous with

phenomenal or apparent observation, is harmonised with the rigid precision of the conclusions of scientific demonstration? Had astronomers not ignored the principle of periodic evolution and progress, they would not have laid themselves open to the charges that have been urged against their unwarrantable speculations, with which they attempt to saddle Christianity. Why else should they have deemed themselves called upon to wrest the Scriptures, and warp them into conformity with their cosmological conjectures? Why else should they have palmed the theory of the solar system upon David and the Hebrew people? And why else—a question which introduces us to the discussions on hand—should geologists or theologians have framed cosmogonies, harmonies, and theories of the earth, which science blushes to recognise as the fabrication of sciolists, and theology repudiates as "the baseless fabric of a vision."

Astronomy traces her genealogy to the oriental cradle of humanity—to the contemplation and speculation of the patriarchs in Chaldea and Idumea. Geology dates her strictly scientific origin no farther back than the commencement of the nineteenth century—in fact to the period of the establishment of the Geological Society of London in 1807. We do not deny that geognostic speculations were indulged by Chinese, Buddhist, Hindoo, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and European philosophers; we rather feel induced to bring prominently forward the facts sedulously registered by Lyell, viz., that each and all record, in their cosmogonies, "a succession of revolutions and catastrophes, interrupted by long periods of tranquillity;" definite *manwantaras* or periods, the duration assigned to which, extends in some instances to 360,000 years. Account for them as we may; call them traditionary legends or the generalisations and conclusions derived from the observations of geologic *data;* there they are, and we are fully entitled to regard them as presumptive arguments in favour of the credibility of the antiquity claimed for the earth by modern geologists. The problem, it must be acknowledged, is surrounded with all the difficulties that envelope the origin of the mythology of heathendom, and by the adoption of similar hypotheses framed to account for the existence of these geologic epochs mentioned in oriental cosmogonies, it may be enquired, have they originated from traditionary sources? from the interpretation put upon the Mosaic record? or from generalisations deduced from the observation of geological phenomena themselves? We do not presume to offer any solution of the problem at the present stage of enquiry, but if there be any truth in the theory of the evolution of the sciences, indeed of human progression itself, should the geological discoveries of the nineteenth century *after*, be ascribed to the nineteenth century *before*, the Christian era?

Be this as it may, modern geology proclaims the incontestable fact—whether conjectured, suggested, anticipated, or discovered, by ancient philosophers—that the physical structure of the earth has undergone a succession of periodical revolutions, previous and preparatory to the Historic epoch which dates from the creation of Humanity, 4 or 5000 years before the Christian era. It is true they have not as yet succeeded in calculating the duration of these goological epochs, and have accordingly

exhibited the modesty of true science, by designating them "*in*definite periods;" but we must impress upon the minds of those who take advantage of this admission in the course of discussion, the fact that though they are in ignorance styled "indefinite" by finite intelligences, they are yet incontestably regarded as "definite" by the infinite artificer of the Universe, who "sees the end from the beginning" and is "a God of *order* and not of confusion." Could we have condensed the geologic history of our planet—or better, could we have transported our readers backwards in the course of time, to the birth of the universe—watched the "confusion worse confounded" of elemental war, when our puny ball spun, a fused and fiery mass, through the realms of space,—carried you along the course of successive periods—the Palaèozoic, the secondary, and the tertiary, pointed out the successive vegetable and animal creations—the gorgeous Flora that waved their umbrageous arms across the platitudes of space—the gigantic reptiles and mammalia that roamed through the gigantic forests of earth—creatures by which it was adorned and adapted for the home of humanity, the climax and crown of creation—kings by right of birth, wielding dominion over the subordinate provinces in the kingdom of earth:—Could we have thus exhibited "a scale of *time* for geologic succession corresponding in magnitude to the scale of *distances* which astronomy teaches us as those which measure the relation of the increase of the earth;"—and could we have thus travelled down the course of time, carefully observing the tedious tardiness of development from hour to hour, and from period to period, we should have registered the age of our globe in cycles of myriads of millions of years,—if we be permitted to assume, which without presumption we may, that the physical laws of the universe are as unchanging as the Supreme Lawgiver himself, who is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." We say, myriads of millions of years, for if the processes we behold operating in the disintegration of rocks, and result in the stratification of sedimentary depositions to the depth of only a few inches annually, who will calculate the cycles during which those miles of stratified and unstratified rocks have been accumulated into their successive series of formations? Nor must it be forgotten, that geologists have but pierced the crust of the earth to the extent of only a few miles of the 8000 comprising its diameter, so that, in fact, they can but profess to have made discoveries corresponding to those of an anatomist or physiologist peering into the orifice left in the hide of an animal by plucking out its hairs.

It was the discriminating eye of Whiston, so far as we are aware, that first discerned the apparent discrepancy between the facts which the incipient science of geology revealed, and the Mosaic record of creation, or we should rather say the interpretation which had been put upon the portion of sacred revelation, and Chalmers revived, in the controversy (in a review of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth,) which has ever since been waged. Jamieson, Hitchkock, Pye Smith, Miller, and a host of other British and Continental divines, and minute philosophers, have elaborated theories professing to harmonize the two records, viz. the geologic and the Mosaic. We have no intention of imposing upon our-

selves the task of expounding either the peculiarities, or eccentricities of these thousand and one conflicting hypotheses, and must, therefore, content ourselves with the general statement, that they may fairly enough be classified under two divisions, according as they mantain that the Creation was accomplished in six literal days, or in six "indefinite periods."

Chalmers, who laboured, like most Scotchmen trained under the present university system dominant in Scotland, under the disadvantage of a defective knowledge both of geology and philology, simply intrenched himself behind the proposition that "the first creation of the earth, and the heaven may have formed no part" of the work of the six days mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis; in other words that the record contained in the first verse is a revelation of the original creation of the universe, inclusive of our planet, whereas the following verses narrate the *fiats* of omnipotence issued about 6000 years ago on the creation of plants, animals and humanity on six successive days, each of 24 hours' duration. Dr Pye Smith, and many others, have adopted his general theory, not however without considerable modifications, *e.g.* the localisation of chaos and the deluge. Cuvier, Jamieson, Hugh Miller, and others have unhesitatingly adopted the revelations of geology—revelations inscribed upon the stony pages of the volume of nature, and which they urge are therefore stamped with all the authority claimed for sacred revelation,—and boldly announce that the six days of Genesis form the record of six successive epochs in the early history of the earth, as an additional article of faith in the creed of the physical philosopher of the nineteenth century.

We are quite well aware that we should encounter the charge of precipitancy from some who have been accustomed to yield submissive deference to the plausible expositions which have been offered of the former hypothesis, did we presume to affirm that it was regarded as altogether obsolete by the disciples of theology. Ought not the fact, however, that there is scarcely any geologist of note, who does not subscribe to the latter, and, *par excellence*, modern theory upon the subject, induce us to start upon the track of inquiry suggested by a new science claiming and entitled to rank amongst the "exact sciences?"

It is almost unnecessary to state that the former hypothesis has not been regarded as a satisfactory solution of this *questio vexata*—that public opinion has not stamped it with that sanction accorded *e.g.* to the helicentric theory in astronomy. True, it may at the same time be retorted that even the latter theory has not yet gained that ascendancy over the public mind, adduced as the test of the reception or non-reception of a dogma by the community at large. But do not the scales of opinion preponderate in its favour? And do not the harmonies which ever and anon issue from the press, base their theories upon the axiomatic assumption that the six days of the Mosaic Record bear without straining the modern interpretation of six geologic historical epochs? It was therefore with considerable eagerness that we perused the "Testimony of the Rocks," but assuredly it has excited in us no slight surprise that a theory based upon a principle of interpretation of the most arbitrary and dangerous nature, destructive indeed to the authority of Divine Revelation, should have been so preci-

pitately stamped with the *imprimatur* of such a pre-eminently sagacious and sharp-sighted philosopher as the author of the "Footprints of the Creator." We should not perhaps have deemed the "Harmony" worthy of more than a passing critical notice, but sanctioned as it comes by the name of Miller, we feel constrained to protest against the introduction of a principle of interpretation, into the much neglected, though we are now glad to be able to say, incipient science of Hermeneutics, and must accordingly trespass upon the patience of our readers in attempting to vindicate revelation against the injudicious arguments of her *soi-disant* defenders and friends. Talk of rationalism! why our author out-rationalises rationalism! not only do his sentiments appear to be pervaded, but completely saturated, with Germanism; not only is his work characterised by the grossest assumption—philological as well as theological—but Genesis is degraded to the low level of an oriental apologue or dramatical representation. To speak plainly, what the common sense of Christendom has been accustomed to recognise as an historic verity, is without compunction resolved into a series of panoramic scenes or dissolving views. Novel and startling as these views may appear, they are not essentially new. That the Mosaic cosmogony was either a philosophical or historical mythus, had been frequently maintained by German commentators. Baden Powell, threw out the idea that the record of Creation was embodied in the language of "mythic poetry and of dramatic action." Pye Smith founded his defence of the churchman's hypothesis upon the ground of its consistency with scriptural inspiration; and discussion soon familiarised the public mind with the modern exposition that the sacred preface "was not intended for an historical narrative."

Dr Kurtz of Dorpa, meanwhile elaborated a "Vision," by means of which the sacred scribe depicted the development and history of the pre-adamite world. It came in the very nick of time for Hugh. He had been hammering unsuccessfully, half his lifetime at harmonies. Accordingly he clutched at the Vision with the utmost avidity, and gave it a local habitation and a name in his "Mosaic Vision of Creation," which constitutes the characteristic of the latest harmony propounded for the purpose of reconciling the discrepancies of the Mosaic and geologic records.

What then is the characteristic of the harmony destined in its author's estimation to supersede the previous theories of the earth? Let Dr Kurtz, the original fabricator, be heard in reply. "Since the source of knowledge for both kinds of history," we find him saying, "and not only the source but the means and manner, and way, of coming to know is the same, viz. the *eye witness* of the prophet's mental eye, it follows that the historical representation which he who thus came to know, *projects* (or portrays) in virtue of this eye-witnessing of his, holds the same relation to the reality in both the cases we speak of, and must be subjected to the same laws of exposition. We thus get the very important rule of interpretation, viz., that the representations of pre-human events which rest upon revelation are to be handled from the same point of view, and expounded by the same laws, as the prophecies and representations of future times and events, which also rest upon revelation. This then is the only proper point of view for a scientific exposition of

the Mosaic history of creation; that is to say, if we acknowledge that it proceeds from divine revelation, not from philosophic, speculative, or experimental investigation, or from the ideas of reflecting men." "From these premises Dr Kurtz goes on to argue," remarks his Scottish disciple, "that the pre-adamic history of the past being *theologically* in the same category as the yet undeveloped history of the future, that record of its leading events which occurs in the Mosaic narrative, is simply *prophecy* described backwards; and that coming under the prophetic law it ought of consequence to be subjected to the prophetic rule of exposition." "What fully developed history is to the prophecy which of old looked forwards, fully developed science is to the prophecy which of old looked backwards."

Only grant "these premises" to the German theologue and the Saxon geologist, and the ground is clear for the construction of the most incomparable Harmony. The materials have been already collected for the purpose in the Lectures upon "Palæontology," forming the introductory portion of the volume. Arrange the geological systems,—and you may be as arbitrary as you choose,—in parallelism with the six Genetic days; Presto! here is the "geologic scale." "*First*, the Azoic day or period; *Second*, the Silurian and Old Red Sandstone day or period; *Third*, the Carboniferous day or period; *Fourth*, the Permian and Triassic day or period; *Fifth*, the Oolitic and Cretaceous day or period; and *Sixth*, the Tertiary day or period."—Q. E. D! The Harmony is complete. Have you not stated in your Lectures on Palæontology, you ask by way of cross examination, that both fishes and invertebrates, which were not called into existence until the fifth day, are found imbedded in the Silurian and Red Sandstone formations which correspond to the *Second* day's creation? True; there is an apparent discrepancy; but behold "the successive scenes of the great air-drawn panorama," in which the pre adamic history of our planet was "revealed in a series of visions to Moses," and every doubt will dissolve into thin air. Dreading, however, as we should, the charge of misrepresentation or irreverence, did we attempt to describe "the form of revelation," we must allow the "scientific Poet" to photograph for himself the Palæontological Vision accorded to Moses by the Divine dramatist.

"Let us suppose that it took place far from man, in an untrodden recess of the Midian desert, ere yet the vision of the burning bush had been vouchsafed; and that, as in the vision of St John in Patmos, voices were mingled with scenes, and the ear as certainly addressed as the eye. A 'great darkness' first falls upon the prophet like that which in an earlier age fell upon Abraham, but without the 'horror;' and, as the Divine Spirit moves on the face of the wildly troubled waters, as a visible aurora enveloped by the pitchy cloud, the great doctrine is orally enunciated, that 'in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' Unreckoned ages, condensed in the vision in to a few brief moments, pass away; the creative voice is again heard, 'Let there be light,' and straightway a gray diffused light springs up in the east, and, casting its sickly gleam over a cloud-limited expanse of steaming vaporous sea, journeys through the heavens towards the west. One heavy sunless day is made the representative of myriads; the faint light waxes fainter,—it sinks beneath the dim undefined horizon; the first scene

of the drama closes upon the seer; and he sits awhile on his hill-top in darkness, solitary but not sad, in what seems to be a calm and starless night.

"The light again brightens,—it is day; and over an expanse of ocean without visible bound, the horizon has become wider and sharper of outline than before. There is life in that great sea,—invertebrate, mayhap also ichthyic life; but, from the comparative distance of the point of view occupied by the prophet, only the slow roll of its waves can be discerned, as they rise and fall in long undulations before a gentle gale; and what most strongly impresses the eye is the change which which has taken place in the atmospheric scenery. That lower stratum of the heavens occupied in the previous vision by seething steam, or gray, smoke-like fog, is clear and transparent; and only in an upper region, where the previously invisible vapour of the tepid sea has thickened in the cold, do the clouds appear. But there, in the higher strata of the atmosphere, they lie, thick and manifold,—an upper sea of great waves, separated from those beneath by the transparent firmament, and, like them too, impelled in rolling masses by the wind. A mighty advance has taken place in creation; but its most conspicuous optical sign is the existence of a transparent atmosphere,—of a firmament stretched out over the earth, that separates the waters above, from the waters below. But darkness descends for the third time upon the seer, for the evening and the morning have completed the second day.

"Yet again the light rises under a canopy of cloud; but the scene has changed, and there is no longer an unbroken expanse of sea. The white surf breaks, at the distant horizon, on an insulated reef, formed mayhap by the Silurian or Old Red coral zoophytes ages before, during the bygone yesterday; and beats in long lines of foam, nearer at hand, against a low, winding shore, the seaward barrier of a widely-spread country. For at the Divine command the land has arisen from the deep,—not inconspicuously and in scattered islets, as at an earlier time, but in extensive though flat and and marshy continents, little raised over the sea-level; and a yet further fiat has covered them with the great carboniferous flora. The scene is one of mighty forests of cone-bearing trees,—of palms, and tree-ferns, and gigantic club-mosses, on the opener slopes. and of great reeds clustering by the sides of quiet lakes and dark rolling rivers. There is deep gloom in the recesses of the thicker woods, and low thick mists creep along the dank marsh or sluggish stream. But there is a general lightening of the sky over-head: as the day declines, a redder flush than had hitherto lighted up the prospect falls athwart fern-covered bank and long withdrawing glade. And while the fourth evening has fallen on the prophet, he becomes sensible, as it wears on, and the fourth dawn approaches, that yet another change has taken place. The Creator has spoken, and the stars look out from openings of deep unclouded blue; and as day rises, and the planet of morning pales in the east, the broken cloudlets are transmuted from bronze into gold, and anon the gold becomes fire, and at length the glorious sun arises out of the sea and enters on his course rejoicing. It is a brilliant day; the waves of a deeper and softer blue than before, dance and sparkle in the light; the earth, with little else to attract the gaze, has assumed a garb of brighter green; and as the sun declines amid even richer glories than those which had encircled his rising, the moon appears full orbed in the east,—to the human eye the second great luminary of the heavens,—and climbs slowly to the zenith as night advances, shedding its mild radiance on land and sea.

"Again the day breaks; the prospect consists, as before, of land and ocean. There are great pine woods, reed-covered swamps, wide plains, winding rivers, and broad lakes: and a bright sun shines over all. But the landscape derives its interest and novelty from a feature unmarked before. Gigantic birds stalk along the sands, or wade far into the water in quest of their ich-

thyic food; while birds of lesser size float upon the lakes, or scream discordant in hovering flocks, thick as insects in the calm of a summer evening, over the narrower seas, or brighten with the sunlit gleam of their wings the thick woods. And ocean has its monsters: great '*tanninim*' tempest the deep, as they heave their huge bulk over the surface, to inhale the life-sustaining air; and out of their nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a 'seething pot or cauldron.' Monstrous creatures, armed in massive scales, haunt the rivers, or scour the flat rank meadows; earth, air, and water are charged with animal life; and the sun sets on a busy scene, in which unerring instinct pursues unremittingly its few simple ends,—the support and preservation of the individual, the propagation of the species, and the protection and maintenance of the young.

"Again the night descends, for the fifth day has closed; and morning breaks on the sixth and last day of creation. Cattle and beasts of the field graze on the plains; the thick-skinned rhinoceros wallows in the marshes; the squat hippopotamus rustles among the reeds, or plunges sullenly into the river; great herds of elephants seek their food amid the young herbage of the woods; while animals of fiercer nature,—the lion, the leopard, and the bear,—harbour in deep caves till the evening, or lie in wait for their prey amid tangled thickets, or beneath some broken bank. At length, as the day wanes and the shadows lengthen, man, the responsible lord of creation, formed in God's own image, is introduced upon the scene, and the work of creation ceases for ever upon the earth. The night falls once more upon the prospect, and there dawns yet another morrow,—the morrow of God's rest,—that Divine Sabbath in which there is no more creative labour, and which, "blessed and sanctified" beyond all the days that had gone before, has as its special object the moral elevation and final redemption of man. And over *it* no evening is represented in the record as falling, for its special work is not yet complete. Such seems to have been the sublime panorama of creation exhibited in vision of old to

> 'The shepherd who first taught the chosen seed,
> In the beginning how the heavens and earth
> Rose out of chaos;'

and, rightly understood, I know not a single scientific truth that militates against even the minutest or least prominent of its details."

Has Hugh palmed a geological "Utopia" upon the public, one is inclined to ask, after its perusal? Did he really imagine that he has rid the geologic record of the anachronism of the fishes and invertebrates, and we may add, of Marine Flora, by the simple assertion that "they must have been comparatively *inconspicuous* from any subaerial point of view, elevated but a few hundred feet over the the sea level?" The fishes pop their heads above water to listen to St Anthony preaching, in the painting in the Vatican, and must we credit the fact that the Divine Artist neglected to represent, or even mention the existence of the Ichthyic or Invertebrate life in the sublime panorama of creation, at the risk, moreover, of driving "the million" into the gulf of scepticism? Did he suppose that the genetic day is less wrenched from its evident signification of 24 hours' duration, defined as it is by "morning" and "evening," by the visionary "time" which he offers in substitution? that "the appearance for the first time of sun, moon, and stars," through "the strata of steam which had muffled and enveloped the incandescent globe during the previous 'periods' of its palaeontological existence"—the

objection which he urged as an insurmountable obstacle to the reception of Pye Smith's theory—constituted a "creation" in accordance with his own scheme of reconciliation? or that the "reason" of the fourth commandment is founded on a satisfactory basis, by grounding it upon "the mere *modules* of a graduated scale?" No doubt, in accordance with his supposed mode of revelation, day does not mean a literal day, and creation does not mean creation. It must be acknowledged that the hypothesis is very ingenious and plausible. "From these premises Dr Kurtz goes on to argue." There's the rub! Do the facts of the case, however, entitle him to the assumption of "these premises?" Undoubtedly not. Turn to the only evidence adduced in favour of this visionary theory, viz., to Numbers, xii. 6, 8, and what explanation is derivable from this passage regarding the nature or mode of inspiration enjoyed by Moses? Does any one who takes the trouble to peruse the context, in which he will find recorded the insubordination of Miriam to Aaron and Moses, doubt that the ground on which submission to their brother is claimed for him by the Almighty, is any other than the simple fact of his *direct and immediate* intercourse with him? not that we deny all allusion to the striking contrast between the "dark speeches" or ambiguous oracles of heathendom, and the distinct "face to face" announcement of the "one only living and true God." So evident must this appear to every unbiassed mind, that without dwelling at length upon the topic, we shall merely quote a single sentence which dissipates the visionary theory, so ingeniously and plausibly defended, to the four winds, from the narrative of Moses himself, which is as follows:—"And the Lord spake unto Moses face unto face, as a man speaketh to his friend," (Exod. xxxiii, 11.) Mark, we do not deny the *possibility* of a divine revelation of the *past* history of the world in the mode described, but is it not a gratuitous assumption to affirm the fact of such a visionary method of communication in the face of distinct historical statements? Will any of his disciples point out to us a single instance within the limits of the sacred scriptures, in which divine intelligence has been conveyed either in a dream or vision to an inspired penman, without his at the same time honestly acknowledging the source of his information? We trow not. Why then, it may be asked, had he recourse to such an unwarrantable assumption? Let the truth be told, he wedded himself to a favourite hypothesis, which, like Bunyan's Flatterer, warps the mind in a web of sophistry from which it can only be disentangled by the man and the whip. Hence it is that he starts from the false premises that the Hebrew word "יום" (Yōm) translated "day" in our version of the Scriptures, denotes an "indefinite period" of time in the genetic record, and that the revelation of creation was accorded in a "vision" to Moses, philological errors which vitiate his whole succeeding course of argumentation. We are not surprised that he should have deemed it necessary to affix a preface to the "Creative Vision" which runs as follows:—"Such a description of the creative vision of Moses as the one given by Milton of that vision of the future which he represents as conjured up before Adam by the archangel, would be a task rather for the scientific poet than for the mere practical geologist or sober theologian."

Shall we then carve "ridiculus mus" upon the "Testimony of the Rocks" because it has dissolved, upon cross-examination into "the baseless fabric of a vision?" By no means:—delete "the Mosaic Vision," and extract "the Two Records, "Palæontology," and "the Noachian Deluge," are left behind to bear ample testimony to the utility of "the newest of the sciences." First, then, what do the facts of Palæontology attest. The incalculable antiquity of the earth, the universal reign of death, as well as the uniformity of the laws of nature during the whole palæontological course of time, and by implication, the non-occurrence of a "blank chaotic gap of death and darkness" at the creation of Adam, and the partiality of the Deluge.

Such are the scientific revelations imparted by "the newest of the sciences" to the "old theology," and what are the theological problems started for solution by these geological discoveries? Their name and number is legion. Query follows hard upon the heels of query. Does Moses determine the antiquity of the earth, or the length of the "day" in the record of creation, or not? Was Chaos local or co-extensive with the globe? Cotemporary with Adam, or with the commencement of the first period of the pre-adamite world? Does the reign of animal death anterior to the creation of Adam, militate against the dogma that the mortal taste of that forbidden tree brought death into the world and all our woe, or not? A single glance will convince the veriest tyro either in geology or theology that each question presents a "*modus vindice dignus*," and our limits will not admit even of an essay towards their solution. "The facts of palæontology must be accepted," is the uncompromising tone of the geologist, "and leaves us now no choice whatever."

Is there any court of appeal then, we ask, from the conclusions of the geologist? certainly not; so long as he restricts himself to the office of interpreting the record of the rocks, we accept his geological Testimony. But when he ventures out of his own proper walk—trenches upon the sphere, and assumes the functions of the philologist, of the Mosaic record, we at once class him with the theologians, such as Calvin, Turretine, Heidegger, and the Doctors of Salamanca, who challenged the discoveries and conclusions of Columbus and Copernicus, and reject his philological testimony.

To the philologist then we do appeal; and what does Philology attest respecting the interpretation of the Mosaic record? The comparative modernity of the present constitution of the earth, (dating according to the received chronology about 6000 years ago)—if not of the universe; the introduction of death posterior to the fall; the dominion of darkness, disorder, and Chaos, prior to the first (literal) day's creation; the creation of the present constitution of the earth;—terrestial and celestial—vegetable, animal, and rational,—in 6 days of 24 hours' duration; and the universality of the Noachian Deluge.

Such are the theological conclusions tendered by philology, as well as the "Old Theology," to "the newest of the Sciences," and the world at large. We have no desire to conceal the fact that "doctors differ" upon all the topics claiming discussion in connection with this *vexatissimus*

locus. We concede at once, that "Yōm," day, the turning-point in the dispute between the Theologian and the Geologist, bears the interpretation of an "indefinite period" of time in Hebrew Literature—in every language, indeed, without exception. But the real question at issue is—and we wish to recal the attention of the disputants to the fact,—*what signification does philology attach to "Yōm," day, in the first Chapter of Genesis?* A literal day of 24 hours' duration. On this point, there is, and there can be no alternative. It is hedged round by the definitions and limitations of "evening and morning." "Day," the name affixed by the Creator to the period of "light," as distinguished from "night," the season of "darkness," is employed in the same (the fifth) verse to designate the "first day" of Creation; and lastly, an irrefragable argument—the Sabbath-day is declared, in the fourth commandment of the decalogue, to be *isochronous* (if we may be allowed to coin a word expressive of "equal length,") to each of the six creative days. "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." (Exod. xx. 11, cf. xxxi. 17.) Such is the view taken by the author of the second work at the head of the present article. But as his scheme of reconciliation demands the deposition of the whole of the geologic strata of the earth during the short period between the creation and the deluge, as well as a *Deus ex machinâ*, ever and anon, to drag him out of his dilemmas, *e.g.* to *create* predaceous animals after the occurrence of the deluge, &c., it must inevitably sink into the oblivion which has already befallen similar well meant, but unsuccessful attempts in the same direction.

By what legerdemain, then, did the geologist intercalate myriads of years between the evening and morning of the six creative days? Simply by urging, that divines asserted that Yōm, day, meant an indefinite period of time in the Hebrew Scriptures, and even pointed in support of their conjecture to the genetic record itself, (ch. ii. 4), and what does this evidence amount to? Nothing more or less than a transparent *double entendre*—the merest child's play upon a single word. The geologist puts the serious question to the divine, Does "Yōm," day, denote an "indefinite period" of time in the first chapter of Genesis? "Such a sense,"—so runs the usual tenor of the replies—"is fairly to be collected from the Hebrew Scriptures;" not only so, but "Yōm," day, in the second chapter of Genesis embraces the whole creative period. Now, what does this prove? First, not certainly that "Yōm," day, does not signify a civil day of 24 hours duration in the first chapter of Genesis, but that it is employed *elsewhere* in a "generic" sense, and secondly, if the *usus loquendi* in the second chapter prove anything, it proves too much, viz. that *one* day is equivalent to *six* days. But the fact is, as any Hebraist would have assured the geologist, that "Beyōm," "in the day," is used adverbially, and is correctly rendered "when" in our English translation. The host of objections, moreover, to which the hypothesis is liable, renders it wholly untenable, as a few queries will readily demonstrate. If "day" denotes an "indefinite period" of time, why is it defined by "evening" and "morning?" and employed as isochronous to a creative day? If

the sun was not "created" until the fourth day, *i.e.* period, how do you account for the existence of light, and the alternation of day and night? If fishes were not created until the fifth day, why do palaeontologists stumble upon their extinct organisms in the Palaeozoic period? If reptiles and insects were not called into existence until the sixth day, what explanation do you offer of the discovery of their fossils imbedded amongst the Carbiniferous, and of Radiata, Articulata, and Mollusca amongst the Silurian and Devonian formations? If the Mammalia created on the sixth day belonged to the class of Herbivora only, how do you account for the fossiliferous deposits of Carnivora, found in the Tertiary formation? *Quantum sufficit.*

The long pending problem thus remains *in statu quo*, and we question much the probability of its satisfactory solution on any other principle than that to which we have already alluded, viz., the principle in accordance with which the popular statements of sensational, synonymous with phenomenal or apparent observation, is harmonised with the rigid precision of the conclusions of scientific demonstration, for it deserves to be noted, on the authority of the most recent expositors of geological science, that, if you ignore the "geological scale" of harmonists, in accordance with which they arbitrarily apportion the geological system amongst the six days,—"the narrative of Genesis, though making many exquisite distinctions, does not violate the ideas of causation, of classification, and of geological series, brought out by the very latest science, in a single instance." The necessity of this "accommodation" might be rendered tolerably evident by a *reductio ad absurdum*, for when we consider that notwithstanding the unmistakeable revelation of the creation, man, though invested by divine right with the lordship of this fair universe, has degraded himself by wallowing in the mire-worship of even the mineral and vegetable as well as the animal and celestial kingdom of nature—that the Persian prostrated himself before the lord of day—the Hindoo and the Egyptian before an onion or a goose—the Mahommedan before a black stone,—and the Jew, yes, even the Jew, with the divine title of universal dominion encircling his brow, eat the dust beneath the feet of universal nature—tell us, had our modern philosophers and disciples of science published the Genesis of the Universe (which by the way, transcends their capacity,) in the technicalities of scientific phraseology, would not the history have fallen, like the inexplicable jargon of "unknown tongues" upon the ear of the childhood of humanity, deepened their ignorance, and strengthened their superstition? Why, had they found it recorded in sacred revelation that the earth spun like a star, in the infinity of space, would they not have lived in perpetual terror of being hurled from its surface? or that an eccentric comet might shiver their kingdom into fragments? Had they been taught that our planet unceasingly revolved as an obedient satellite round the central sun of our system, would they not more readily have made their salaam before the king or "queen of heaven?" or in fine, had they been taught that the Flora and Fauna of preceding epochs were imbedded in the floor of the earth beneath their feet, would they not have supplanted their idol "calves" with disentombed mammoths and mastodons, icthyosaurs,

megalosaurs, and colossal megatheriums; and defeated the unmistakeable *design* of the revelation of the creation, viz., the inculcation of the doctrine of Monotheism as well as the presentation of an antidote against idolatry and polytheism.

To conclude: we trust we have produced evidence from "The Testimony of the Rocks," amply sufficient to justify the severity of the language in which we have characterised it. Our author's theory, as we have seen, is based on the veriest assumption, viz., that the history of the past is imparted in "vision to humanity," an assumption contradictory to the express averments of Scripture, pervaded by a supreme contempt for the results of philological science, and introducing, as it does, an arbitrary principle of interpretation into the incipient science of hermeneutics, fraught therefore with the most dangerous consequences to the interests of truth and Christianity.

We took the liberty of comparing this theory to a series of dissolving views. The author, we do not once hesitate to believe, was a friend of revelation; but did he form any imagination of the "dissolving" power of the instrument he has forged, for the employment of the adversaries of sacred revelation? Apply "the prophetic rule of exposition" to the interpretation of the successive chapters of the Pentateuch, for where will you stop, since no distinction is drawn between its introductory and concluding portions? And must we seriously entertain the extravagant idea that God presented the antediluvian history in a series of "dramatic representations" to the "fancy of Moses,"—that he "had no idea of *time*," and yet distinctly relates the lives, deaths, and ages of the patriarchs? Can we confidently accept the incidents recorded, *e. g.* in the third chapter of Genesis, as literal transactions? For certainly if a "panoramic representation" was deemed requisite to qualify Moses for describing the record of creation, *a fortiori*, the optical vision of a "facsimile" of Noah's ark—the structure and dimensions of which still forms the theme of discussion,—could only have enabled him to furnish his readers with its numerous details. If the principle is to be depended upon at all, it must be capable of general application. Did Adam then live 960 "indefinite periods" of time? or may not the facts recorded in the third chapter of Genesis, only embody grand spiritual truths "in the guise of apologue, and in the language of mythic poetry, or dramatic action?" It is needless to extend similar questions, occurring as they will, to any one who has followed the course of discussion. But why should not the sacred penman of the Old as well as the New Testament Scriptures, have been suffered to glean their information regarding the past in the same manner, and from similar sources as civil historians? And accordingly one reason (the probability of which is enhanced by the "document hypothesis,") generally assigned for the extraordinary length of the lives of the antediluvian patriarchs, has been that the knowledge of divine revelation might be transmitted from Adam to Moses, *i.e.* from the traditionary to the documentary period, through as few channels as possible. It is on this ground that we charge this theory with contradicting the analogy of the divine policy and procedure,

and infringing the economy of means, ascribed not less by philosophers than by divines, to the Governor of the universe.

We cannot forbear, on casting a retrospective glance at the theories of the earth, whose wreck strew the field of discussion we have traversed, expressing our cordial concurrence with the sentiments embodied in the "Lectures on Education," delivered in the Royal Institution, and urging their perusal upon those disciples of science who have lately, to use the language of the "astronomical discourses," "debated and dogmatised with all the pride of a most intolerable assurance." Had instruction even in the elements of the physical sciences been imparted in the stereotyped course of education hereditarily pursued since the reformation in our universities and scholastic institutions, should ever Professor Faraday have imposed upon himself the invidious task of inculcating "*suspension of judgment*," on all subjects of investigation, upon the public mind of the 19th century of the Christian era, as he does in the following extract:—"I now simply express my strong belief that that point of self-education which consists in teaching the mind to resist its desires and inclinations, *until they are proved to be right*, is the most important of all, not only in things of natural philosophy, but in every department of daily life." Or should we, and such as we, ever and anon feel ourselves called upon to sweep another and another of the baseless fabrics into oblivion? It is utterly indefensible in a theologian, and doubly inexcusable in a physicist, to yield to the temptation, but "humanum est errare." While therefore we reject Hugh Miller as a harmonist, we gladly accord him the high rank to which his life's labours entitle him, both as a geologist and a self-taught man.

Types of Mankind: or Ethnological Researches, based on the ancient Monuments and Craniæ of Races, and upon their Natural and Geographical History: with Contributions from Professor Agassiz. By J. C. Nott, M.D., Mobile, Alabama; and Geo. R. Gliddon, formerly United States Consul at Cairo. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1852. (Pp. 738, folio.)

The Races of Men: A Fragment. By Robert Knox, M.D. London. 1850.

The Unity of the Human Races. By Thomas Smyth, D.D., Charleston, U.S. Edinburgh. 1851.

One general characteristic of error is *extremeness*. This has been observed in all ages, and by writers sacred and profane; "medio tutissimus ibis;" "incidit in Scyllum," &c.; and the wisest of men: "Let thine eyes look straight on: turn not to the right hand nor to the left." Moderation, in all matters of mere opinion, is the truest wisdom. Truth upon any such matters may generally be found near about half-way between the extremes.

We have been led to the above prosy but practical reflections by re-

membering the views which have prevailed of late years regarding the position of man in the scale of being. Some ten years ago we had in the "Vestiges of Creation" a reproduction and popularization of the views of Oten and Lamarck, that all organized beings are one, even historically speaking; that the various so called species and genera have no true boundaries, but that they may pass and have passed into each other. This is the one extreme upon the subject.

The other extreme is upheld in the two first works whose titles are at the head of this notice. They have for their object to prove not only that species are eternally distinct; but that they are much more numerous than is generally supposed;—that the different breeds of dogs, for instance, were most of them originally different species;—and particularly, that the different varieties of the human race are specifically and radically distinct,—and that, therefore, they did not proceed from one pair.

In the volume entitled "Types of Mankind," this position is sought to be arrived at in various ways. The mode in which *Agassiz* arrives at it is by means of his theory of the geographical distribution of organisms. He says:—"First, either mankind originated from a common stock, and all the different races with their peculiarities in their present distribution are to be ascribed to subsequent changes,—an assumption for which there is no evidence whatever, and which leads at once to the admission that the diversity among animals is not an original one, nor their distribution determined by a general plan established in the beginning of the creation. Or, secondly, we must acknowledge that the diversity among animals is a fact determined by the will of the Creator, and their geographical distribution part of the general plan which unites all organized beings into one great organic conception; whence it follows that what are called human races, down to their specifications as nations, are distinct primordial forms of the type of man."

Agassiz is doubtless an accomplished palæontologist, but his reasoning is often not particularly close nor cogent. He evidently regards it as a palpable absurdity, which requires only to be stated in order to be rejected, for any one to hold "that the diversity among animals is not an original one." He regards this, moreover, as identical with holding "that the diversity among animals is a fact that was not determined by the will of the Creator!" Most people hold, and see no difficulty in holding, that the diversity among animals, so far as varieties are concerned, was *not* original, and yet *was* determined by the will of the Creator. They hold the same thing in regard to human languages. And certainly Agassiz himself does not hold that *all* the present diversity among animals was original. He doubtless means that the *specific* differences are aboriginal, which is denied by none except the "Vestiges of Creation" school, and in applying this to show the aboriginal differences of the various human races, he begs the unproved question, that these races are specifically distinct. His analogy as to the geographical distribution of the various species of animals, and their allocation originally in different parts of the world, leads him far beyond what it has any right to do. He finds that there has been an original distribution of the lower

animals over the earth, (he thinks there are eight principal centres of being, and forty minor divisions), and he therefore argues that so it must have been with man! Every one sees that there is here not only no necessary sequency, but (if man has characters widely distinguishing him from other animals) no force in the analogy.

But we proceed, as our object is merely to point out the nature and purpose of the works before us, not to discuss the subject-matter of them.

The stupendous work "Types of Mankind," seems to be mainly a collection and republication of essays on different parts of the subject by Nott and Gliddon. There is, consequently, a vast deal of repetition. Besides the essay by Agassiz on the geographical distribution of animals, including man, there are, *inter alia*, essays or chapters on many of the different so called human races, one on Hybridity, in which (like the Irishman who, thinking it impossible to prove too much, demonstrated to the judge's satisfaction, first, that the gridiron was broken when he borrowed it, and secondly, that he never borrowed it at all,) an attempt is made to prove both that hybrids among the lower animals are fertile, and that the mixed offspring of different human races are not so.

There is a good deal of anatomy in the book,—the tendency of which is to show that the osteology of the white races is utterly unlike that of any animal in creation; while a comparison of their internal structure shows the Negro and the Orang-outang to be as like as two peas,—"especially the Nigger."

There is also a good deal of theology, in which it is first shown that Scripture is unworthy of attention on such a subject, and then that it bears out the doctrine of aboriginal differences among mankind. The manner in which this last assertion is attempted to be proved, is by arguing that the record of the origin of man in Genesis is merely the record of the origin of Jewish or Hebrew man; and that of the origin of any other of the human families Scripture says nothing. Noah and his sons were thus the ancestors only of the Jewish and Chaldean races. But the general plan followed in the volume, when speaking of Scripture, particularly in the essays of Nott and Gliddon, is to treat it with contempt and insult. Many of their sneers at the Bible are as low and ribald as those of Tom Paine, and plainly show the *animus* by which the writers are influenced, while they produce mingled pain and indignation in the mind of any honest reader. We will not pollute our pages with the worst specimens of blasphemy. In treating of Old Testament history, they speak of Jehovah, not as the Supreme Being, but as some Jewish idol. This is the way they write the holy name: "There he built an altar to IeHOuah," &c. (P. 113 *et passim*). Again: "Jonah rebelled against IeHOuah's command, 'Go to Nineveh,' and, therefore, encountered the fate from which Perseus delivered Andromeda—that of deglutition by a great fish. . . . Jonah took his passage and paid the fare on an obedient voyage from Joppa to Nineveh, for compliance with the Tetragrammaton's behests, but he spitefully rose up to flee unto Tarshish." (P. 477). The *bona fides* of men who can so write must be viewed with considerable suspicion.

In regard to the main object of the book, to show that the various human families are aboriginally distinct, the assertions of the writers are strong and unhesitating, if their arguments are not always cogent. "One or two generations of domestic culture (they say) effect all the improvement of which Negro organization is capable." (P. 260). "To one who has lived among American Indians, it is in vain to talk of civilizing them. You might as well attempt to change the nature of the buffalo." (P. 169). "The horse, the ass, the zebra, and the quagga, are distinct species; and so with the Jew, the Teuton, the Sclavonian, the Mongol, the Australian, the Coast Negro, the Hottentot," &c.

From a human skeleton found a yard or two below the surface of the alluvial banks of the Mississippi (in all probability buried there by human hands), they conclude that men have inhabited the earth for at least 57,600 years! the time alleged to be necessary for the deposition of the superincumbent alluvium.

The doctrines in question have not as yet had much influence in this country;—here it is rather the opposite extreme that has arisen—the theories of "Vestiges"—that all organized life is one, not only transcendentally, but by actual metamorphosis or development; but on the other side of the Atlantic it would appear that the most fashionable physiology among sceptical philosophers, is that which holds the aboriginality and permanence of the different human races. Why that should be the form which scepticism takes there, it is not difficult to see. The wish is doubtless father to the thought. Among a people, one of whose "domestic institutions" it is to treat their dark-skinned fellow-men like their horses and their oxen, it must be a mighty comfort to them if they can persuade themselves that they and their slaves are different species of animals.

In the second book, however, at the head of this notice, "Races of Men," by our well-known former fellow townsman, Dr Knox, we have a British work of a similar tendency. We cannot, of course, suspect similar motives here. The only *animus* which he lets out is a rabid hatred of the "Norman aristocracy," whom he regards as a different species from the plodding and industrious Saxon population of the country; and a similar hatred of Celts and Celtic feelings; the Celts he also regards as a third distinct species, and as naturally and unchangeably disposed to a monarchical and despotic form of government, while he announces himself to be a Saxon and a republican, as he declares every Saxon naturally to be. He says: "In Britain there have been, from the earliest recorded times, three distinct races of men. These races are the Celtic, Saxon, and Belgian or Flemish. They inhabited, in the remotest period, different parts of the country, as they still do,—from a period, in fact, beyond the historical era. I cannot find any era in history when the Celtic races occupied the Lowlands of Scotland; I believe this theory to be completely erroneous,—a dream, a fable. The story of the arrival of the Saxons in England is a very pretty story, true enough as regards that horde and that date, but altogether false if it be pretended that this was the first advent of the Scandinavian into Britain. Again, it was not the barbarian Celt whom Cæsar met in Kent; nor did he meet the Germans [Saxons?] whom he knew well; he met the

Flemings, deeply intermingled with the Phœnicians." (Pp. 13, 14). The Flemings, Belgians, and Normans, he somehow regards as the same people. William the Conqueror enslaved Saxon England to this day. Its other evil element is the presence of the Celts in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland. Races never change either their abodes or their character. The Celts ought either to be extirpated or to be allowed to govern themselves. For there will never be concord in Britain while there are three distinct races professedly under one government.

The book is certainly an amusing one from its thorough-going character. He exceeds the Philadelphians in upholding the distinctness of the Saxon, not only in respect of the Negro, but of the Celt, the Norman, and all creation. "By intermarriage an individual is produced, intermediate generally, and partaking of each parent; but this Mulatto is a monstrosity of nature—there is no place for such a family; no such race exists on the earth, however closely affiliated the parents may be. Since the earliest recorded times, such mixtures have always failed; with Celt and Saxon it is the same as with Hottentot and Saxon!" (P. 88).

Another thing in which he goes ahead of the Yankees is in the theory that the various races of men were not only originally distributed in different parts of the world, but that they cannot successfully change their original *habitats*. All colonization he regards as vain, contrary to the laws of nature, and likely to prove a failure. This militates against the Yankees themselves, and, therefore, is a theory which they are not likely to adopt. He seems inclined to believe that the occupation of North America by a Saxon or Celtic population will ultimately prove a failure. "Year after year, the best blood of England and Ireland is poured into the great American colony, to leaven and uphold it. Whilst this goes on, no statistics of population in America are worthy a moment's consideration. But when this stream shall stop, when the colony comes to be thrown on its own resources, then will come the time to calculate the probable result of this great experiment on man. All previous ones of this nature have failed; why should this succeed? Already I imagine I can perceive in the early loss of the subcutaneous adipose cushion which marks the Saxon and Celtic American, proofs of a climate telling against the very principle of life,—against the very emblem of youth, and marking with a premature appearance of age the race whose sojourn in any land can never be eternal under circumstances striking at the essence of life itself. Symptoms of a premature decay, as the early loss of teeth, have a similar signification;—the colonization, then, of Northern America by Celt or Saxon is a problem, whose success cannot be foretold, cannot reasonably be believed. All such experiments have hitherto failed." (Pp. 142, 143).

Knox in short is a thorough-goer. He believes in the most literal sense that "that which is is that which shall be, and that there is not (and cannot be) anything new under the sun." He does not believe, for instance, that the Jews ever occupied as owners the land of Canaan, —merely that they sojourned in it, as they do in all lands at the present day. He believes (as we have seen) that Celts, Saxons, and Normans, (whom he also calls Flemish or Belgians), occupied aboriginally the

British Isles, and the same districts of them respectively that they do at present. He holds that "race" is everything, in manners, morals, politics, and religion; all these being entirely modified according to the race in which they are found. Thus he believes that every Celt is naturally a Papist and an autocrat, and that where Protestantism is professed, it is something very different from the Protestantism of the Saxon, which, with democracy, he believes to be the natural creed of the latter. His *recipe* for the amelioration of the world is to make the divisions of nations follow the divisions of race. No two races can coalesce or agree in one government. Therefore each should be allowed to select its own form.

The book in short is unintentionally a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* of the doctrine of distinct races of men; yet, with all its extravagance, it is an exceedingly readable book, many of the chapters (as that on the Celtic race) being written, though in a loose style, with great power of expression and earnestness of thought.

Dr Smyth's work had been called forth by some of the early essays of Nott, Gliddon, and Agassiz. It is an admirable compendium of the good grounds we have, from reason, Scripture, history, observation, and analogy, of the descent of the human race from one stock. The chief objection to its readability is, that it is almost entirely composed of quotations—from Prichard, Latham, Lyell, Cuvier, and others, who advocated the original unity of mankind. This gives it somewhat of an unconnected feel. But we would warmly recommend it to general perusal. The time is coming when it may be needed. The "Vestiges" theory has been for the time demolished. This other, the opposite error, may next be set up;—perhaps by those who might find it their interest to represent Negros, or Hindoos, or Chinese as of a different species from ourselves,—perhaps by those who would wish to attack Scripture and Christianity,—perhaps by sincere speculatists. At all events, it is a subject which may soon be agitated, and the agitation of which would agitate the faith and practice (missionary or other) of the Christian world. It is well to be prepared; and Dr Smyth's book affords the preparation.

CHRIST AND HIS LAMBS.[1]

The greatest Teacher in the world, thought it an important part of his mission to deliver into faithful hands, the charge which forms the subject of this little book. If the adoption of such a theme of exposition needed justification, it might be easily found in the fact that we have stated, coupled with the peculiar circumstances in which the charge was delivered—with the time selected for it—and with the interest which the Saviour had so frequently before expressed in the welfare of the little ones, here called "His Lambs."

[1] Christ and His Lambs. By the Rev. Colin M'Culloch, Montrose. Edinburgh: Moodie & Lothian. 1857.

When we find a man like the author of this little volume taking up such a subject, it would be out of place to call it condescension. That he is equal to what the world may be pleased to regard as higher tasks, —the *paullo majore* of literature, or controversy, or exposition,—there can be no doubt. But he has proved that he is not the man to regard it as a labour unworthy of *any* amount of talent, to imitate the commanding intellect whose word first called the world into existence, and then taught the world (after its worst disaster) the way of life.

But it is needless to deny that something beyond the average of execution that is ordinarily brought to bear upon such tasks, is expected where something like an interest is expected on their behalf. Accordingly, Mr M'Culloch has exerted his vigorous powers, in order, so far as the case admits of, not alone to illustrate, but (to use Johnsonian language) to *illuminate* his subject.

Our principal business is, not to enlarge panegyric, nor to take exception,—the special aims and ends of criticism, according to prescribed usage it would appear—but to justify what we have stated, by proofs, than which none can be better than those supplied by the book itself. We may observe, by the way, that exception is as difficult to take, as praise is needless to amplify, on this occasion.

Let us now exemplify. Here is, as we conceive, a picture, boldly and delicately executed,—where due delicacy was, to say the least, difficult, if to be expected at all, from ordinary hands:—

"The helplessness of his lambs still, in His risen state, engages the Saviour's thoughts. He provides for their sustenance and protection with the utmost care. He lays them upon the bosom of the Church, and draws around them the Church's arms. Some may hastily deem this guardianship a weak and inefficient one. Does not the Church herself need to be defended, and how then shall her weakness ever prove to others a defence? How shall the arm of her feebleness ward off from the tender lambs of Christ, the dangers which thicken upon them at each step, and put their life in continual jeopardy?

"As well might we say, that it was a weak protection which God provided for our infancy, when He laid us then upon a woman's breast. Yet do we all look back with pious thankfulness to the sacredness of the sanctuary which our infant life obtained shelter in. Nothing could have been more fitted to foster our tender strength, and to make our young life blossom and bud forth in beauty, than the holy, hopeful, prayerful love of a good mother. Nothing earthly could have formed a more impregnable bulwark of defence. In thus appealing to the holy sympathies which encompassed the tender beginnings of our earthly life, God provided in this feeble and delicate woman, a mightier defence than could have been furnished by all the strength of kings and their armed guards. So in appealing to the sympathies of the Church in behalf of the tender and helpless lambs of His flock, Jesus provides a protective and upraising power, amply sufficient to insure their future welfare. If their welfare is not secured, then ought we to search and see whether the Church is not failing of those graces which ought to characterize the spouse of the Holy Jesus.

"But the appellation is generally and properly regarded also *as one of endearment*. It is the exponent of a most tender feeling of regard and affection in the bosom of Christ. With us, possibly enough, words may mean nothing. The use of words, said a sarcastic diplomatist once, is to conceal

one's thoughts. Terms of endearment may drop from the tongue at every ripple on the surface of our affections, and in effect mean nothing. But with Christ, words mean things. They are the imagery of actual thought—the types and signs of a life so real and true, that there is no room in it for falsities of any kind or degree. 'LAMBS!' The appellation springs up out of the profounder deeps of a soul that was used to great loves. We are taught in Scripture, that the lambs are carried in this Good Shepherd's bosom. When He therefore Himself uses the term, we must not deem it a mere form of speech, or a mere conventional phrase, but the true index of a great, careful, everlasting love. With this plummet we can reach far down into the depths of the Saviour's bosom. If the terms used by Jesus fail to convey what He means, it is not because they express too much, but because they express too little. The most expressive speech in use among men, can never, by the most skilful master, be made to express the greatness of a death like Christ's—of a life like Christ's—of a love like Christ's. Human language is too small an instrument with which to take up so great a thing. Were we to attempt to body forth the infinite thoughts of God in the language of men, it would be like an attempt to take up the sea in the hollow of our hand. God, and God only, can do that in the hollow of His.

"We ought therefore to give full scope to the appellation. When Christ calls them His *Lambs*, He in fact introduces them to us as the objects of His fondest endearment. They stand revealed to us an element so full of glory, and in the roseate colours of such a love, that we must deal with them with infinite tenderness, as if all heaven were looking on. If we touch them roughly, we touch the apple of his eye. If we approach them in faith, to deal kindly by them for His sake, His heart cannot resist the impulses of its tenderest sentiment. We thereby carry ourselves forward into the very sunshine of His face. We attach ourselves to the luminous progress of His splendid destiny. We draw for ever around us the everlasting arms of His most sacred love, and of His most mighty power."

The chapter entitled "Claim of Ownership," sums up a very affectionate representation of Christ's interest in "His Lambs," with this strictly scriptural, and at the same time picturesque descriptive *view*:—

"*But this avowed relationship, futhermore, reveals to the eye of faith a sure and impregnable defence, hedging them in round about.* MY LAMBS! Christ's '*my*' is their true safe-conduct through the numerous hostile powers of the world—the surest sanctuary in all moments of danger—the truest talisman to bring around them in time of need, troops of powerful guardians. Once they are embraced within the relationship implied in '*my*' and they have angels to keep watch and ward for their weal: in heaven, their angels do always behold the face of God. The highest angels—those nearest God, and able to gaze upon the cloudless glory of His face, hasten to encamp round about these 'little ones' of Christ, and to deliver them in the time of trouble. Parents need not therefore be greatly cast down as they gaze onward to the dismal array of evils which are coming on, like armed men, to attack their children—the sicknesses which lie in wait for them at each step, the snares, the pitfalls, the precipices, and all the baneful scenes through which their young fresh life at such infinite hazard must pass on. This little word 'my,' which Christ has uttered, protects them. It would bring around them twelve legions of angels, rather than that a hair of their head should perish.

"Besides, it makes them citizens of no mean city. Here on earth, it is true, they are strangers, but they possess the rights of heavenly citizenship; and these hedge them about with so divine a guard, that at whatever distance from their own country, they walk in safety. Let but any one do

them a wrong, and all heaven is stirred. An injury to them is a sacrilegious insult to the holy Majesty of Heaven. A citizen of our own country may travel unnoticed in distant lands; in outward appearance he may seem deserving of no consideration; if let alone, nothing occurs to disturb the even current of events; but let once a wrong be done to him—let his liberty be violated, his person seized, his honour injured, and then will be seen the force he is armed with, and wherein his great strength lies. Not his own voice—not his own feeble arm, could ever have reached his oppressor, or broken the fetters of his captivity. But the wrong in his person insults the majesty of his country. It sends an electric shock to wake the slumbering might of England; and though his own voice is not strong enough to be heard outside his cell, a voice of thunder is lifted in his defence, at the sound of which the captive's fetters fall from his arms, and his wrongs are all redressed. As our country thus, as it were, stirs her mighty strength in defence even of the weakest and meanest of her children, and sends her terrible messengers of wrath across the deep, if but a hair of their head is injured, so, to compare great things with small, Heaven holds all its infinite forces in readiness to protect these lambs of Christ. Let but an enemy threaten them with insult; let but a danger loom in the distance, and the quicker sympathies of heaven and its mightier forces are at hand, to fence and shelter them from the touch of evil.

"Had we faith thus to accept them from Christ's hand, and to recognize in the common habit of our domestic and Sabbath School activities, their dear relationship to the Saviour, what a consecration would it impart to our labours? What an elevation of purpose would then characterize our teachings! What an energy and confidence our intercessions in their behalf! With what a holy readiness would we all respond to the Chief Shepherd's charge, 'FEED MY LAMBS!'"

The "Children's Bread" is throughout extremely good, and bespeaks the experience of the Pastor, and the assiduous industry of the Sunday School Teacher, in a style and manner worthy of all commendation.

We go on, however, to a brief selection from a chapter which must command the particular attention of parents, of mothers especially, and which we had conceived to be of somewhat deficient materials. We had read of "Women Ministering to Christ;" we had remembered John Bunyan's exquisite illustrations of that scriptural testimony to the sex; we had not forgotten, as who could, the sisterhood of the house on the hill, or Christian's pilgrimage, and the good works of the true-hearted and loving Mercy; and we had not forgotten the all but forgotten lines of a modern Poet—

> "Not she with trait'rous kiss her Saviour stung,
> Not she denied him with blaspheming tongue,
> She, while Apostles shrunk, could danger brave;
> Last at his Cross, and earliest at his Grave."

All this we had remembered, or not forgotten, on behalf of woman; but woman's companions in tenderness, "The Lambs of Christ," we had nearly forgotten as her companions in assiduity, to the ministers of Christ, when Mr M'Culloch brought us back to recollection by the best chapter in all his book—that entitled, the "Children Ministering to Christ."

"It seems remarkable, that the inspired penman of the eighth psalm, singles out the very youngest children as one of God's grand ordinances of strength. 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained

strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.' What seems to us the weakest thing in nature, liable to perish at every chill breath of air, or at the most trivial mischance that happens, is yet one of the strong things of God—the depositary of the strength of God—His powerful agency for the revelation of His arm and the glorification of His name. More memorable still, that this object should have arrested the attention of the inspired psalmist, at the moment he was surveying the most magnificent scenes of nature. He was contemplating the glory and goodliness of this fair earth and the starry heavens overhead. He was penetrated with a sense of the ineffable splendours of the firmament, when, with sudden and unexpected abruptness, he points to the little babe at its mother's breast, as the most wonderful feature of the whole scene. He views the material universe with the raptures of a poet; but the whole magnificent fabric he regards, at the same time, as nothing more than the frame to that little picture—the setting for that little pearl of great price. What is man, that God should count him worthy of these costly surroundings?

"It is an unworthy and narrow view to suppose, that all which is meant here, is, that the infant's mouth, and the nursing breast of the mother, are sufficient to put to shame and silence all the atheists' cavils for ever. The mouth is referred to as the organ of speech. Within, and deep in the holy sanctuary of that little suckling's being, there are truths more valuable than the stars of heaven. The mouth is the organ of a living thing, so great and noble that all the glories of the material universe, pale before its splendour—a thing deathless, imperishable, God-like. Were that little babe suddenly to get power to declare the deep things that are in it, we would then understand the truth expressed in the assurance, that out of that little mouth God has ordained strength. And many a babe gets this power when but a few hours old. Many a babe falls asleep and awakes in the arm of Jesus in another world. Then the mouth utters the deep thoughts that were hitherto sealed up. The beautiful fresh volume is opened, and found written within and without by the hand of God, in characters all fair and lovely; and out of that mouth the ordained strength then flows forth grandly to the everlasting praise of God.

"When thus interpreted in the light of redemption, we can understand the change of terms, when Christ (Matt. xxi. 16) quotes this passage of the eighth psalm. In the mouth of Christ, the variation of the septuagint is allowed—it is not 'Thou ordainest strength,' but 'Thou hast perfected praise.' God's ordinance of strength naturally changes into perfected praise. An infant's life, redeemed in Christ, when not bereft of its infantine fineness and purity by the agitating passions and hardening roughness of maturer years, but withdrawn by death with the fresh pressure of God's hand on every faculty, issues forth before the throne a thing of special beauty and the very perfection of human joy. Hence we may think how it is, that so many children die young. They have passed away seemingly without fulfilling their day's work; but they are wanted as the sweetest embodiment of Christ's redeeming grace; as the loveliest ministering spirits to wait in His presence, as the special declarers of His praise; and as the fruits of His love that bear the fewest stains of their earthly birth, and beam forth with the purest glories of our human state.

"This scripture acquires more breadth of tone and a deeper significance, from the use which Jesus makes of it on the occasion of His memorable entry into Jerusalem. Among the causes of irritation to the chief priests and scribes, not the least powerful was the shoutings of children. The ecclesiastical authorities were vexed to the heart to witness the Redeemer's triumphal progress, the ways thronged with shouting crowds, and garments spread in His path, as for the long expected Son of David. But their dis-

pleasure reached a climax when they heard the children crying in the temples, and saying 'Hosanna to the Son of David.' It was not that Christ should allow the praises of children merely, nor was it that children, with their usual eager and inquisitive forwardness, should press in unreproved, to the very temple, with their noisy acclamations. But these children had actually struck the deepest chord of truth. They had caught the true key note of the piece—the central idea of the mighty drama that was forward. The priests and scribes heard an idea published which touched their conscience—which filled them with trouble—which shook them on the throne of their power. They wanted to suppress the unwelcome novelty in the very bud; but they were doubly wroth with the children, not more for shouting an unwelcome thought in their ears, than for daring to catch it up from any other lips than their own, and for rushing in where the wise and prudent priests and scribes held back.

"'They were sore displeased and saith unto him, Hearest thou what these say. And Jesus said unto them, Yea: have ye never read, out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?' Christ justifies the children, and put the irritated fault-finders to silence. He justifies the children in such language, that all could learn from it that he put extreme value on the children's offering. Their young voices were not by any means to be silenced. They were in their right places there in the Temple. They were rightly employed in shouting their hearty welcomes to the Son of David. The grand truth which they were able to seize, sanctified them and the ministry they offered. They could not possibly, it is true, penetrate deeply into the great mystery of this sublime truth. The most practised faculty of the highest genius consecrated to God, and with the sanctification of the Spirit in it, could not fathom or apprehend it fully. But they saw enough to inspire them with ardent admiration, and to prompt the most sincere applause; ardour and sincerity are ever the leading characteristics of youthful admiration."

We are not entitled to an exhaustive transcription of the contents of a work accessible to all our readers from the moderation of its size and of its price. We shall therefore content ourselves with a brief extract from the part of it which is specially addressed to teachers of children, and especially of Sunday Schools.

"*Finally, are you really working for Christ?* You ought to 'see Jesus,' through all the outer circumstances of your labour. The mundane elements in the midst of which your labour lies, should not be permitted to vail from view the glories of Christ's person, and the sublimities of Christ's work. When Jesus commended the woman for doing what she could, it was not the costliness of the alabaster box, with its very precious ointment that he was pleased to immortalize. It was the prospective and anticipating force of her faith. What she did was memorable throughout all generations, because she did it to His burial. She saw deep into the mystery of His death. Her act of faith projected her forward into the light of the finished redemption. She saw the glory of a new life springing from the Holy Sufferer's grave, and descried the resurrection of humanity to hope and immortal joy. In labouring, then, among the lambs of Christ, endeavour to be equally far-sighted. While looking to the lowly forms that crowd the foreground of the picture, train the eye to detect the serene light and holy joys beyond. Common eyes could see in Christ, when the oil was poured upon His head, nothing but what was common to man; but the woman discerned in the darkness beyond Him, the passion, the burial, the resurrection, the glory. In like manner, when you work and do your duty lovingly and

tenderly, to the lambs of Christ, accustom the eye to run over the same track. Do all in the light of Christ's death, and in the anticipation of His future honours: and so, when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."

We do not mean to detain our readers any longer either with the merits, or the subject of a little book, which we think, ought to be very soon in the hands of them all; and of the many thousand more who are, or should be, interested in the Lambs of Christ's Flock. With regard to the author, we shall only say, that we are truly thankful for what he has given us; though we humbly conceived, that he might, before now, have given us something for the *sheep*. We believed him to be perfectly capable of instructing very advanced intellects, as well as of dispensing *milk to babes*. Let us then, next, by all means, have our share of the *strong meat* which he is well able to prepare and supply.

The Sunday School is an excellent nursery. But in these times, it so happens, that the Sunday Scholar is to be within a few years in the hands of the Utilitarians, who, as sure as he lives, will set about weaning him from his baby-like propensities, to the teachings of another kind of school, and the nurture of another kind of sustenance. Not a hundred miles from Montrose, we dare to say, the secularist will be found plying his calling with great activity, seeking to divorce the factory girl from her Catechism, and the factory boy from his Bible.

Has Mr M'Culloch nothing to say to the dock-yard men of Montrose, or the spinners of Dundee?

A manly mind, and powers of composition and oratory like his, might be well employed in fortifying the munitions of the Faith, where we understand they are very far from being beyond the need of defence even amongst the very humblest classes.

But Christian zeal in whatsoever department employed, we hail with all our hearts, and desire to cheer on with all our encouragment; and we very earnestly recommend this volume to the reader, as full of good sense, and Christian fervour, and what was so little perhaps to have been expected under its modest garb and title, rich in good writing.

NICHOL'S BRITISH POETS AND WILSON'S ESSAYS.[1]

New Editions of the English Poets are always acceptable; but when one appears like the present, that transcends all its predecessors, not only in the quality of the paper, in the size and beauty of the typography, and in the quantity of matter given, as well as in the correctness of the text, it would actually be a piece of gross unfairness in us not to recommend it to the consideration of our readers. Nichol's edition

[1] Poetical Works of Shakespeare and Surrey.
Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott. With Memoirs, Critical Dissertations, and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. Geo. Gilfillan. Edinburgh: James Nichol, 9 N. Bank Street. London: James Nisbet & Co. Dublin: W. Robertson. 1856.
Essays, Critical and Imaginative. By Professor Wilson. Vols. III. and IV. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1857.

of the English Classics certainly possess all these qualities, and moreover, sold at a price so low that, even on the hypothesis of its having a sale of many thousands, we cannot understand how it can be remunerating to the publisher. With this, however, we have got nothing to do,—all we have to certiorate our readers of is, that Mr Nichol has in store for them the best bargain that ever issued from the British or any other press.

But notwithstanding of the supereminent, qualities, and advantages enumerated, the volumes have their countervailing defects, and these are occasionally of no light or insignificant description. We do not, however, refer to those blemishes that belong to the original works themselves, but only to such as are superinduced upon them by the editor, Mr Gilfillan. In the lives and prefatory dissertations the editor is in general too fond of reflecting mere popular opinion, and even of availing himself of popular and somewhat vulgar expressions in doing so. The task, however, assigned Mr Gilfillan was one of no ordinary kind, and there are but few writers in this or any other country fitted for its performance. Now we would almost be inclined to hold that no critic either of ancient or modern times has displayed that subtle comprehensive genius, combined with all the subsidiary equipments necessary to entitle him to enter upon such an undertaking with any hopes of success. Let us glance for a moment at the magnitude of the task, and we shall speedily discover the unquestionable strength of this position. To be a true critic of poetry or of any thing else, implies both a commensurate largeness of nature with the author on the part of the critic, combined with a subtle and sifting form of intelligence that penetrates into the nature of all manner of mental powers as well as mental defects. But where is the critic capable of embracing in his intellectual grasp the large field of British Poetry? Who ever lived that could master not only all the obvious and palpable beauties of our British Poets, but who could likewise discover and unfold their manifold shortcomings? The writer who undertakes such a task is verily endowed with a larger share of self-esteem than he is warranted in manifesting, and must speedily run amuck against the best established opinions both of ancient and modern thinkers. It may be answered, that most critics of sufficient culture not only examine works of imagination by their own standard of thought, but they test them likewise by the views and opinions of established critics. But again, this is just to suppose that the critic in question is capable of discriminating and judging of all that is true and elevated in past criticism,—that he is endowed with a nature capable of sifting and expiscating the same beauties and defects that have passed the ordeal of all other cultivated minds,—or that he accepts of the dicta of all the past critics as gospel, just because they are in harmony with the deepest laws of his own being. But again, to suppose that any critic is capable of this expanded, subtle, and all-embracing range of thought, is to take for granted that he can evolve all the profound criticism of the past, and put forth the same vigorous and masculine views that distinguished all the previous and early criticism. This is impossible. No human being ever possessed these

capabilities, and in their absence such a universal critic cannot exist. But Mr Gilfillan has been pressed into this service, and has undertaken its manifold and important duties. We are sorry for any man that takes upon himself a task beyond the compass of human power; and especially for one who does not seem to feel the weight of his responsibility. For example, Mr Gilfillan, in these lives, talks as flippantly of his authors as if he were merely sporting an off-hand and ill-considered opinion, at a half rustic tea party. He never for once looks at them through the eyes of any system of philosophy, and, accordingly, he seldom if ever touches the true soundings of their genius. It is true that he appears to some extent to have collected together certain popular notions concerning the opinions of past critics on his authors; but they are reflected from the mirror of a feeble though showy and rhetorical nature. There is such a want of depth, breadth, and comprehensiveness in Mr Gilfillan's mind, that it reflects only the most superficial qualities of these authors, and when he attempts to float himself into the *mare magnum* of originality, he is either speedily lost amidst the rocks and quicksands of the unintelligible, or gives vent to views that cannot stand an instant's reflection. One mistake of a flagrant kind our critic is constantly perpetrating, and that is of drawing comparisons between poets where not the least possible resemblance exists. In one passage we have our critic drawing a parallel between Scott and Homer, thus evincing the narrow, sensational, and empirical character of his own nature. In another passage he actually sets up Scott in comparison with Shakespeare; while in the end he hardly admits him a place within the category of poetry. For example, what can any one make of the following passage:—

"It (Scott's poetry) is throughout a natural outflow without effort or ostentation, often careless but never coarse; often loose but never dull; resembling a lively bickering, brattling mountain stream, at no time deep, but never *drumly*, and with frequent jets of power, flashes of brilliance, and rapids of passion. In Homeric vigour, the battle in 'Marmion' has no modern competitor; and a certain gay chivalric grace, quite as unequalled, (except in Chaucer and Dryden's Fables,) is the close of 'The Lady of the Lake,' a fact the more remarkable, that most *happy closes* in fiction and poetry, including that of 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' and many in Scott's own productions, degenerate into the insipid improbability of a fairy tale. 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel' is, however, as a whole, his best poem. It reaches in parts, almost creative power, and is sustained throughout with incredible energy. The poetry in his novels is in general admirable, alike in itself and in the mode and time of its introduction. His songs are only inferior to those of Burns; and the mottoes from old plays resemble planetary asteroids in their aerial as well as in their fragmentary character. Still those critics err who prefer him as a poet to Byron, although taking him in the entire sphere of his literary achievements he is the larger orb. He has produced no such compact and consummate master-piece as 'The Corsair;' no such long gush of high wrought enthusiasm as the fourth Canto of 'Childe Harold;' no such exquisite dramatic poem as 'Manfred' or 'Cain,' and no combination, in a similar compass, of wit, sarcasm, poetry, passion, knowledge of human nature, interesting adventure, terse sentiment, and melting pathos, to be compared with 'Don Juan.' In sobriety, sweetness, health, and breadth he is far superior to Byron, as he is in moral sentiment;

but he is inferior in strength of soar, in eloquence, intensity, and eagle genius. It must be remembered too that Byron had performed all these marvellous things and was dead, at an age when Scott had only written the first of his large poems.

"Still setting Shakespeare, Homer, and, in a very different style of genius, Milton, aside, Scott as a whole has been the foremost of authors. No one has so combined quantity with quality, health with force, simplicity with grandeur, catholicity of aim with ease and naturalness of execution, business-like directness, and keen common sense with enthusiasm; a pure morality and sound religious feeling with liberal impulses, a generous heart, a genial temperament, and a bold and unbounded imagination."

In the above passage our critic brings into comparison poets that are wide as the poles asunder, between whom there are only points of contrast, some of which he indicates faintly, but none of which he evolves or illustrates truly. But in all this there is utterly wanting a knowledge of the genuine spirit and soul of poetry. To mention the best portion of any poem of Scott with any of the finer passages in old Homer, is just like comparing a mole-hill to an alpine mountain, and whatever be the quality of the rhetoric used to enforce such a position, it palls upon both the reason and imagination of the least cultivated reader. If we except a few passages from some of his best novels, where he touches truly upon some of the higher features of the human character, and a few of his lyrics, Scott has not written one line of poetry, unless we are to accord that character to every magazine and newspaper rhymester. We are aware of all that has been said of Scott by the critics of his day, and that was not a little, but it was left to Mr Gilfillan to institute a comparison between him and Homer! On the subject of poetry, we are aware that it is not in the best taste to quote authorities, but Ralph Waldo Emerson, the American, removed from all European or British influences, characterises all Scott's poetry as "a rhymed traveller's guide to Scotland," and with the exceptions we have noticed, we have no doubt but that posterity will quietly acquiesce in this opinion by ultimately consigning it to the limbo of oblivion. But we ourselves are not satisfied with thus merely setting up this our dictum backed only by the somewhat apocryphal authority of an American essayist on the subject of Scott's poetry, for we are aware that this is even still opposed to the general tenor of modern criticism. If, however, we could assign no better reason for the faith that is in us, we had never ventured to promulgate so unpopular and heterodox looking an opinion, but remained quietly and securely in the possession of our secret thoughts. True poetry is altogether made out of different stuff from the works of Scott in rhyme, but the question may be pressed upon us, what is true poetry? Poetry in a word, consists of at least two great elements, its material and its form. The material or matter of poetry embraces all the laws and phenomena of the universe, visible and invisible. Hence in the true poet, the sense of the absolute or the universal with relation to law, forms the strongest feature of his intellectual being, and his recognition, too, of law in the concrete or illustrative form is equally powerful and conspicuous. The feelings and emotions of the poet are equally large and comprehensive. For these reasons the

poet's conceptions of every thing in nature are most perfect. He possesses an ideal that is measured and squared with the loftiest and farthest reaching forms of thought. Hence there is an amount of force in every touch of the true poet, that is at once characteristic of his comprehensive and powerful character. His idea of law forms a telescope that gives him at a glance a complete view of the universe, both as nature and science have unfolded it, and thus both the material and form of his thought, are capable of being more perfectly and completely evolved than that of other mortals. Of this order of beings, are Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, and many others, and in the lyrical department, even Burns himself. In our own day, several wide visioned beings have appeared, though not approaching in comprehensiveness of grasp many poets of the past, yet they possess a subtle and far stretching intelligence in certain given directions. Byron's pictures of the well known and the visible, are comparable for power with the delineations of the best poets in any language. Shelley's imagery, derived from every department of nature, shews a sweep of the intellectual eye that no other poet excels, and accordingly, in his works, we cannot help observing that too much of his genius is expended in the recognition of appropriate symbols for his thought. Coleridge surpasses all modern poets in his penetration into the nature and attributes of the most romantic characters. If his mental eye does not embrace an infinitude of objects in the material and visible universe, it descries at least many of the mysteries connected with the invisible; the hidden and wonderful workings of the human mind, under the influence of the most extraordinary events he delights in delineating. Nothing is too secret for his ken, nor too subtle for his glance. Wordsworth in his poetry, gives the philosophy of every subject he touches, and illustrates it with a truthfulness peculiarly his own.

Now one and all of these poets occupy territories in the region of the universal, quite distinct and separate from each other. If they examine any portion of universal nature, each sees and regards something in it widely different from the rest, and hence their perceptions appear as far apart from each other as the planets in their orbits. It is for this very reason that poets and men of genius differ from each each other more markedly than other mortals, that no two true poets in the slightest degree resemble each other since the world began, and accordingly, that all the comparisons and parallels with relation to to them are false, having no foundation whatever in nature. The imaginary resemblance therefore, between certain features in Scott and Homer, and Scott and Shakespeare, is as far fetched and ridiculous as it is possible for the most fanciful resemblance to be. But the larger question remains, does Scott in a high and true sense, belong to the poetic guild at all? Does he manifest in his poetry that absolute idea of law which distinguishes all true poets? It is only this far reaching principle that imparts breadth and comprehensiveness to the true poet, and is to be recognised both in the material and form of his poetry. Now it appears to us that Scott's poetry, from the Lay of the Last Minstrel, to his Lord of the Isles, (all that is contained in the present edition)

embodies as little universal thought or sentiment as any ephemeral work in verse that we have perused. Although it treats of the heroic ages and the remote past, where there is ample scope both for the reason and imagination of the poet, yet the characters delineated are unmarked by power, and shew none of that overmastering energy which distinguishes the portraits of the true poetic mind. All is resolved into a simple conventional narrative, that neither impresses the reader with a profounder knowledge of human nature, nor is it suggestive, like the narratives of Wordsworth, of far reaching thought. It may be moral and sufficiently healthy, but for the reasons we have mentioned, it wants comprehensiveness and strength. There are many passages that please us by their rhythmical beauty, but there are hardly any that instruct us by their depth and largeness of insight. For these reasons, we cannot agree with Mr Gilfillan in his high estimate of Scott's poetry, for we honestly think that the poetical works of Scott will speedily be forgotten. But we must proceed to the other subject of our critique.

The essays, critical and imaginative, by Professor Wilson, contain in them a very different description of criticism from that of Mr Gilfillan. The two volumes, 3d and 4th, now before us, furnish us with some of the most careful and elaborate criticisms of the Professor. Of these the longest and most detailed are on "The Genius and Character of Burns," and "Homer and his Translations," two subjects wide as the poles asunder, and requiring not only a large amount of knowledge and learning, but critical skill of the first order. Whether or not the Professor brings these two great requisites to bear upon the subjects in hand, may be matter of question, but there can be no doubt that he examines no subject he touches through the eyes of any worn out system of rules. He uniformly examines every subject in hand by the means of his own uncorrupted and natural vision, and gives the results of his observations with a clearness and force not to be misunderstood. Thus Professor Wilson trusts to nature more than to art, and if he sometimes fall short of the truth, his meaning is always transparent, and his particular view can easily be rectified by his intelligent reader. But the Professor, so far as he goes, is generally speaking, penetrating, acute, and correct as a critic, and with even-handed justice, points out the beauties and blemishes of his author.

The first article in these essays, on the genius and character of Burns, occupying more than half the third volume, appeared so early as 1841, in a work entitled "The Land of Burns," and is accompanied by the Professor's speech at the Burns Festival. It is somewhat singular that the whole tone of these articles is marred by an attack upon Burns's moral character, and coming from Professor Wilson, who, in the heyday of youth and manhood, was himself somewhat gay, generous, and fond of all manner of hilarity, it sounds extremely strange! But probably all this is natural enough, for the Professor might deem it necessary to neutralise and repel the somewhat equivocal insinuations which might have been made against himself by evincing the possession of an ideal virtue in examining the life and character of our poet, which he himself had failed to manifest more

markedly than the rest of mankind, in his early years. Be this as it may, we have uniformly found that the morality of Burns has been seldom or never assailed by men of virtue and true worth, and that his vices (if such they were) have been dwelt upon with peculiar gusto, chiefly by persons deeply tinged with exceptional morals. It is natural for the vicious to sink every being in the universe, even genius itself, to their own level, for the possession of virtue is a living reproach to them. When we can accordingly now look back upon all the critics who have handled Burns roughly in the matter of his morality, we find that in touching the poet they were but delineating a familiar and unworthy spirit within themselves. The character of Burns's moral nature is to be gathered from his works, and if not from thence, it is surely not to be fished up after the lapse of a period approaching a century, from the filthy slimy polluted stream of scandal. But the strongest of all refutations of the slanderous attacks against the moral character of Burns, appears in the fact that the poet himself in his lifetime never for a moment dreamt of being assailed in this quarter. In April 1793, in a letter to John Francis Erskine, of Mar, he writes in the following terms :—" In the poet I have avowed manly and independent sentiments, which I trust will be found in the man. Reasons of no less weight than the support of a wife and family, have pointed out as the eligible, and situated as I was, the only eligible line of life for me, my present occupation. Still my honest fame is my dearest concern; and a thousand times have I trembled, at the idea of those *degrading* epithets that malice or misrepresentation may affix to my name. I have often, in blasting anticipation, listened to some future hackney scribbler, with the heavy malice of savage stupidity, exulting in his hireling paragraphs. 'Burns, notwithstanding the *fanfaronade* of independence to be found in his Works, and after having been held forth to public view and to public estimation as a man of some genius, yet quite destitute of resources within himself to support his borrowed dignity, he dwindled into a paltry exciseman, and slunk out the rest of his insignificant existence in the meanest pursuits, and among the vilest of mankind.'" Though Burns imagined that he would be thus talked of after his death, he never conceived that he would be held up as the leader in orgies more gross and flagrant than those delineated in his "Jolly Beggars," which, though conjured up by his fertile and powerful imagination, were as far removed from his daily habits and practice, as light from darkness. But while Professor Wilson speaks rather too apologetically for the morality of our great poet, he does ample justice to his genius, for he traverses the entire circumference of thought embraced in his works, and gives, with detailed minuteness, the happiest efforts of his muse. Accordingly, we find from the Professor's analysis, that Burns unfolded with the greatest felicity in his poetry, every phase of the Scottish mind, as well as the most striking and interesting pictures of Scottish manners. There is no relation of life, no manifestation of sentiment characteristic of Scotland, the highest souled moral enthusiasm, or the deepest sink of profligacy and abandonment, that he did not pourtray. His satires, too, are equally powerful. His "Holy Fair," and "Holy Willie's Prayer," are, in their

respective walks of thought, the most exquisite productions in our literature, and while the former has long since removed a stain from our religious ordinances, the latter has delineated in letters of fire, the character of the Presbyterian hypocrite—but without judging uncharitably, has not yet, we fear, rooted it out of our Scottish soil. The Professor, on the whole, though he does not analyse or guage with precision, the moral and intellectual character of Burns, yet he presents to his readers, such an array of his thoughts, that the least intelligent must be startled both by their amount and overwhelming force.

The Professor's critical remarks on Coleridge's works, are admirable for their truth and discrimination. His critique too, upon Tupper's "Geraldine," an attempt on the part of Tupper to write a sequel to the "Geraldine" of Coleridge, is a pungent piece of satire in the Professor's happiest manner, holding the author up to just contempt for his impertinence and folly. In an article on Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome," the Professor, we think, bepraises over much this now almost forgotten work of the rhetorician, for he ranks it with Lockhart's "Spanish Ballads," but which "The Lays" neither approach in vigour nor originality, and the public has since verified our opinion. "A Short Essay on Shakespeare," is worthy of Christopher North.

The fourth volume is all but absorbed by an elaborate article on Homer and his translators, in which Professor Wilson examines the merits and demerits of each. The whole embraces no less a space than 390 pages, and if we but consider the magnitude of the undertaking, and the searching and difficult nature of the enquiry,—we can easily conceive that the Professor is far from having exhausted his subject. To translate truly the highest works of one race or people into the thought and language of another, so as to preserve all the salient and racy features of the original, is probably as hopeless a task as ever was undertaken, for at best, all that can be accomplished, is only a distant approximation. Nay, every one familiar with the matter of translation, knows that he cannot even translate so as to impart all its spirit and effect, the most common-place expression. This, of course, is owing to the fact, that the different races of mankind,—nay, that sometimes a people belonging to the same clime and nation—differ so widely in mental characteristics, that if speaking a different language, their symbols and imagery have altogether a distinct and separate basis. Apart, therefore, from their mere manners and customs, they necessarily make use of a very different style and form of symbolism and expression. And when the habits, manners, and customs of a people are taken into the account,—that in these respects one nation differs as widely from another, as two distinct species of animals,—there can be no wonder at the extent of the disparity between a translation and the original work. But in the case of Homer, living at a period beyond the circle of authentic history, and belonging to a people whose manners and customs are only to be gleaned from the meagre and imperfect remains of their best authors, and not from the living and breathing thought of an existing race, the difficulty of translation is greatly increased—and the question

may be asked, have we in any one of the numerous translations of Homer, anything approaching the thought, spirit, and expression of the original?

Professor Wilson, in treating this subject, does not attempt an answer to this enquiry. All that he does, is to point out the most successful translators of certain isolated passages. He does not even maintain that these passages, as transferred into their English dress, approach the power of the original. All that he does, is to quote the different translations of each passage, and to give the preference to that which comes nearest to Homer—not always, however, assigning a valid reason for his preference. But the want of general ideas to guide the reader through the labyrinth of so much detail is always palpable, and the opinions of the Professor are given forth in that authorative and dictatorial style that implies a want of faith in the capacity and reasoning powers of his readers. The only way in which Professor Wilson could have executed his task effectually, would have been to have pointed out the psychological defects of these translators as exhibited in the spirit of certain passages, and having done this, he would have furnished a key to explain the cause of the difference in these translations. For example, in the case of Cowper, no one acquainted with the high moral tone of his poetry, and his dislike to war, could have expected from him a faithful translation of a vivid delineation of a combat; on the contrary, the intelligent reader would anticipate that his successful passages would consist of translations of pictures of the domestic affections, as well as of manifestations of disinterested goodness and truth. From Pope again, no one accustomed to his measured and conventional style of thinking, could look for a translation deeply fraught with the feeling and spirit of old Homer—but would rather expect to find a paraphrase of the original in his own narrow, measured, and conventional manner, blended with considerable fluency and elegance of versification; and so on with Chapman, Sotheby, and the rest.

The concluding article of the volume, on the Greek Drama, is somewhat brilliant in the style of its composition,—but there is manifestly wanting throughout both a defined form of thought and closeness of reasoning. Professor Wilson, indeed, pronounces his verdict frequently without assigning any reason therefor. As an established critic, the Professor probably deemed it unnecessary to condescend upon reasons, and hence many of his criticisms, and among the rest, that on the Greek Drama, appear to us now too sensational and dogmatic. His characterization of genius too, is hit off in the same impressional spirit. For example, what meaning but the vaguest can any one attach to such a sentence as this?—"The same genius, in our humble opinion, shines in them all (the poets)—the genius of the soul." If the genius of the soul had previously been analysed, and resolved into any great element or elements of mind by Professor Wilson, the sense might have been transparent enough, but in the absence of this the sentence is altogether meaningless and unintelligible.

But it is too much the fashion, to regard the mere form, rather than the spirit or soul of poetry; to be pleased or fascinated by the imagery

and word painting, than to be instructed by the depth and truth of the underlying thought. If the nature and principles of the latter were better ascertained and understood, the former would anon cease to constitute the principal feature or staple of poetry in the public mind. Many persons, moreover, are satisfied with the definition of poetry, that it consists in the delineation of all that is most perfect or beautiful in nature. But we cannot see how this definition embraces the quintessence of poetic thought. Nay, we apprehend that it does not for a moment touch truly the matter in hand; for the merely perfect and beautiful, is frequently allied only to the most sensuous and pleasing aspects of the mind. No. The subject matter of poetry embraces as we have already set forth, all the laws of the universe, physical and material—moral and intellectual—visible and invisible—as well as all the phenomena illustrative of these laws. The true poet, then, is a being whose mind can comprehend at a glance, all the laws indicated, as well as their phenomena, and can thus not only penetrate into the depth of his subject, but can fish up from the vasty deep of nature, appropriate imagery to give expression to his thought. Thus, in the first instance, the true poet is a prophet or seer, and it is the same range of capacity that enables him to express his thought poetically, or in the most effective symbols. This definition then, embraces the other in a mere corner of its amplitude, for the laws of the universe constitute the only perfect and beautiful portion of it, as do the phenomena illustrative of them. The delineation of these is not only sensuously pleasing, but it satisfies both the imagination and the reason, and on this account, we call it poetry. Looking through the eyes of this definition, we might test all poetry—ancient and modern, British and foreign—epic or didactic—dramatic or lyrical; and we should find that all that squared with the rule, had best stood the test of public opinion, and all that fell much short of it, had already been or would speedily be forgotten. These observations have been suggested to us by the utter want of rules that pervades the spirit of modern criticism, and although those laid down by us may appear to many to be somewhat faulty, yet they are surely preferable to an empirical sensationalism, or to principles that are obviously incommensurate with the subject.

LAZARUS:—A BRIEF TREATISE ON MIRACLES.

Accurate reflection on the defects and wants of human nature since the fall, shows us that it is reasonable to expect that the testimony of miracles should have formed a part of that plan adopted by Divine Providence for the recovery of our race. Without condescending on the probability in favour of such evidence being employed, we shall find, if we consider this important subject at any length, that the total wreck of our moral nature ought to convince us that amid the darkness of ignorance and corruption in which our race has been involved, it would have been impossible to have arrested the attention or compelled belief otherwise.

Volumes have been written on the philosophy of miracles, and

countless definitions broached of what is implied in such outgoings of supernatural power. With these definitions the Christian mind may be dissatisfied, and yet it is right to meditate on the wisdom and power of God as manifested in the work of redemption. To the candid inquirer it doth not seem extraordinary that revealed truth should be supported by the argument of miracles; for, what more unreasonable than that man should presume to dogmatise on a subject so mysterious —placing himself in the throne of Jehovah—and affecting a familiarity with the Divine Counsels, where, did he inquire wisely, he would shrink from whatever wears the appearance of pride or vain-glory. It has been said that every miracle implies a suspension of the laws of nature,—a definition which can only be sustained after we have made certain limitations,—for if by a suspension of the laws of nature, we mean that a paralysis has overtaken the works of God, or that in certain places an arrest has been laid on the Divine government, then much is implied that reason and experience will be ready on a first view to controvert. Without venturing to set aside this definition of a miracle, let us view this most difficult subject in the light in which reason and revelation warrant us to approach it, viz., that in every miracle, an outgoing of wisdom and power, similar in every respect to that which transpired at the beginning, when God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," is implied,—in other words, that in every miracle wrought by our Lord or by His Apostles in His name, the highest conceivable manifestations of Divine power must have gone forth. We are too ready to leave the philosophy of common sense and to lose ourselves in the mists of science, falsely so called. In every miracle we recognise the presence of Immanuel—of God with us. We are witnesses—just as the angels of God were witnesses when God created the heaven and the earth—of outgoings of wisdom and power, essentially the same, though far more wonderful, and certainly far more declarative of the loving-kindness and tender mercy of Jehovah. This is the true theory of miracles. The economy of Divine Providence suffers no arrest. The course of nature flows on quietly and incessantly as before. The music of nature is harmonious as ever. Heaven and earth acknowledges no suspension of their laws. The testimony of the stars and of the green earth is still the same as in former times, and yet a new voice is heard, soft, and still, and beautiful, proclaiming that Jehovah is the "same yesterday, to day, and for ever"—that Immanuel hath visted His people, and that His glorious majesty hath manifested itself in works of grace and truth.

All science and all experience declare that in the works of God there is nothing superfluous. Why did Jehovah manifest himself to the inhabitants of Zoan in out-goings of wisdom and power which were awfully declarative of judgment and righteousness? What must have been the degradation of the children of the patriarchs,—to what depths of ignorance and sin the children of the patriarchs must have descended when subjected to the slavery of Egypt? The light of tradition had been quenched. The aged fathers in Israel had ceased to converse with their children regarding the covenant which Heaven had made with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. The joy of the past had

died away in an agony of grief, for they had ceased to be freemen, and the hard bondage of their oppressor was scarcely, if at all, relieved by even one solitary gleam of hope. Their sun seemed to have gone down in a dark, black night, and so faded and obscured was their glory, that they scarcely dared look forward to the dawn of another and a better day. It is not to be supposed that the inhabitants of the land of Goshen had rejected the idolatries of Egypt. The history of their wanderings in the wilderness is a proof that they were like the people of that land from which they had come,—a race prone to backslidings—credulous yet faithless—corrupt yet self-righteous—superstitious and yet profane. On a people so benighted and depraved, a display of truth, such as that revelation of the Divine goodness and mercy which Heaven vouchsafed through Moses and Aaron, had been lost. The truth declared by the apostle, "that the natural heart perceiveth not the things of the *Spirit*, and that he cannot know them, forasmuch as they are spiritually discerned," held good with them, just as it holds good with multitudes of the ungodly in our day. Besides, the depravity of our nature was fostered and strengthened by all the unfavourable influences wielded by despotic power. The children of the patriarchs were not permitted to sacrifice to the God of their fathers. It was permission to do so that Aaron and Moses claimed. It was because Pharaoh refused to grant them permission to go forth into the desert a day's journey, that Heaven sent him sore plagues, and visited his people with awful judgments. This dark night of superstition and sin, which brooded over the human mind everywhere, had to be dispelled, and it was the will of God to adopt that method of revival, whose history, from first to last, has been given us by the inspired historian. It was the will of God that the idols of Egypt should be brought to nought, and hence that severe discipline which humbled the pride of its haughty king. It is to be remarked that all those messages which Moses and Aaron conveyed to Pharaoh and his court, are introduced by the expression—"Thus saith the Lord." Pharaoh must have been subject to the superstition of his nation. His haughty heart said within him—"Who is Jehovah?" And that haughty heart had to be stricken, though it beat within the breast of one who made the proudest of the Egyptians tremble before his indignation. From the beginning to the close of that visitation wherewith God visited Egypt, it is not difficult to discover a process increasing in severity until it concluded with that awful curse which slew the first-born of man and beast; "I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast, and against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgment, I am the Lord." First, we have the god of Pharaoh stricken, the river god, to which he offered his morning sacrifice, and then the other gods of the land—the beasts of the field. When the proud monarch of Zoan still reposed his trust in those idols which his fathers had worshipped, a severer dispensation is assigned him and his people;—The locust devours what the hail had left—even every herb of the field. They covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit

of the trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any green thing on the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt. And yet Pharaoh refuseth to let the people go. Conscience told him that the Lord God of Israel was righteous; whereas that he with his people had sinned; but his obdurate heart refused to obey the prophet. For three days and three nights a thick black darkness brooded over the whole land of Egypt. "They saw not one another, neither rose any from his seat for three days," and yet the heart of the haughty tyrant was hardened. It was when judgment following judgment had failed to move Pharaoh, that the meek spirit of Moses waxed wroth. "Pharaoh said unto him, get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in that day thou seest my face thou shalt die." And Moses said:—"Thou has spoken well; I will see thy face again no more."

The miracles of the New Testament proclaim the beauty and perfection of that holy covenant whereby "mercy and truth have met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other." The miracles of Moses were stern and terrible as the thunders and lightnings of Sinai; whereas those of the blessed Saviour were full of that mercy and compassion which the gospel brings to all men who accept it in sincerity and in truth. Jesus preached to the multitudes through those deeds of loving-kindness which He wrought in behalf of feeble and suffering humanity. It had been foretold by the prophet, that when the Messiah came, "the blind man should leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing." Works like those wrought by our blessed Saviour were outgoings of that beneficent spirit which enlightens the eyes of those spiritually blind, and changes the obdurate will. The wastes and desolate places of society were made glad by the advent of those heavenly and benign influences which the ministry of the holy Jesus dispensed;—"The wilderness and the solitary place were made glad for them; and the desert rejoiced and blossomed as the rose. It blossomed abundantly, and rejoiced even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon was given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon; they saw the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God."

The miracles of Holy Scripture were wrought in the presence of multitudes who had every opportunity afforded them of judging for themselves. Every one discovers the falsehood of the miracles mentioned by the heathen philosophers and poets. They are evidently the creation of fancy,—of fancy when depraved and corrupted by sin. We learn from the works of heathen authors, that they had lost the image of God, and that their manners were such as could only have their rise in a corrupt and debased character. The Epistle of St Paul to the Romans, describes the true state of heathenism in the times which preceded his own, and the descriptions of brutal passion, together with the manifest folly which invariably attends every instance in which it is said that heaven revealed its glory, through works wonderful and grand, are all so many proofs that they never had a place in the order of the Divine Providence; and that, indeed, they never existed save in the pages of the historian, who merely describes the state of the public

mind in his times, or in those imaginative pictures in which the fancy of the poet revels. The lusts of Jupiter,—the partial and often disgraceful loves of female divinities, make up the staple of all that heathen tradition has said regarding its own mythology. Besides, we know that these and all similar instances of a pretended display of miraculous power, of which either history or poetry discourses, were never attested by witnesses, who, in defiance of all that selfish human nature loves, sealed their testimony with their blood. The miracles of heathen mythology, in ancient times, and the works of wonder said to have been wrought at the tombs of saints and martyrs, in those more modern, have no testimony worthy of being compared with that to which Scripture points, when it says to us, even as Jesus said to the disciples of John :—"Go ye and tell John what things ye both hear and see; the blind receive their sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, and to the poor the Gospel is preached."

The conclusion of St John's testimony, shows that the Saviour must have wrought many miracles to which the Evangelists do not allude. "This is the disciple which testifieth these things and wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true. And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose, that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." Of those recorded by the Holy Spirit, there are some to which our attention is more powerfully drawn than to others. Christ feeding the multitudes on the shores of the Lake of Genesareth, and Christ raising the beloved Lazarus, are works on which the young mind dwells often, and to which old age frequently reverts. It is not because they are more indicative of Divine wisdom and might, of the presence of Him who created all things, and by whom all things consist, though this too might be affirmed regarding them, but because we see in these miracles the spirit of the gospel more distinctly devoloped. The Redeemer "has compassion on the multitudes, because they are as sheep that have no shepherd." It is the beautiful picture which dwelt before the mind of the Sacred poet realised: "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want; He maketh me to lie down in green pastues: He leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me. Thou preparest a table for me, in the midst of mine enemies: Thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over."

We love the Saviour always; but there are circumstances in which the sentiment of love merges into that of holy veneration. We fear God when we behold Christ smite the barren fig-tree,—we tremble when we hear him rebuke the selfish Pharisees,—but Jesus weeping over the grave of Lazarus,—we must love and obey;—for in the friendship and grief which he then manifested, we discover the fulfilment of all that heaven hath purposed, yes, of all that heaven had promised to do for our salvation. "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows." Perhaps there is no miracle mentioned in

the Scriptures of the New Testament, on which the mind dwells with more delight than on that wrought by the Saviour when he restored Lazarus to life. The anxious inquirer, who loves to "walk about Zion, and go round about her, that he may tell her towers, and mark well her bulwarks"—never fails to discover in it a tower of strength—a bulwark of might, against which the storms of error and prejudice and infidelity beat in vain. It were not well, did we peruse the Bible in a careless mood, and seeing that Heaven has provided us with a minute narrative of the circumstances which attended the resurrection of him whom Jesus loved, it becomes us to study it minutely and often, that the feelings which a prayerful perusal of those passages of Holy Writ, which advert to our Lord's friendship to the family at Bethany, may abide with us always,—and thus serve to draw us yet closer to the adorable Redeemer with the cords of love. A summary of the circumstances which preceded and attended the resurrection of Lazarus, together with the results which followed, shows that imposture could not have been possible, or attempted, where multitudes of people at Bethany and Jerusalem, nay more, from all quarters of the world then visited by the Jews, could have easily detected the imposture. The inhabitants of Bethany must have known Lazarus and his sisters. He must have been no stranger to the people of the district in which Bethany was situated. Besides, he must have been acquainted with many in Jerusalem. His sickness must have called forth the sympathies of his friends and neighbours. His death must have occasioned great mourning and lamentation, among all to whom he was related, among all by whom he was beloved. What crowds of visitors, and friends, and relatives, must have wept over his dead body, and mourned with wild grief when he was consigned to the dark sepulchre. The sympathy which many had shown his sisters had not died away, wholly, when Jesus came to Bethany accompanied by His disciples. The groups of mourners had not left that town when Martha and Mary welcomed the Messiah. They were present when he conversed with the bereaved relatives, and the remarks which they made one to another, when they beheld the grief of those present, have been recorded by the Holy Spirit:—"Could not this man, which opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died?" The miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus, after that he had been in the sepulchre four days, was wrought in the presence of the crowd, and not in a corner. The results were such as forbade all possibility of deception. Lazarus was restored to life. He, many years after that he had arisen conversed with the inhabitants of his native town and the surrounding districts. He visited Jerusalem and was known to many there, as the Lazarus whom Jesus had raised from the dead. Many believed because they had seen or heard proofs of the truth of this miracle. The numbers of those converted were so great that the rulers summoned meetings of the Sanhedrim to consult what steps should be taken to prevent the multitudes from embracing the doctrine of salvation. A diversity of opinion appears to have prevailed—some received Christ as the Messiah; while others, prompted by a desire for change, sought to bring the claims of our Lord, as set forth in this miracle into collision with the civil and ecclesiastical powers. Our

Lord's future visits to Jerusalem acquired an interest with the crowd on account of the resurrection of Lazarus,—the crowds who came up annually to Jerusalem must have been informed of what had transpired at Bethany, when Lazarus was restored to life. Evidence like this can only be true. An impostor never ventures to deal thus with his assumed testimony. He either ignores all such proofs as being unnecessary, or he withdraws from the curious gaze of the multitude, and when sought after, never mentions time or place. He is careful to mention no circumstances of a striking character, and least of all those which have fallen under the notice of the crowd, not only once or twice but often. Were he to seek to deceive the popular mind, he would above all things avoid the names of places, of persons still living, and of times and circumstances, concerning which many thousands of people are informed. Besides, he is always unwilling to draw the public attention to contemporaneous authority, and were he recording a narrative of events which, according to his testimony, have but lately transpired, would never point to the populace of a large town, and summon its authorities both high and low to acknowledge the truth of his statements; still less likely is it that he would prevail on any one to take up his exploded fabrications, and deal with them as if they were realities, or, that if in this respect he succeeded, he could prevail on the crowd through them to grant them credence.

But the resurrection of Lazarus is only one among many miracles wrought by our blessed Saviour. Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, had all witnessed the mighty works which he had wrought; for wherever he went he constantly adduced proofs of this kind as evidences of the truth that he came from God. The true statement of the case then, is not merely what authority ought the testimony of the resurrection of Lazarus to have; but what are we to conclude concerning the multitudes on multitudes, who must have been healed by Him? Let us dwell on this, and we shall find that every district of Palestine, must have testified concerning the Messiah, that He had done all things well. This is the conclusion drawn by every candid mind, and we know that the subtle prudence of the impostor never permits him to risk so many instances in which the veracity of his claims may be challenged and set aside. To what but the fact that Jesus must have wrought many miracles, are we to trace the invariable silence of the Jews? That He did work miracles, they do still acknowledge, but that He came as the messenger of Heaven, they refuse to grant, or if they do so, it is only in an inferior sense. "But heavenly wisdom is justified of its children:"—"The scribes which came down from Jerusalem said, He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils, casteth he out devils. And He called them unto Him, and said unto them in parables, how can Satan cast out Satan? And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand. And if Satan rise up against Satan, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end. No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house. Verily, I say unto you, all sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith soever they shall

blaspheme; but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation."

Reflection on the rise and progress of Christianity, shows that you can only account for the subjective knowledge of the doctrine of life, manifested by our Lord's Apostles and early followers, by recognising the truth of the holy gospel. The narratives of the four evangelists are the only sufficient foundation on which we can rest the superstructure reared by St Paul and the other apostles, who survived Him in the work of the holy ministry. How could the mind of Paul have known, and felt, and written what has been communicated to us in the Epistles, had he not been convinced that Jesus was the Son of God? How could St Mark or St Luke, have received the Holy Gospel through them, and experienced that spiritual and internal change of which they speak, had they themselves not been taught of God? "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. This I say then, walk in the spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like;—of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they that do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law. And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts. If we live in the *spirit*, let us also walk in the spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another."

Christianity is a religion founded on facts and not a history of opinions broached by men eminent for a knowledge of science or literature. The development of Christian doctrine is the work of God and not of man. The light which broke upon the multitudes of Hebrew slaves who left Egypt under the guidance of Moses—came from above, and is not to be traced to any inferior source. The history of the progress made by Christianity in the world, has been described by the prophet Ezekiel under the figure of a noble river which gradually increases in volume:—"Afterward he brought me again unto the door of the house; and, behold, waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward; for the forefront of the house stood toward the east, and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar. Then brought he me out of the way of the gate northward, and led me about the way without unto the outer gate by the way that looketh eastward; and, behold, there ran out waters on the right side. And when the man that had the line in his hand went forth eastward, he measured a thousand cubits, and he brought me through

the waters; the waters were to the ancles. Again, he measured a thousand, and brought me through the waters; the waters were to the loins. Afterward, he measured a thousand; and that I could not pass over: for the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a river which could not be passed over." The authority of that continuous stream of light which has flown down from the upper sanctuary—ever since the promise was given in Eden,—"the seed of the woman shall bruise thy head,"—is to be discovered in those facts which attest the truth of revealed truth—as recorded in Scripture. There are other proofs doubtless. There is the necessity of a revelation,—as evidenced in the utter helplessness of man, considered as a religious being, and fallen from God. There is the evidence furnished by the contents of Holy Scripture,—usually styled the internal evidence—perhaps the most powerful of all those sources of conviction with which the mind of the Christian is conversant, and lastly, there is the evidence of miracles. From the day that Jehovah "came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; when He shined forth from Mount Paran, and came with ten thousands of saints, when from His right hand went a fiery law for them,"—the glory of the Most High hath been manifested in that providential care which heaven has continually exercised in behalf of the Church,—sometimes expressed in dispensations afflictive and corrective, and sometimes in mighty works wrought to strengthen the faith of the saints. We have been familiar with the narrative of the miracles wrought by our Lord, and His holy apostles and prophets from our youth, but how familiar? Have they stood before us as facts—as facts whose importance and authority we have carefully studied and improved? Could we lead careless lives, did we hear the thunders of Sinai,—or pondered the purpose sought in the beneficent deeds wrought by the Divine Redeemer? Alas! that we should be so careless. We are all too ready merely to glance at the facts of revelation, without giving them that serious attention which they deserve. Well-meaning persons shrink from a lengthened and keen study of the evidences of Holy Scripture. Whilst we respect their motives in doing so, let us avoid their errors. As our faith is, so shall our strength be. The man who feels his need of obtaining an interest in the merits of Christ, has the best possible evidence of the truth of Scripture—when he is led by the Holy Spirit to roll over the burden of his guilt, on the finished work of his Almighty Saviour.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Whitehall, 1st June.—The Queen has been pleased to present the Rev. George Hunter to the church and parish of Kirkton, in the Presbytery of Jedburgh, and Shire of Roxburgh, vacant by the death of the Rev. William Stuart Martin, late minister thereof.

Appointment.—The Town Council of Edinburgh has appointed the Rev. John Stuart, of Stirling, to the collegiate charge of St Andrew's Church.

St Luke's Church.—The Rev. Mr Farquharson, Assistant to the Rev. Dr Forsyth, in the West Parish, Aberdeen, has received the appointment of Assistant to the Rev. Mr Maclaren of St Luke's, Edinburgh.

Parish of Kingussie.—The Duke of Richmond, Patron of the Parish of Kingussie, has presented the cure to Rev. Grigor Stuart, Minister of Rogart, who has intimated his acceptance of the living.

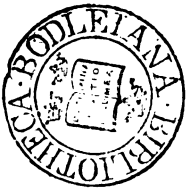
MACPHAIL'S

EDINBURGH ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL

AND

LITERARY REVIEW.

VOLUME XXIV.



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MACPHAIL S

EDINBURGH ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL.

No. CXXXIX. AUGUST 1857.

THE CHERUBIM EXHUMED, OR EXCAVATIONS IN THE TEMPLE.

WE purpose in the present article, and one of the succeeding Number of this Journal, to review a *subject*—rather than any special book—which, notwithstanding all that has been written about it, has remained up to the present time involved in very considerable obscurity,—viz., the subject of the Cherubim. The theme of almost every passing interpreter and compiler of antiquities and systems of theology—they have, so far as we are aware, only once been made the subject of separate and distinct consideration. In reviewing, therefore, a subject, at once so comprehensive and perplexed, we are compelled to limit our attention to opinions or prevailing interpretations without respect to names or books; a method which will have this advantage, that it keeps us clear of personalities and prejudices, and brings us direct to the merits of the question.

But before coming to the matter immediately in hand, there are a few observations that we deem it necessary to make in order still further to isolate the question. And first of these, we purpose to conduct this enquiry on purely *inductive* principles. Deeply impressed with the evils which every other method has inflicted upon the interpretation of the Bible, and at the same time assured of the valuable results still to be reaped from a strictly inductive interpretation, we feel ourselves constrained rather to understate and press some of the facts of this interpretation, than overstate them. This will account for some of those points which are thrown out rather as hints and suggestions for the reflection of others than as a full developement of these respective points. On all that is essential, and on all the leading features of our figures, the

reader will find no dubiety, and no uncertainty or hesitation, in the following pages. But where there is room for doubt,—as in regard to the nature and object of the wheels, the name cherubim, &c.,—he will find this distinctly stated, and the most probable results given.

Indeed, we observe further, so deep is our aversion to the introduction of mere conjecture, and what seems incapable of adjustment and satisfactory determination, that we have rather abstained from introducing such questions as the relative position of the creatures to each other, the position and construction of the wheels, &c. We mention this here, therefore, that they may attract attention. We state the difficulty. On the one hand, Ezek. chap. x. 9, the *wheels* are expressly said to be *four*, and to be placed one by the side or face of each of the four cherubs; while on the other, they are said not to turn as they go; but, whether going or returning, to go each one straight forward. Now it is evident that, place four single wheels as you may, they cannot be arranged so as to *revolve* in all directions without turning; for, if all four be placed in one direction, then all four will drag in the two opposite directions. Or, if two be placed in one direction, and two in another, then which pair soever happen to be revolving, the other pair will drag. A *solution* of this difficulty has been sought by some in giving them all a *gliding*, rather than a *revolving*, motion. Others, as Dr Fairbairn, have given them each a double wheel intersecting each other at right angles. And their being said to present the appearance of a wheel in the middle of a wheel, seems in some way to favour this last interpretation. A *suggestion* has been made to us by Dr Duncan of the New College, Edinburgh, as to whether a *solution* might not be found in some such construction as Hook's universal joint. We state it, therefore, as worthy of consideration. Perhaps the true solution will be found in the facts, that these creatures are only symbols; that they have feet, wings, and wheels, to show that they combine all kinds of motion—natural and artificial; that they use one or other, or all of these together, just as circumstances demand; and that, consequently, it is needless for us to perplex ourselves about reconciling all these various circumstances. In some of the military expeditions of the Old Testament, for example, and even of the New, Rev. xix. 11–21, we find, more or less, all these motions brought into operation, as the war-chariot, the foot motion, and also the wing in the eagle hasting to the prey. This seems, upon the whole, the most probable interpretation. Still the subject is confessedly difficult of solution.

Again, it is to be observed that we have not entered into any minute explanation or definition of such minute parts as the faces respectively, the hands, the wings, the eyes, the feet, &c. Now we have done this on purpose. Many, for example, define the face of the bull as exemplifying "labour"—that of the lion "majesty and strength"—and so on with the other parts in succession. Now, what we object to in these definitions is, that they are defective, and necessarily leave out of account some of the purposes which these creatures serve in Scripture. Thus, for example, according to Scripture usage, the bull might as well be defined the symbol of strength as the lion, and indeed sometime is. Deut.

xxxiii. 17; while, on the other hand, we find it sometimes made the symbol of cruelty and violence as well as labour, as in Ps. xxii. 12, 13. Again, it is evident that if we were to define the "eye" by any of its peculiar uses or expressions, as favour, hate, envy, &c., our definition would not cover the various applications that are made of it in Scripture. So various are the uses of all these parts—so opposite often and conflicting—that we have deemed it better to give no definition. No definition, for example, but must come infinitely short of the appliances and uses of the human hand. To attempt to define such parts, therefore, as the hand, the eye, &c., we could but strip them of their native poetry, and unnecessarily restrict them. The simple terms, hand, eye, wing, &c., express, we hold, to every man, even the most unlearned, a thousand-fold more than any definition which could be substituted. When, therefore, the face of a man, a lion, &c., is specified, we take it as significant of all that man is, viz., intelligent and free; and can accomplish, whether of good or evil; and so of all the other creatures. And when again any of those parts are specified, as the eye, the hand, &c., we take them in their most simple and natural acceptation, as the organs of vision, prehension, &c., which may be applied to manifold uses.

II. We have thus opened up the ground and circumscribed the question; and now as the surest way of arriving at anything like a correct conclusion, and at one, moreover, of the truth and correctness of which every one will, as having the evidence before him, be able to judge, we purpose in the present division of our subject to ascertain all the facts recorded regarding these mysterious figures. This, we hold, is the radical defect of all the interpretations which have been proposed regarding them. Founding on some foregone conclusion, or bold conjecture, as that they are "the church," "the four gospels," &c., &c., some of these interpretations have been compelled to make all the facts together speak the same language; or founded on some single representation of them, as that of Ezekiel and in the course of some other work, others have necessarily left out of account many facts elsewhere recorded; while all together, with few exceptions, have opened a wide door for the introduction of imagination. The consequence is, that very numerous and conflicting, and, in many cases, the most heterogeneous interpretations have been proposed. Many of them, like Nebuchadnezzar's image, beginning with heads of the purest gold, have terminated in the most drossy materials. Fettered again by these, and under the spirit of a genuine eclecticism, founding perhaps upon them and judging between them, other and mediating interpretations have been proposed, as are some of those to be found in systems of antiquities and theology. The immediate consequence of all this has been that our "living creatures"—dark and mysterious as they unquestionably are—have been enveloped in far deeper darkness and uncertainty than is really their due. When ancient Rome, for example, was called upon to consult for the preservation of her Palladium, she could think of no more fitting means than making eleven more like it, and thus distracting attention from it, and making it difficult of detection. Now what ancient Rome did purposely for

Numa's shield, these multifarious and conflicting interpretations have, not less effectively though not purposely, done for our figures, viz., practically *overlaid, made void, and buried them*;—a result, doubtless, which is not to be imputed, as the Church of Rome *would have us*, to the free exercise of private judgment, but the very opposite. Than this right, as we conceive it, in its fullest and freest exercise, truth can have no more sacred and sure Palladium. Truth does not need to shun the light. A free discussion, like the smelting furnace, just rids it of the dross that has gathered round it. Not this, therefore, but the methods and principles of interpretation which have prevailed, must be held responsible for all such consequences.

To avoid, therefore, the course which has led to these results,—to recal the question to its original foundations,—and to exhume or assist in exhuming our ancient figures from this chaotic mass, are the reasons of writing this present section, as well as of the title of this article.

To begin then: in ascertaining the facts of the case, the first question that comes to be settled is the *Constitution* of the Cherubim. What was their nature and composition? Where were they to be seen? Eden, after man's expulsion, is the first place where they appear, Gen. iii. 24. The next mention that is made of them is when Moses was ordered to construct the Tabernacle, Ex. xxv. 18–22; xxxvii. 7–9. *There* they were to appear in both the outer and inner courts of the sanctuary—the holy and most holy places. In the latter they were, according to divine injunction, to be posted in golden form on the two ends of the mercy-seat or covering of the ark, forming with their wings a canopy or shadowing over it, Ex. xxv. 20; xxxvii. 9; Heb. ix. 5; while on the veil that separated the two sanctuaries, as well as on the tapestries or hangings which surrounded the sides or walls of the outer sanctuary, they were to be embroidered and curiously wrought, Ex. xxvi. 1. Again, when the more enduring and stately temple was to be substituted for the moveable and fragile tabernacle, our figures were henceforth to assume a corresponding and more substantial form, at least in the outer sanctuary. Instead of appearing, as hitherto, on the awnings which covered the coarser textures forming the exterior of the tabernacle, they were now, with the exception of the inner veil, to take their places alternately with palm-trees and open flowers upon the wood-work which lined the walls, 1 Kings, vi. 23–35; 2 Chron. iii. 5–14. But it is not until we descend to the descriptions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and John, that we are enabled to form any definite idea of their constitution. In the preceding places, indeed, we find some traces, as the mention of faces, wings, and, by inference, of hands, in Eden, for wielding the sword, —which tend to identify them with later descriptions. But still, so much do those previous notices assume their being known, that, but for later descriptions, we could not evidently have formed any true or definite idea of their form and constitution. In Isaiah even the notices we have of them are still of that indefinite character, though more exact, and still more fitted to identify them with the later and more full descriptions of Ezekiel and John. David also, in the Psalms and otherwise, furnishes some very definite hints regarding them. But it is chiefly to Ezekiel, and John in the Revelations, that we owe that full and definite

description which enables us to see the coherency and bearing of all these previous and more restricted notices. These furnish the key which unlocks the mysterious and dark enigmas of Eden, the Tabernacle, and the Temple. According to these, therefore, and especially Ezekiel—whom we chiefly follow on account of the minuteness of his description—they were four in number. Their general form and appearance were that of a man, Ezek. i. 5. They had four faces each, viz., those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; and four wings, and, as we infer, four hands. Their feet were straight or perpendicular, and hoofed like those of a calf or ox. And, what is here especially to be observed, they were each compounded beings; consisting of, and combining each in itself, all those different parts, or features, of those several creatures. They were a combination of the lion, the ox, and the eagle in the human form; embodying at once all that is distinctive of man, as the hand, the head, the general figure, with all that is distinctive of these several creatures. And, as thus compounded, their whole bodies, their backs, their hands, and wings, were full of eyes, Ezek. x. 12. In close connection or juxtaposition, though not incorporation with them, stood four wheels of tremendous size, of azure colour, full also of eyes, and presenting the inexplicable appearance of a wheel within a wheel. These wheels, as has just been said, were not incorporated with the living creatures. But still they must have been very closely and immediately connected with them; for we find that they were pervaded and animated by the same impelling spirit, so that the one was moved only as the other moved, yet so as to show that the creatures took precedence, and that the movement of the wheels was dependent on that of the creatures, and both upon the common spirit.

Again, upon the heads of these creatures, and above these wheels, was placed a firmament of corresponding size and crystalline appearance. Above, or on the upper side of this firmament, was seen a sapphire stone, on which stood a throne, surmounted by a man; who, as well as being compassed by the glory of the God of Israel, is throughout the book identified with, and designated only by, the glory of the God of Israel, Ezek. and Rev. We stay not upon this part which is so clear.

As thus constituted and thus surmounted, it is to be observed, as bringing out still further the facts of the case, that immediately around and intermingling with these creatures and this entire representation, are the whirlwind, the cloud, the lambent flame, or fire infolding itself, and brightness as of amber. It was out of the midst of these elements that they first made their appearance, Ezek. i. 4, 5; as well as from the lustre of them, doubtless, that they take their most general description, as being like "lamps" and "burning coals of fire," or seraphim, according to Is. vi.

We cannot, however, pass to the next topic, without remarking the striking coincidence—the substantial agreement of this description or representation as a whole, with those of Ex. xxiv. 9–18; Rev. iv.; Is. vi.; Dan. vii.; &c. With some minor variations or omissions they are the same in substance; showing conclusively, that the entire representation is one of the God of Israel. In all these, there is the manifestation of

the glory of the God of Israel; and much in the same circumstances, as the throne—the sapphire stone—the crystal firmament, or according to John, the sea of glass, &c.

In order, however, that we may be able to conceive aright of these representations as a whole, and understand the order of their several descriptions, it is necessary still further to observe, that in Ezekiel the scene is laid on earth, amid clouds and darkness; while that in John opens in heaven. In the former, therefore, as in a cloudy and foggy day, they are the horses, so to speak, of this chariot—the living creatures—the cherubim—that come first into view; whereas, in John, who sees the heavens open, with their bright resplendent light,—the throne, and he who sits on it, first catch the eye; and hence, the order of their respective narratives. John begins at the throne, and comes downward to the creatures. Ezekiel, beginning with the clouds, tempest, and fire, ascends from the creatures, to Him who sits upon the throne. If, therefore, we would understand with John, we must, as in some silent chamber—some rapt meditation—with all the world shut out—gaze alone into these heavens, descending through the whole, until we reach the base; whereas, if we would realize the unity of Ezekiel's representation, we could assume no better stand-point, than is presented in a day of thunder and fiery tempest, amid the elements, and looking round and up, conceive creation up to the throne of God.

Having now in general considered the facts relating to their constitution, and to the representation as a whole, the next subject that comes under consideration, is that which relates to their *position*. We have already seen them in Eden, the tabernacle and the temple; in Isaiah, Ezekiel, and John; and found them as in David. And now, the next question that arises in the order of nature is, What is the position or positions they are there shown to occupy? What are the facts bearing upon this point? and what do these facts declare? First of all,—taking our description from what is fullest and most detailed, we find them in the tabernacle and temple, literally crowding the walls, as well as in immediate connection with the Throne in the Holy of Holies. In John, they are said to be "in the midst of and round about the throne." Ezekiel exhibits them, as may be read by every one, plainly beneath it, the firmament and throne being over their heads. While in Isaiah, according to our English version, they are said to stand "above" the throne,—but according to Gesenius, "near it or by it;" and according to the Septuagint version "round about it." In Eden and the other places where they are mentioned, their position relative to the throne is not specified, and must be determined by those which do. From all these put together, therefore, it is clear, that they are always immediately connected with the throne of God; and, that their position with regard to it, is always beneath and round about it, as in Ezekiel and John, the tabernacle and the temple, and probably also sometimes and in some sense "above it or over it," as in the Holy of Holies,[1] Ex.

[1] And as the ancient fan-bearers of Egypt who were usually the king's sons, who attended him both on the throne, and when carried forth on any expedition. —Wilkinson's Ancient Egypt.

xxv. 20; Heb. ix. 5; and probably in Isaiah vi. Their position, therefore, so far as the facts are concerned, is universally "beneath and round about" the throne of God, and probably also sometimes "above" it.

Having now disposed of the facts relating both to their *constitution* and *position*, the next question that meets us, is that which regards their *offices*. What say the facts to these?

As already shown, the facts declare that they are beneath the throne. The firmament and the throne are seen to rest upon their heads. Although, therefore, we do not at present wait to enquire,—as this subject will again come under review as an independent question,—whether this exhausts the fact, we cannot doubt, that in some sense or other, figurative or real, this fact of our representation expresses support; or at least, marks the relation of support or pillars. This, then, is one of the offices which they perform, or relations which they own.

But they are, besides, the *bearers* of this throne; a fact which tends still more to confirm the preceding distinction, and show that they must be both under and support it. All God's movements—throne, firmament, and all,—are effected by them throughout Ezekiel, i.-xi., xliii. They are His chariot. The same is their office, or at least one of their offices, also in David; thus, "He rode upon a cherub and did fly," Ps. xviii. 10; and to show that this idea of them is no mere poetical fiction, uttered in the Psalmist's most stirring and excited moments, but one of their most common and prosaic uses, we have them most prosaically described by the same author in the most prosaic circumstances, as "the chariot of the cherubim,"—המרכבה הכרובים—"that spread out their wings, and covered the ark of the covenant of the Lord," 1 Chron. xxviii. 18. The same thing follows from the fact, that immediately connected with these creatures, were those stupendous wheels; for, to what end could these have been attached, if not to intimate the fact, that they are God's "chariot of the cherubim." That, therefore, they are God's chariot, is without doubt, another of their offices.[1]

But further, not only are they beneath, but round about the throne; and, in this relation, they discharge the further office of *agents, ministers*, and *messengers* of God's will. That this was their ministry in Eden, the facts expressly state. They were set there to keep and guard the way to the tree of life, Gen. iii. 24. In Rev. vi., they attend as heralds on the opening of the first four seals; in Ezekiel x. 6, 7, they dispense the fire that is to devour the city; and in Rev. xv. 7, they furnish the "seven golden vials full of the wrath of God," which are to desolate the earth; while in Isaiah vi., they are the ministers that pass between the prophet and the throne, as well as the agents of his purification. But yet again, what need of further proof than is to be found in the facts of their human hands and figure—their wings, eyes, feet, &c., the very symbols of such agencies and such ministries? These facts alone—even had we no other,—would be themselves sufficient to establish the present distinction. But when in addition to all this, we behold them, as above

[1] The same is their office as well as *name* with the Son of Sirach, chap. xlix. 8. ἐν ἁρμάτοις Χερουβίμ.

actually running on these errands and discharging these ministries—who can doubt it?

Another office which they discharge, and which is still more patent, is that of *worshippers*. In Is. vi., this is their chief employment, viz. to cry "one to another," and to excite each others' adoration, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory." In John, their praises are frequent and oft repeated, Rev. iv., v., xix. Nor is this subject omitted in Ezekiel, for we find them praising, chap. iii., and saying, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place." And to sum up this matter, to what end were they in the tabernacle and temple, whence every other image and likeness were carefully and expressly excluded, and where no image or likeness of God was at all to enter, if not to shadow forth "the chief end" of all creation; and not merely to shadow forth the *duty*, but to express the *fact*, that "all God's works do praise Him?" Psalms xix., cxlv. This, it seems to us, is the *only consistent interpretation* of this fact. They are, however, even independently of this, undeniably His actual worshippers.

But yet again, it seems from what has been already hinted, regarding the fan-bearers of Egypt, that we might find them in the discharge of a fifth office in the immediate presence of God, and in immediate connection with the throne, if we felt inclined to press the facts presented in their position in the Holy of Holies, which is properly "above" the throne, Ex. xxv. 20; xxxvii. 9; Heb. ix. 5; and in Isaiah.[1] But as we are not inclined to press and torture any of the facts, but leave them to speak their own language, we merely suggest it.

So much then for the facts of the case in general, touching these figures—their constitution, their position, and their offices. Without any constraint or special pleading or wire-drawn criticism, they show their constitution to be complex, their position, at least two-fold, and offices, at least four-fold. All this is written, and may be read in the sacred text itself. We come next to the *solution in detail*.

III. We have thus in the preceeding section, stated and laid down most, if not all, the facts that are to be found in Scripture expressly connected with these mysterious figures. Our next step, therefore, is evidently to interpret them. And here it occurs to state, in the beginning, as indeed, is generally admitted among interpreters, that these creatures, as thus constituted, are not any separate and distinct class or species of being actually and separately existing. They are not real existences. Nor is there any species of creature actually existing throughout the universe, which corresponds with them. But still observe, we do not say they are without any foundation in real nature. By no means. They have, we hold, their counterparts, exact and perfect, in real nature. But still, not as any separate and distinct species of being, as man, angel, &c. *They are symbols*, and not real existences; and that with the consent of almost all interpreters. But symbols of what? Here lies the difficulty. Hitherto our course has been plain sailing. In thread-

[1] This, *e.g.* may be one of the offices of the angels before God in heaven.

ing our way through the facts of the case, we trode on ground which is not easily assailed. But, no sooner do we mention the term symbols, than all is confusion. Symbols of what? And the answers are varied, almost as there are interpreters. Thus, for example, only to mention a few, but these the most widely prevailing interpretations; they are, according to some, symbolical of God Himself—the Trinity of His personalities—His attributes—the Incarnation, and such like; according to others, and those the best and most prized interpreters, they are symbolical of angels; others, and those the most recent, and chiefly German interpreters, see in them man as he shall stand in the heavenly paradise, perfected, redeemed, and glorified, the highest manifestation, the *beau-ideal* of creature life; while not a few others see in them "the Church," "the ministry of the Church," "the four gospels," "the chariot of thunder," "the four ancient monarchies—Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome," "the four archdukes of Israel," &c., &c.; and one, at least, "a terrible species of fowl," or creature. Before advancing, therefore, to the proposed interpretation, it will be necessary for us, as briefly as possible, to examine the chief of these various explanations.

And first, *negatively*, it is here affirmed that these mysterious creatures, namely, the cherubim, are not symbolical of Deity in any of His manifestations, as the Trinity of His personalities, His attributes, the Incarnation, &c. Now mark the question. We are not here enquiring whether God—even God incarnate,—is present or not, in the full representation. *That* cannot be disputed by any one who reads the last three verses of the 1st chapter of Ezekiel. But, the question is, whether God incarnate, &c., is represented and symbolized by these ideal creatures. Now, this is what is here denied, and for these reasons; first, that these creatures are represented by engraving, and otherwise, in both the temple and the tabernacle, where every corporeal representation of Deity is expressly and repeatedly excluded, Ex. xx. 4–5; Deut. iv. 15–25; v. 8, &c.; and second, because wherever they are introduced—in Eden, in the Tabernacle, in the Temple, in David, in Isaiah, in Ezekiel, and John, throughout, and in short, everywhere, they are distinguished, and shown to be distinct from Deity. How often, for example, is he seen removing and separated from them in the ix., x., and xi. chapters of Ezekiel—not to speak of His coming by them, &c.? He is *present* with them, doubtless, as in Ezekiel, Isaiah, John, &c. But then, it is to be remembered, that he is *borne, attended,* and *worshipped* by them. But further, third, God is Himself present in all these several representations, as well as these creatures; and needs not, therefore, to be represented by them. They are not God in any of His manifestations.

But neither are they symbolical of *angels*. This is our second proposition. Here also let us observe the question. In this denial we do not affirm that angels are in every sense excluded from them, or that they are in no sense represented by them. That remains as a separate question to be discussed on separate evidence. Nor do we deny that the term angel is in any sense predicable of them; but what we deny is this, viz., that they are symbolical of angels strictly taken, and as that term is generally understood to mean that distinct and separate class or

species of beings, or higher spirits, which immediately surround the throne of God in heaven and do his pleasure. This is what is here denied: and while the present as well as the immediately succeeding explanations can only be fully refuted by confronting them with the whole truth, and so to speak, "completing the picture," which will be done immediately—it is sufficient to ratify this denial and set aside the present as the proper interpretation, to be able to affirm regarding them that they are distinguished from angels throughout the Revelations, and specially chapters v., vii., xiv., xv., xix., as well as in Ezekiel ix. and x., which are parallel in their objects and agencies to Rev. vii. and xv. They are not, therefore, angels, properly and exclusively at least.

Our third preposition is, that neither are they symbolical of *men*, strictly taken, and as they shall stand in the immediate presence of God, redeemed, glorified, and endowed with all the higher excellencies of this lower creation. This explanation acknowledges more of the facts then either the preceding or succeeding interpretations. But still, as already indicated, it recognizes but a few of them; and either ignores the others or presses them into its service. While therefore, as in the last, we reserve it for a fuller confutation by being confronted with the whole truth—let us in the meantime ascertain the question, and see what can be said to it in particular. It is to be observed then, that, in denying the present theory or explanation, we do not deny that man is represented in them. By no means, as will be seen immediately; nor do we deny that they have a future reference; and mark, in general, man's relation to the throne; but, what we deny is this, viz., that the chief design of these symbols is to set forth man *as he shall be*; or, that they were intended primarily to image forth to him his future state. That this may be inferred from them we do not deny; but still, it is here affirmed that this is not their primary design. And to confirm this conclusion, and set aside the present as the proper interpretation, it is sufficient to aver that all the facts of the case demonstrate that they have a *present* sphere—represent *present* beings—occupy *present* places—and *discharge present* offices.

The other interpretations, as that they are symbolical of "the Church" "the ministry of the Church," "the four Gospels," "the four ancient monarchies," "the four archdukes of the camp of Israel," Num. x. 14–28, "the chariot of thunder," &c., &c., are still less defensible. With small exception, they can aspire to no higher sanction than the purest fancy. It would be idle, therefore, to spend time refuting them apart. To do this it will be sufficient to unfold the truth. While, fifthly, that they are symbolical of any "terrible or monstrous species of fowl," has been already answered when it was shown that, with the *consent* of almost all interpreters, there is no such species of animal throughout creation.

Having thus disposed of the most widely prevailing interpretations, and shown what these creatures *are not*, it now behoves us in the next place, to show what they *are*. And here simply premising, that in con-

sidering this representation in detail, we assume Ezekiel's standpoint, section II. above, and ascend from the foundation upwards—we affirm, second, *positively*, that these figures, or rather living creatures, are symbolical of all nature—the universe of created things; but specially and certainly this lower creation or present world, with all its appurtenances. Now, before advancing, let us see that we understand the contents of this proposition. When we affirm that they are significant and representative of this whole creation, or universe of created things,—we mean especially this world as it now exists—these heavens, the earth, the sea, the atmosphere, with all their inhabitants, powers, agencies, laws, &c., without at the same time, either denying or affirming that it may include other and higher agencies, as angels, principalities, and powers in heaven, which we reserve for separate discussion. While, therefore, it is so stated as not to exclude angels or other agencies, to us unknown, we are to be understood in this first place, as definitely including the entire lower creation. By this first proposition it is affirmed that these creatures symbolize and are significant of all nature, or all the powers and parts of this present world. Winds, clouds, and fire—the hand, wing, foot, eye, and wheel—animate and inanimate—rational and instinctive—responsible and irresponsible—man, fowl and quadruped—tame and untame—predacious and unpredacious—are all represented here. These creatures are symbolical of all. This is our first proposition; and the reasons are—

First, the unity and completeness of the representation It does not, for example, merely set forth this and another part of creation, but heaven and earth up to the throne of God. The firmament and sapphire-stone, the throne itself as well as the creatures, each in its own order and gradation, are all here; the symbol is complete; the representation is one, and linked in one certain bond. The very entireness of the representation, therefore, shows that the universe, and specially this lower creation is symbolized.

But secondly, not only the unity and completeness of the representation show this, but also the expliciteness and minuteness of detail; for not only do they set forth one great and glorious representation, but they detail its component parts. Here are, as already observed, those elements, —winds, clouds, and fire;—those creatures—man, the lion, the ox, and the eagle; those agents—the hand, the foot, the eye, the wing, the wheel, the animating and pervading spirit. The animate are here, and the inanimate; the rational and the irrational; the tame and the untame; the beast of burden as well as the beast of prey; intelligence and will, as well as the unintelligent and irresponsible. The firmament also is here; the sapphire-stone and the throne. And, indeed, all things are here. True, it may be still objected, that every creature is not here, nor every agent;—as for example, the horse, water, &c. But still, we answer, this is not necessary. They are here which are well fitted to represent these agencies, as the cloud, the ox, the lion, &c. And then, it is to be remembered, that these creatures are only symbols; and symbols do not necessarily contain the whole. But even bating this—an answer which completely sets aside any such objection, is the fact, that God's cherub

and even cherubim—on any particular occasion does not necessarily include all the several items of creation, but any part or parts of it, and sometimes one part and sometimes another:—so that it cannot be argued from the cherubim or cherub of any particular occasion, on the ground of omission or defect against the cherubim in general—or rather against our proposition; thus, for example, by the law of Hebrew parallel constructions, God's cherub, Ps. xviii. 10, is only the wind; while in Ps. civ. 3, it is the clouds and wind. Nothing can be plainer, therefore, than that it would be absurd to argue from the cherubim of Pss. xviii. and civ. against the cherubim of Ezekiel, John, &c. And, therefore, it is plain that the above or any such objection, can be of no force whatever against our general position, that God's cherubim or living creatures, are significant of all creation.

But, thirdly, we have shown above that these creatures are beneath the firmament and throne of God, for purposes, or, at least, to mark the relation of supports or pillars. But this, it is evident, is one of the purposes of the present creation. Heaven and earth are throughout Scripture represented as holding this relation to each other; the one above, the other beneath—and both as forming one complete whole, Job ix. 6; Gen. i. 1; 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Job xxvi. 11; 1 Sam. ii. 8; Ps. lxxv. 3; Ps. xxiv. 1, 2; xcvi. 11. "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool." Is. lxvi. 1. Still it is to be remembered, that we do not put much weight upon the idea of *support*, but only upon that of *relation*. All nature, therefore, holds the identical relation to the firmament and throne of God, as these creatures to the firmament and throne of our representation; affording at the very least, a strong presumption that they themselves are also identical.

Again, fourthly, it has been shown above that God comes by them; and that they are and serve the purposes of his chariot. But this, it is evident, is one of the most prominent purposes of all nature. "God's chariots are twenty thousands; thousands of angels," Ps. lxviii. 17; 2 Kings ii. 11, 12; vi. 17. "He rideth upon the heavens by his name Jah," Ps. lxviii. 4, 33; Is. xl. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 26; Habak. iii. 3–16. "His way is in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet," Nahum, i. 3. "He maketh the clouds his chariot, he walketh upon the wings of the wind," Ps. xviii. 10; Is. xix. 1;—which Psalms and representations we style cherubic. Both, therefore, serve the same purpose; therefore both are one; at least the one symbolizes the other.

Another reason is to be found in the identity of their agencies and ministries. These creatures, as has been shown, discharge the office of agents and executioners of Jehovah's will. But is not this the office of all creation—animate and inanimate—rational and irrational—responsible and irresponsible? "He maketh his angels spirits, His ministers a flaming fire," Ps. civ. 4. The waters,—they were his ministers against the old world. Fire and brimstone,—these were his ministers against the cities of the plain. The elements,—how did they fight against the five kings of the Amorites? Josh. x. 11. "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera," Judges v. 20. And who does not remember

how He brought "a ravenous bird" out of the East? Is. xlvi. 11. The lion and the eagle out of Egypt and Assyria? Jer. iv. 7; Ezek. xvii.; and how he led nation against nation, just as it pleased him, as the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Egyptians? And so might we give instances of nearly all creation from the sacred text itself, as at 2 Kings xvii. 25; Is. xxix. 1–8; xxx. 27, 31; Jer. v. 6, 15, 19; vi. 22–25; viii. 16, 17; xxiii. 19; xlvii. 2–4; xlix. 36; l. 17, &c., were this needed. But enough has been done to indicate the line of argument and suggest a host of such examples. Here also, then, both serve the same purposes; and consequently we conclude that both are one, or rather that the one represents the other.

The same thing will follow from the identity of their ministry as worshippers. Everywhere, as was shown above, or nearly everywhere, they appear as worshippers, and not only *worshippers*, but *worshipping*. But this, as was said already, is the very office of all creation. "All God's works praise him" "The heavens declare his glory, and the firmament sheweth his handywork." And who does not remember such Psalms as xcvi., cxlv., and cxlviii., and Rev. v. 13; Ps. ciii. 19–22, &c. where all God's works are both called upon, and shown to praise Him;—and which, therefore, we enrol among the Cherubic Psalms and representations. They are one, therefore, in object; and so also in being;—or rather the one is symbolical of the other.

Again, it seems to us that it is as the God of the cherubim, that He is styled the God of hosts. 2 Sam. vi. 2; Ps. lxxx; Is. xxxvii. 15–20; liv. 5; 2 Kings, xix. 15–19; Ps. xcix; Is. xlviii. 2; li. 15; Jer. x. 16; xxxi. 35; xxxii. 18; l. 34; li. 19. For in these places, and specially Is. liv. 5, and 2 Sam. vi. 2, the first and last clauses being parallel and exegetical of each other,—it appears that the name God of hosts and His sitting between the cherubim, are used as interchangeable; and both as a reason why He should, because able, bring help to the distressed nations. But then as the God of hosts, He counts the number of the stars. Gen. ii. 1; Ps. cxlvii. 4; Neh. ix. 6. As the God of hosts He leads out the armies of the angels. Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. As the God of hosts also, He musters the nations to do battle, Is. xiii. 4. Angels and men therefore, and stars and all things, are God's host, Ps. cxlviii; Ps. ciii. 19–22. These creatures, therefore, or hosts, and the cherubim, are one and the same; or rather the former are symbolized by the latter.

But now further, and this is our last reason upon this point, it is plain that if we had any way of testing and verifying our interpretation, as, for example, if we could show that this was evidently the interpretation which was put upon them by those who had seen them and knew what they were intended to represent,—this would tend more than anything to confirm and establish that interpretation. Let us try then. And first, it is clear that as being the agents and executioners of God's will in this world—wherever and whenever He pleases—as was established, section II., by the facts of the case,—He must be an object of dread to the world and specially to the wicked, *on their account*. If, therefore, we could show from any passage of Holy writ, that as the God of the

cherubim He was held forth to the world as such an object—it is plain that our use of them, and so, interpretation must be the same as that of Scripture. Now this we can; for it is written, Ps. xcix. 1, "The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble; He sitteth between the cherubim let the earth be moved."[1] We could not, therefore, it is obvious, have a stronger confirmation of our interpretation. But yet again, for the same reason, it is evident that as the God of the cherubim, Section II., He must be an object of confidence and assurance to his own people *on their account.* If, therefore, it could be shown from Scripture that any of God's inspired or most intelligent worshippers in Old Testament times actually made this use of, or put this interpretation upon them,—we could seek no higher testimony to the truth of our interpretation. Now this it can; for it is plain that Asaph of inspired authority, and Hezekiah, if not of inspired authority, yet one of the most intelligent and best of old Testament worthies,—both make this, viz., that he sits between the cherubim, an argument and ground of expectation in prayer, a reason why He should come to their special help against the Assyrians or other enemies, Ps. lxxx; 2 Kings xix. 15, 19; Is. xxxvii. 15, 20. And is not this the reason why the Highest of all authorities says, "I will commune with thee from between the cherubim?" Our argument therefore is complete. Our general conclusion or rather interpretation has thus the very strongest confirmation. It is identical with that which Scripture puts upon them. They are, therefore, significant of all creation.

But further, in prosecuting the explanation of their constitution, our second proposition answers the question, why are they all represented as in man—incorporated with the human form? Now this question admits of two answers, this fact of two interpretations, equally scriptural, though not of the same kind, for the one is figurative, the other real. Thus, for example, we would be most fully warranted by Scripture to interpret these symbolic creatures, so constituted, and combining all that is distinctive of man with all that is distinctive of other animals, *of man,* properly and strictly taken, not *as he shall be* in the heavenly glory, but *as he is* in this present evil world; not as he shall then stand possessed of "highest creature excellence," but as he now conducts himself towards his fellowmen, exhibiting in himself the worst and basest as well as the best of creature passions, as cruelty, rapacity, &c. How often, for example, he is represented under these characters, the lion, the ox, and the eagle, we need not mention. Every reader of the Bible is familiar with them, Is. xlvi 11; Jer. iv. 7; Ezek. xvii. But this interpretation of the present fact, this answer to the above question, as being utterly inconsistent and irreconcilable with the facts of the case already established, because a mere figure, it is evident, we cannot admit.

It only remains, therefore, that we unfold the second answer, the second interpretation. And here the question meets us, as these creatures have been shown to be symbols of real nature, does this other fact that they are represented in man, incorporated with the human

[1] In this text of Scripture, the clauses "The Lord reigneth, and sitteth between the cherubim," are parallel and equivalent.

form, admit of any explanation in reality and fact, and with Scripture sanction, and not merely in figure? Like all the other facts of these symbolic figures, this one also finds its explanation in the facts of real nature and with highest authority. For—that they are all in man, that they are all incorporated with the human form—what does this denote but that original fact that he is made their Lord; that they are made subject to him; that God put the fear of him upon them; that they were made subservient to his purposes, so that he can and often does combine their efforts and forces with his own, for the execution of his own, and in them, of God's purposes; and that in fine, God made him "with dominion over the creatures?" As, therefore, the king and his dominion—the father and his family,—the master and his household—are in certain respects one and simple; so also man and this inferior creation are likewise one. This, therefore, is our answer to this question, our interpretation of this fact, viz., that these inferior creatures are all in man, or represented as incorporated with him, to shadow forth the fact that they were originally placed under his dominion, and made subservient to his will.

And now our third proposition is the answer to be returned to this question, the interpretation of this fact, why are they *with man* placed immediately beneath the firmament and throne of God? To show doubtless, that all alike, rational as well as irrational, intelligent as well as unintelligent, free agents as well as irresponsible, are subject to divine control; and may be made, the one as well as the other, and just as he pleases, the instruments of his will. No creature, how high soever in the scale of this creation, can claim exemption from this subjection. The highest and the lowest, in this respect are on a level, that all are subject and each is servant. Their services, doubtless, may differ even as their natures; their ministries may vary even as there are species or individuals. But in this there is no difference, no variation, that all are servants, and all ministers. The last proposition bade man look beneath and all around him, north, south, east, and west, and see all nature doing him homage. The present bids him look up, and with them, worship a mightier Lord. The last raised him high above all other creatures; the present reminds him that the parallel does not everywhere and always hold. The last proclaimed him king and monarch, but the present reminds him that there is a King of kings to whom he is but a vassal.

But here another question which naturally arises out of, or rather, grafts itself upon the present, is whether these creatures, as thus subjected to the throne of God, are subject to God in his most general and absolute character, as the Creator and Governor of all things, or whether this fact expresses their subjection to Him rather as the Mediatorial King and Governor of all things. Now, whilst it is our opinion that these can never be rightly separated and distinguished, but, on the contrary, always mutually imply and represent each other, John, v. 17; x. 30; xiv. 10; we nevertheless hesitate not to affirm that it is the latter or mediatorial phase of the divine government that is here chiefly intended, for—

First of all, we have reason to believe that since the fall or entrance of sin into the world, God, in his most general and absolute character, could no longer hold immediate intercourse with it; and that, but for Christ—the mediator, and mediatorial dispensation, its history had been then wound up for ever; that Christ then entered on his mediatorial dominion—as thus and for other reasons it was necessary that he should; and that thenceforth God's most general and absolute government or providence of this world was, under the above restrictions, merged in the mediatorial. All these points seem most fully borne out both by the nature of the case, the necessities of Christ's kingly office, and by all such passages as show that the Father has given all things into the hands of the Son; and especially in that most noted passage, 1 Cor. xv. 24–28, where it is shown that Christ will continue *so* to reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet, and until he shall have put down all rule and all authority, when the kingdom or immediate government and rule shall again return unto God in His most general and absolute character, John, iii. 35; Matth. xxviii. 18; Ephes. i. 20–22; 1 Cor. xv. 24–28. There is a necessity, therefore, that the cherubim in being subject to this throne, be subject to the mediator, in whom is vested the present economical or provisional administration of the divine government. Should any one, however, be desirous of seeing this subject more fully discussed, which both our object and space preclude, he will see it most satisfactorily established, and objections answered, in the first six chapters of Dr Symington's "Messiah—the Prince."

But, secondly, besides being thus able to show that, so it must have been *even* from the beginning, what tends still further to establish both this present point, and also our general conclusion, that these creatures are symbolical of all nature, is the fact that in such passages as John iii. 35; Ephes. i. 20–22; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Matth. xxviii. 18, "all things," "all powers," angels as well as other beings, are shown to be at present subject to the mediator, and rendered subservient to mediatorial purposes. "He has been made head over all things to the Church." Now observe the coincidence. We have already seen that—in the vision of Ezekiel, in the full representation—He is both God and Man, who occupies the throne and presides upon the cherubim; and who, therefore, can be no other than the mediator, inasmuch as no other being, in all God's universe, combines in his own person both these names and natures. And now, turning for example, to Ephes. i. 20–22, we find the same representation expressly set down, or predicated of the mediator, viz., that He presides over all powers, as well of heaven as of earth, and that all these have been subjected to him for mediatorial purposes; while that this is no mere abstraction, we see angels actually ministering under him, Heb. i. 14. In the face of these facts, therefore, we cannot fail to be assured at once of the identity of both these representations in full, of the fact that he is the mediator who presides in both, and also that the cherubim of Ezek. and Rev., &c., are identical with the "all principality, and power, and might, and dominion," and "all things," of Ephes. i. 21, 22.

But thirdly, what need of such indirect proofs of the present point as

these? The fact, as already more than hinted, is expressly written, Ezek. i. 26–28. For in these verses, as already pointed out, He is a man, compassed with the glory of God who occupies the throne. And to show that He is the mediator, and that both these natures are one person in Him, He is designated ever after only as "the God of Israel," or "the glory of the God of Israel." Nor will it invalidate this conclusion to object that it does not say expressly that a man occupied the throne, but "the likeness" as the appearance of a man; for on the one hand it is to be remembered that the whole scene is a vision, and that the prophet is only describing the vision or likeness *as it appeared to him*, hence the likeness of the appearance or vision, in this respect, was of a man or as a man; while, on the other, if such objection were allowed to be of force against this part of our conclusion, viz, that he is a man, and consequently the mediator who occupies this throne, on the same ground we might overturn all the other parts of this representation, and show that he saw no such thing as the creatures described; for they are all described in the same general phraseology. Thus, for example, we might argue from verse 5th, that he saw no such creatures as those there described, inasmuch as he does not say "out of the midst of the fire came" four living creatures, but "the likeness of four living creatures;" and yet he begins as carefully to describe all their various parts in the immediately succeeding verses, as though he had used the more direct form of expression, "four living creatures." The objection, therefore, will not hold.

Our conclusion, upon the whole, therefore, is that in being subject to this throne, our creatures, *man* not less than *other creatures*, are subject, are entirely under the control of the present form or administration of the divine providence or government, which is the mediatorial.

Our fourth proposition interprets the facts that they are *four* in number, have *four* faces each, *four* wings, *four* hands; and that there are *four* wheels. And why is this? Why *four* so frequently and in such various respects? To denote, doubtless, the universality and immediateness of their activity in all the four quarters of the world. They are, as it were, present everywhere in one or other or all of their agencies, so that they need not to "turn as they go," but to go "each one straight forward." Their action is universal. It is also immediate. They have a face towards each quarter of the world; a hand and a wing for each. No agency therefore, no mission, but they can achieve, and that immediately; for they are four in number and have four faces each, and four wheels. But wherein does this differ from other interpretations? Other interpretations, doubtless, make them indicative of the four quarters of the world. But the present does more; and not only makes them indicative of this as a necessary condition of all their activity, viz., space, but also and rather of a universal and immediate agency in all these regions, as indicated by the *four* faces, the *four* hands, the *four* wings, and the *four* wheels, which other interpretations leave out of account.

The last proposition to be made under this division, is that which answers the question, what are these wheels? This we have felt to be the most difficult of all the questions that have arisen in connection with these

symbols, and the only one which constrained recourse to other interpreters. And as may easily be conceived, little help was thence to be derived; for, as they took up one or other of the above rejected theories or explanations, they were constrained to adopt some corresponding acceptation of the wheels. Thus, for example, where the creatures are taken to represent "God," the wheels are made this lower creation in one or other of its aspects, "as the celestial fluids;" where they are made "angels," the wheels are also made inferior things, "as this world with its various changes and revolutions;" where "the church," the wheels are "angels;" and where the creatures are made symbolical of "man," the wheels are "the gigantic and terrible energy," the "spirit of awful and resistless might," which was going to characterise the movements of the God of Israel. Now it seems to us that they are none of these; or rather, that in none of these do they find their explanation. What then are they? As will be seen from all that has gone before, we greatly prefer some natural and matter of fact explanation. Is there then any such natural phenomena as have explained the other facts corresponding to the wheels of our symbolic representation? It seems to us that there are, although at present we merely throw it out as a hint for further consideration, and for the opinion of others, and it is this, *time* with its *four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, winter;* or *time* with its *four ages or vicissitudes* to men and nations, *infancy* and *youth, maturity* and *old age,* or these combined and interworking. In the revolution of these natural periods, perhaps also in the revolutions and counter-revolutions of the spheres above and below, or even in the revolutions and counter-revolutions or changes of Providence itself, for they had also the appearance of a wheel in the middle of a wheel; it seems not improbable that the true counterpart will be found to the four symbolic wheels. Nor does it a little seem to favour this expectation that all these *parts* or *departments* of nature are designated in Scripture by such terms as signify wheel, circle, &c.; thus Ps. lxxvii. 18; Job, xxvi. 10; xxii. 14; Prov. viii. 27; Is. xl. 22. See also Gesenius' Lex, under the terms דור a generation, שנה a year, עד eternity, &c.

But for the present we have adopted another explanation; because, while equally accordant with Scripture and experience, it seems, though not possessed of the same beauty and attractiveness as either of the above suggestions, to be yet supported by the strongest reason. And what is it? This, namely, that they are significant of those inventions and discoveries which the human hand and skill have rendered subservient to the accomplishment of both human and divine purposes; as, for example, the implements and engines of war, and specially the war-chariot, and still more particularly the *wheel;* for—

First of all, we find that the wheels were actually subordinated to the living creatures, and moved only as they moved; that the same spirit pervaded them; and that they went in the same directions; now it does not seem as if the same thing could be said of time, the heavens,[1] &c., &c.

Another reason for preferring this solution of the wheels, is the fact that God often threatens the nations with such implements and agencies

[1] This objection, however, would not apply to the revolutions and counter-revolutions of Providence itself.

of war, &c., and specially with the *wheel*. Thus, for example, Is. v. 26–30, He threatens the advent of a nation whose "horses' hoofs should be counted like flint and their wheels like a whirlwind," and so in many other places, as Jer. xlvii. 3; Ezek. xxiii. 24; xxvi. 10; Nah. iii. 2; Judges v. 28; Is. lxvi. 15–17; Is. xliii. 14–17; Jer. iv. 6; xiii. 31.

The same thing seems to be indicated by the fact that the wheels are not incorporated with the human form as other creatures are; but only so connected with them as to accompany them, and be subservient to their aims and pervaded by their spirit. They are not *in* the creatures, but placed close by them, רוח אל and under their immediate influence. Still, it is right to state here that no great weight can be laid on this circumstance, inasmuch as the same thing may be said of the clouds, tempest, fire, &c., Ezek. i. 4; and yet, we are persuaded, they also form necessary parts of this representation, Ps. xviii., l., xcvii.; Habak. iii. 3–16, and such like cherubic Psalms and representations, &c. But here it might be objected, that if the wheels are to be explained by the inventions and discoveries of the human hand, how do you explain their being full of eyes as well as the creatures? By the fact that all such implements and engines are not guided and directed except by human and creature eyes. They are men that drive and wield them; and they take their direction from the aims and purposes of the creatures, and may therefore be said to be full of eyes as well as guided by the same spirit.

Another reason which tends to confirm this opinion is the fact that the term אופן, which is predominatingly used of these wheels, Ezek. i. 15–21; x. 9–22, is almost always applied to the common chariot or waggon wheels; as will be seen from a comparison of the following passages, Ex. xiv. 25; 1 Kings vii. 30, 32, 33; Prov. xx. 26; Is. xxviii. 27: Nah. iii. 2; Prov. xxv. 11, which are all in which we have found it used.

(*To be concluded in our next Number.*)

FORMS OF PRAYER FOR PUBLIC SERVICE.[1]

An experiment has been lately attempted in this city respecting the method of celebrating public worship, which may, if not interfered with by the Church judicatories, lead to important consequences, to a certain extent. Dr Robert Lee is said on the re-opening of Old Greyfriars' Church, to have

[1] La Liturgie, ou, La Maniere de celebrer le Service Divine. Newchatel. 1799.
La Liturgie dans l'Eglise de Geneve. Geneve, 1828.
Liturgie dans les Eglises de Principauté de Montbelliard. Strasbourg. 1844.
A Book of Public Prayer, compiled from the authorised Formularies of Worship of the Presbyterian Church, as prepared by Calvin, Knox, Bucer, and others. New York: Scrivener.
A Chapter on Liturgies. By the Rev. Charles W. Baird. With Preface, &c. By the Rev. Thomas Binney. London: Knight & Son.
The Liturgy of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America. New York: Gray.
The People's Liturgy. Dundee: Park, Sinclair, & Co.
Spots on the Sun, or Thoughts for Presbyterians. Edinburgh: Jack.

deviated to a somewhat startling extent, from the accustomed manner of conducting the public worship of God in the sanctuary. Very plain and ungainly the ancient building of Old Greyfriars' was, nor has its exterior been susceptible of any considerable measure of improvement. But on entering, a somewhat novel spectacle is presented. With more or less taste, every window has been filled with stained glass. There are memorial windows commemorative of various eminent individuals, most of whom ministered within the building—through which a dim religious light penetrates upon what is considered to be one of the more intelligent congregations in our city. The galleries have been removed, and the pulpit has vanished—a platform of no great height, running instead along the east end of the church, which platform might bear, with little alteration, no small resemblance to an altar. In the centre of this platform, with a reading-desk before him, Dr R. Lee takes his place. The pews are so constructed, that if hassocks be placed in them, there is no hindrance to kneeling; while the elders have stalls arranged for them in front of the minister, and the choir have their place assigned them behind the congregation, who, we must further mention, are understood to stand while the singing proceeds. Nor is this the whole amount of alteration, if rumour be correct. The worship is conducted according to what is understood by the minister to be the *spirit* of the Directory of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The clergyman is said to read the prayers out of a book, and the people are alleged to be invited at the close of each branch of the petitions, to give their response, thus audibly expressing their concurrence with what has been uttered; while the service in the forenoon is understood to be almost wholly devotional—consisting of prayer, singing, and the reading of two chapters of Scripture, with merely a running commentary, and a few interjected remarks—the sermon, which has hitherto occupied so very prominent a place at each *diet* of Scottish worship, being reserved for the afternoon—an arrangement, we should have said, in the case of any one less able and well furnished with matter, than Dr R. Lee, undoubtedly affording nearly the whole amount of leisure and restricted composition which usually attaches to the enjoyment of a collegiate charge.

It is not our intention to enter at large into the question, whether extempore and unpremeditated prayer be preferable to a liturgical form, but only, from materials before us, to which restricted time prevents us from doing full justice, to furnish some specimens of forms, other than those contained in the English Book of Common Prayer, adopted by the Continental and American Presbyterian Churches. Regarding the changes made in the case above alluded to, we do not express any positive condemnation, though we cannot refrain from entertaining some doubt whether they deserve general countenance. It would, we fear, be next to impossible to conciliate for them the acquiescence of our country artisans and peasantry; since, be it right or wrong, they have learned to look upon such practices as being at variance with the simplicity of Presbyterian worship, and as a departure from the rigorous abstinence from what is comely or ornamental in the practice of which they have been matured. When we remember that in very many of our country districts, the *reading* of sermons is disliked, and the minister is con-

strained to the drudgery of painfully mandating every portion of his discourses, we can hardly expect toleration for the reading of *prayers*, however well composed, and though pervaded by a spirit of the deepest piety. Be it right or wrong, there are thousands of our communicants who would imagine under this, that they detected a shred of the Episcopal lawn, or that the expedient was had recourse to, in order to prove a cloak for the laziness of the clergyman.

Yet we own, that reform in the mode of conducting our services, if possible, might not be very inexpedient. The "*preachings*"—the "*hearing*" of so and so,—the manner in which the worship of the Almighty, which ought ever to be gravely and decently conducted, is too frequently compressed into a corner, that greater scope may be afforded for a sermon of extreme length, too often places the instruction, nay even the pandering to a false and vicious taste on the part of the hearers in the foreground; while in many congregations, from want of proper training and help, the only portion of the service in which the congregation can cordially take part, is miserably ill conducted. Then again, how frequently do we hear prayers which much more resemble the address of the minister to the hearers—the laboured repetition of every item of a reputed orthodox creed,—than the humble penitent communing of man with his Maker. To render the prayers offered in churches, more generally what they ought to be, some help might advantageously be provided, at least, for many a minister to use in his study; a help at once more definite and fuller, than is afforded in the "Directory," as yet our only authoritative guide; one of the provisions, however, in which, recommending the reading of two chapters of Scripture at each meeting for public worship, one from the Old and the other from the New Testament, or more of each, if the "coherence of the matter requireth," is with hardly a single exception, systematically neglected. The exhortations of man are thus placed above the reading of the holy Oracles. Churches are too often converted into scenes of rhetorical exhibition on the part of the minister, who has now-a-days little chance of esteem, unless he be an eloquent and fluent declaimer. The vacant parish thus often becomes the locale of a mere preaching match; in which the people sit in judgment, and wherein pictorial delineation and loudness of voice, with a due admixture of animal excitement, are likely to be esteemed far above a more sober, thoughtful, and unpretending style of discourse.

A variety of circumstances lead us to think, that the question regarding the propriety of using, to a certain extent, set forms of prayer in public worship—for the sake not only of avoiding these sins against good taste, and these burlesques of worship with which we are occasionally scandalised, is worthy of being entertained. That the employment of such forms is *unpresbyterian*, is an objection wholly grounded on ignorance; for the reformed churches on the Continent, without an exception, have their liturgies, or set forms of prayer; and Knox, whom Scottish Presbyterians so deservedly admire, himself compiled a "Book of Common Order," republished a good many years since by Dr Cumming of London, on whose judgment and good taste, we set very little store, and which we venture

to say, is for the most part wholly unfit for use in our times. The objection again of *formality* is equally unfounded. The publicly offered prayers of every minister, unless he adhere to an almost stereotyped arrangement of thoughts and phrases, must be a form to his congregation. If varied, this part of the service frequently becomes an exercise of intellect on his part, an effort of fixed attention not very favourable to the calmness of chastened devotion on theirs; while, whatever may be said as to the advantage and superiority of free prayer at less formal meetings or in the family, while the wants of the latter vary, the great topics to be embraced in public sanctuary prayer, are fixed and definite, requiring hardly any addition, excepting on extraordinary epochs or emergencies.

In thus expressing our opinion, we cannot say that such help is to be in the main, or to any large extent derived from the liturgy of the Church of England, in its present shape, styled though it be by many of her sons as "incomparable," and as "all but inspired." We know, indeed, that the devout Hooker exclaimed on his death-bed, "Give me the prayers of my mother the Church,—there are none like her's;" we admit the beauty of many of the incidental parts, but we object to the "vain repetitions" in other portions caused by the conjoining into the morning service of devotions which were intended to be kept apart—to the superstitious rites that it seems occasionally to countenance, and to the blemishes attaching alike to its baptismal and burial services,—to the exceeding brevity of not a few of the prayers, still shorter as contrasted with the length of the opening preface,—and to the reading over of the psalms without discrimination, by minister and people alternately. We object to the manner in which the Scripture Lessons have been selected: we can see no reason for the change of dress, or for the "bowing at the name of Jesus," except on the score of the antiquity of the practice; to the turning to the east, which in many quarters assures us that we shall encounter a poor mimicry of medieval devotion. We object to kneel before a communion table, especially if called an altar, knowing that this is contrary to the most ancient practice, and is at variance with the spirit of the institution; as decidedly as we protest against the practice of the Geneva Church, in this respect, with her people marching round to partake of the elements of bread and wine; but we admire her pathetic and striking litany and not a few of her prayers. We think that a definite service for the administration of the Sacraments, alike of Baptism, and of the Lord's Supper, is desirable in our Church. Let us have a fixed form of invitation and caution, before taking part in the solemn rite, together with forms for baptism, marriage, and burial. It is right so far, that the accents of lowly contrite believing prayer, should be poured forth in the house of mourning; but why, when circumstances permit, should not this service—and we would think it would be better to have that of marriage also—be performed in the church, or by the grave, that thus, in extreme aversion to practices that *may* have been abused, we shall no longer heap the mould and turf above the inanimate form, as if the task should be got over as speedily as possible, and the poor remains of mortality having been summarily disposed of, the mourners were panting again to return to their every day occupation.

While making the above remarks, we are quite willing to admit that the whole resolves itself, in no small degree, into a question of expediency —Scripture at least pronouncing no clear opinion in favour of devotional forms. Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that without ability to conduct the prayer of a congregation, no minister is fitted for the work of preaching, and that if we consult the early writers, *e.g.* if we look into Justin Martyr's description of the worship of the second century, we find him saying that "the president or officiating minister offers up prayer and thanksgiving—ὅση δυναμις αυτῳ—according to his ability," which does not seem to imply that his prayer consisted in the repetition of a customary form, no mental exertion in that case being required: while of a similar nature is Tertullian's observation, "*Sine monitore, quia de pictore oramus.*"

On this subject, and as stating in an interesting manner both sides of the question, we may quote what follows from the appendix to the work of Mr Baird, edited by Mr Binney of London. The appendix is in the form of a dialogue between several interlocutors; the question under discussion being "shall dissenters have a liturgy?" The first is rather a lengthened passage, but is full of matter for reflection:—

"Half truths are often as dangerous as whole errors. You can conclude nothing from Paul's conduct in a Jewish synagogue, as to what he sanctioned in the Christian assemblies of the Church. Even in the synagogue, however, (as in Antioch in Pisidia,) he first joined in the order of service, which, I suppose would be in great part Liturgical. The worship ended, he addressed the assembly; and of course had to argue, and demonstrate, and appeal to the understanding, because he was the advocate and apostle of the new Faith. Preaching, and such preaching, was absolutely necessary to the introduction and establishment of the new interpretation of the Prophets, and the new form of truth which he was commissioned to make known. In such circumstances, too, the conduct of the Bereans was appropriate and praiseworthy; it was fitting in men who heard something for the first time, and heard it with wonder and doubt. When, however, *Christian believers* came together,—when they met, *as such*, and for *worship*,—it is not to be supposed that Paul's preaching would be like that in the synagogue, or that the much-lauded Berean spirit would be proper then. Christians met with mutual and entire faith in the common salvation, to hear something for edification and comfort, and to join in exercises which would afford utterance to their new life. You can gather very little from the New Testament as to the way in which the worship of the Christian church was conducted. In some places there was evidently a good deal of disorder, which I suppose you would not imitate. Not seldom, perhaps, a church was mainly 'taught' and 'admonished' by 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs,' which you *might* imitate, but won't. In quiet and well-ordered assemblies, even in the Apostolic age, I am not sure that worship might not soon take a well-understood form;—nature and necessity would not only favour this, but old associations, the precedents alike of temple and synagogue, would contribute to it. There was always, I believe, on the first day of the week, 'the breaking of bread;' this, I can imagine, was the great object for which the Church met, its high service,—and the address or exhortation of the bishop or presbyter would be a very simple and spiritual affair. Paul, on one such occasion, preaching till midnight, is not a precedent having in it the nature of fixed law; neither is his example this, when, a few days afterwards, he kneeled down on the sea-shore and prayed with his friends. You

can no more establish from the one fact the sinfulness of reading a sermon, or of ending a Sunday evening service before twelve o'clock, than you can draw from the other an inference against forms of prayer. I believe in free prayer, and free preaching too, as much as you do; and in circumstances similar to Paul's Christians, the world over and throughout all time, will be ready, I doubt not, to preach and pray as he did; but it does not follow, that in no *other* circumstances, and at *no* time, can any different mode of either praying or preaching be allowed;—neither does it follow that there was nothing else any where, in the Apostolic age, among all the assemblies of the saints. I have sometimes thought that that glorious choral hymn in the fifth chapter of Revelation, though represented as sung in Heaven, might be but the reverberation, so to speak, of what was habitually heard in the Church on earth. That early statement, too, of Christian customs, which we have in Pliny's letter to Trajan, is very remarkable. Lardner refers the letter to the year 108, and translates the words I particularly refer to—'they (the Christians) affirmed . . . . that they were wont to meet together, ... and sing among themselves ALTERNATELY a hymn to Christ.' The service alluded to was no doubt the Eucharist, the primitive breaking of bread; and the word '*invicem*' cannot mean less, I suppose, than something *antiphonal* in the mode of conducting some part of the service. This, however, would imply the use of a fixed form, as, without this, such alternate singing would be impracticable. I am well aware that you may say, in reply, that this proves nothing as to forms of *prayer;* and you may refer to the worship of the second century, and to Justin Martyr, who says that the bishop offered prayers and thanksgivings, before the Eucharist, 'in the best way he could.' I am not careful to go into these matters. I have no question with you as to there being free prayer in the primitive church, and that there should everywhere be free prayer still; all I assert is, that I believe there was a tendency from the very first to some fixed form of service. I think that prayer would come to be affected by this, and might be so without sin. An Apostolic Liturgy, the basis of all others, as some fondly dream, is, as I think, altogether out of the question; but I can admit the probability of a great many early unwritten Liturgies, different churches falling into regular forms of service, which the people could go through without book, especially when such books were perilous possessions; and though when liturgies were reduced to writing they became more and more monstrous and unnatural, as may be seen by anybody in Neale's History of the Eastern Church, and similar works, yet I am not sure that we do not lose something by repudiating liturgical services altogether. To return, however, to the Apostolic age. I was saying that the brethren met together to break bread, and that then, I thought, the address of the bishop would be a very simple and spiritual exhortation. At other times there was the preaching of the gospel, properly so called, to the unconverted; and in certain circumstances, in the Church itself, there was bold, argumentative defence of the truth, and exposition of it, for the instruction of the faithful and their protection against error. But these things are different from Christian worship as such, and as it would be conducted by a number of simple Christian men met together in unity of spirit and in the bond of peace. I am well aware that we can hardly draw a parallel between our great public mixed congregations, and a select society of primitive believers; but I am strongly inclined to think that on the mornings of the Lord's day we should exclusively regard the Church, spiritual persons, whether communicants or not,—that we should conduct everything as if none other were present,—give peculiar prominence to worship, to Scripture, prayer, and 'the service of song;' and be content with a short, calm, yet earnest exhortation,—the Christian heart, in the officiating minister, uttering itself, in a

few pregnant, heavenly words, directly to the heart, the Christian consciousness, of the assembled Church. On other parts of the day, to meet the state of other classes of persons, I would have worship to be less full, less rich, and less prominent; and I would have some one with gifts specially adapted to the task, to bring the powers and forces of his intellect to the work of *preaching*, in its various forms of declaring the gospel, expounding truth, combating error, reproving sin, handling even politics, literature, science, speaking to the age in its own language and on its own topics,—and so flashing the light of the Church on all the outlying and surrounding world.

But all Churches are one sided. We take our models from one aspect of things, or from things fitted for particular epochs. The faith was at first to be propagated by preaching, and grand reformations and changes in the Church have always been effected by the same instrumentality. Apostles and Reformers, in this one aspect of their power, have thus come to furnish to some communities the exclusive type of the ministerial function. The modern minister is to be a preacher; a Luther thundering against abuses, or a Whitefield converting multitudes,—people are to assemble to *hear*,—but the worship of the faithful, who neither need to be converted nor reformed, has been lost sight of! Other communities, again, treating the world as if it were the Church, and applying to assemblies of the ignorant and ungodly laws and rules which belong only to spiritual fraternities, make worship everything, in spite of the inherant spiritual incapacity of the multitude for it. In the same way, they make preaching nothing!—They thus delude and betray, where they ought to teach, to enlighten, and to convert; they prostitute, so to speak, all that is sacred in Divine service by making it common—without explanation and without reserve—to worldly crowds! As to your idea of keeping to the 'pattern' of the Apostolic age, you don't do it. You take a part of the pattern, and talk about it as if it were the whole; and you do many things for which you have no pattern at all, or which are palpable modern deviations from it. You never can make the system of one individual minister in a church,—he, too, a preacher, and little else,—square with the fact of the plurality of elders in the first churches. So of ordination services, and other things, as too commonly practised amongst us. The communion of saints, the worship of the church, service and sacrament devoted to simple godly edification, are not much to be met with anywhere, especially in the neighbourhood of popular preachers and gazing crowds. The modern preacher is very often too much of a lecturer, and the chapel or church is too much regarded and attended as a lecture-room. Some of our reformers advocate, I believe, the removal of the pulpit,—not to make way for the more emphatic discharge of praise and prayer, (that I could understand,)—but to substitute a platform, and to invite discussion, and thus to turn the meetings of God's priesthood, the Christian people, when they should come together to worship, into something like those of a debating society! All my religious instincts and sensibilities are lacerated and outraged by such an idea! There are times and places, proper enough, for logical disputation, or other forms of mental exercise; but do let us have both the one and the other for meeting as Christians, to feel and act as if the Bible needed no commentary, as if the Gospel had never been doubted, or the institutions of the Church misunderstood. But all reformers depend on the intellect,—on argument, agitation, eloquent discourse, and so on,—and they lose sight of the other half of things, the repose of faith and the luxury of devotion. What I want is, to see the church fully up to its *entire* duty,—that it should understand its *whole* character. I wish it, at stated times to give full prominence to what concerns itself—that with which the world can have little sympathy; and at other times 'to hold forth

the word of life,' to let preaching have full play; when, if the man have it in him, his sermons may be distinguished by the passion of Peter, the logic of Paul, and the eloquence of Apollos. Now, in strictly and purely *Church* worship, I am not sure that you would not come near to the practices of Apostolic times if you had a regular form of service in which the people should have their allotted part;—if it were only their repetition of the Lord's Prayer, or their uniting in a loud 'Amen.' As to your saying, that by a form of prayer externally brought to you by another you cannot pray, you condemn yourself,—so far, at least, as to prove that in public you never pray at all, *except when you yourself officiate.* For, if ever a form of prayer, made by another, is externally brought to you for you to pray with, this is most certainly the case when you have to listen to a prayer made at the moment with the idea of your joining in it. To *you* in the pew, the free prayer of the pulpit is a form; and you must excuse my thinking that it comes to you in a way less fitted for your utterance of 'the soul's desire' than if one was used with which you were familiar. The fact really is, that the question about public forms of prayer resolves itself into this,—not whether a form is to be employed, (for *the people* literally can have nothing else;) but whether it is to be one prepared beforehand, or one composed for them at the moment."

The opposite side of the question is argued as follows:—

"He that teaches religion must *have* religion;—that, you know, is the essential condition to a man's being a minister. In the same way, he that has to lead the prayers of others must be filled with the spirit of prayer himself, whether he pray with a Liturgy or without one. I will not deny that I have sometimes enjoyed the Liturgical service of the Church of England; but I have also, I must affirm, been as much disturbed by the way in which that Liturgy has been read, as ever I was with the worst specimens of extemporary prayer. But besides this, I object to your *theory* of public prayer. It is, I think, imperfect and unspiritual. I don't admit that the only idea of public devotion is that of the people *actually praying*,—offering up, *in words*, as their own, every petition presented to God. There is that *spirit* of prayer of which you speak,—a spirit which is not always *brought* to the house of God even by the best and holiest of men. Public prayer is to *excite* this as well as to express it, or to aid its expression. Now, I do maintain that where the minister is what he ought to be, there is more likelihood of his *exciting* devotion by free prayer than by the use of familiar forms, however unexceptionable and excellent in themselves. I have heard prayers which have gradually kindled, elevated, and enlarged the souls of the wrapt yet subdued people, by their solemnity and richness, in a way which was utterly indescribable, but which no Liturgy that was ever framed could possibly effect! The heart has been touched and softened; all sorts of emotion called forth; the truths of the common faith, implied in every sentence, have been brought before the mind with luminous clearness, and made to act with a penetrating power; penitence, faith, hope, joy, with all other corresponding sentiments, have been evoked and sustained; the invisible has been revealed; the world has disappeared; the presence of 'the Comforter' has seemed a consciously felt reality! Such seasons are 'times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord,' when the assembled Church feels 'the powers of the world to come.' Every man with the slightest spark of Christian life in him feels bettered, enriched, purified, exalted;—he is humbler, stronger;—more loving, more holy, more joyous;—'filled' by a Divine blessedness, 'with' or 'unto,' 'all the fulness of God!' Yet, with all this, few or none might be conscious of *directly offering up prayer*,—offering, I mean, *the words* of any one of the petitions uttered,—or of *literally*

uniting in, by actually repeating, what they heard of adoration, contrition, confidence, or joy. *You* would say that they did not pray, or that they did not join in prayer with the minister and with each other,—that they only listened to another praying. *I* say that *their whole spiritual nature prayed;* their souls were a living sacrifice; they themselves were a petition,—presenting and constituting such prayer as you read of when it is said, 'The spirit maketh intercession in us' in a manner that 'cannot be uttered.' Depend upon it, 'He that knoweth the mind of the Spirit,' and who can do for us 'above what we can either ask or think,' does not regard as insignificant or worthless such prayers as these,—these which are inward, living thoughts,—thoughts and things which are unuttered because they are unutterable,—'a meditation of the heart,' which 'the words of the lip' cannot express; but things, nevertheless, which have a voice and meaning in them understood by 'Him with whom we have to do,'—who can interpret what He sees within us, translating, as it were, the dumb and the inarticulate into a language far more expressive, copious, and exact than man or angel ever knew,—to whom the 'groanings' of Humanity may not only be as acceptable, but in whose ear they may be as sweet and as harmonious, as the song of sinless intelligence and the symphonies of the upper world!

Fenwicke. It would ill become any of us, my dear friend, to doubt the truth of what you have said, or to question the sincerity with which you have spoken. We could all, I believe, bear witness to such seasons as those you have described:—seasons, however, you will permit me to say, which are not common; which require for their occurrence not only men of a peculiar order of mind, and of deep spiritual experience, but also certain favourable impulses, a felicitous spiritual condition of things at the moment, in the men themselves. You have set before us what is undoubtedly true; but it is something *exceptional.* Few men can realize it; and in those who can, it can only occur occasionally. Now, might not something be said of like sort with respect to the influence of liturgical forms? In the hands of some men,—or, at particular times, in the hands of the same man,—may not a similar effect to what you have described, as to the excitement to devotion, be produced by a Liturgy; while, at other times, and in other hands, it might be as distracting, deadening, and unproductive as the meaner forms of free prayer?"——

Both Luther and Calvin, it is well known, framed for the churches founded by them a form of public service,—Luther's "German Mass," (so he called it) being published in 1526, while previously, in 1523, he published a work entitled "Of the Order of the service of the Congregation." The instructions for the daily morning service, follow very nearly the supposed manner of worship in the Jewish synagogue, the reading and expounding of the word, by a scholar or a minister, followed by psalms and responsaria, the whole service not to exceed one hour's duration. In accordance with Luther's views, the Reformed Churches of Northern Europe drew up liturgies for themselves, which have been, at intervals since then, changed and modified as circumstances appeared to render this desirable. Calvin entertained similar opinions, though his liturgical forms embraced no opportunity of response being made by the congregation, the prayers, as is still the case in the Church of Geneva, being read from the pulpit by the minister, probably more in the form of an aid, while a considerable portion of the service was left to be conducted according to his discretion. The service commences with a general confession, nearly the

same as that introduced by Knox, the confession being followed by a psalm, after which the "minister is again to engage in prayer, begging God to grant the gift of the Holy Spirit, that His Word may be faithfully explained." The sermon succeeds, and is followed by an exhortation to the people to pray, preceding a somewhat lengthened form. Next comes the Apostles' Creed, the whole being concluded by the Benediction. The Geneva Liturgy as now used, contains a variety of additional forms, besides a distinct service for each day of the week, and for various festivals, such as New Year's Day, the Anniversary of the restoration of the Republic, &c.

We extract from Mr Baird's work, which is well worthy of our readers' attention, the following account of Calvin's Liturgy:—

"Calvin's form of worship is distinguished by a plain and logical structure. The several acts of devotion follow in progressive series, commencing with those which are more primary and preparative, and culminating in the highest exercises of adoration and faith. This systematic character places it in marked contrast with other formularies, taken from the old mass-books; the proper order and connection of whose parts it is sometimes difficult for a mind not educated in their use to discover.

"In Calvin's service for the morning of the LORD'S Day, the reading of a portion of the Holy Scriptures, with the Ten Commandments, is made introductory to the prayers. When this reading performed by a clerk, is finished, the minister enters the desk, and begins with a sentence of invocation; then calling the people to accompany him in prayer, he proceeds to the confession of sins, and supplication for grace. This ended, the congregation unite in praise, singing one of the Psalms of David. Then, the minister having prayed again, invoking the Divine favour, begins the sermon. This exercise being a spiritual instruction, forms part of the service of Divine worship, and prepares the way for the prayer of intercession which follows it, and which is the longest of these forms; and the whole is terminated, unless the Communion be administered, with the LORD'S Prayer, the Creed, and the Benediction.

"Respecting the degree of strictness with which these forms of worship should be observed, Calvin's design evidently was, that no deviation be allowed from those parts which are *prescribed*. 'As to what concerns a form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites,' says he in a letter to the Protector Somerset, 'I highly approve of it that there be a certain form, from which the ministers be not allowed to vary: That first, some provision be made to help the simplicity and unskilfulness of some; secondly, that the consent and harmony of the Churches one with another may appear; and lastly, that the capricious giddiness and levity of such as affect innovations may be prevented. To which end I have showed that a Catechism will be very useful. Therefore there ought to be a stated Catechism, a stated form of prayer, and administration of the sacraments.'

"For voluntary and extemporaneous prayer, Calvin made special provision. The prayer before sermon in the service for the LORD'S Day, is left to the minister's choice; and all other services of public prayer, whether on week-days or on the afternoon of the Sabbath, are unrestricted and free. At such times, the preacher is to use 'such words in prayer as may seem to him good, suiting his prayer to the occasion, and the matter whereof he treats.' Only in those general supplications, which from their nature must be uniform, as they express common wants and desires, the reformer required a close adherence to the public formularies of the Church. This union of free prayer with the rigid use of a Liturgy, was the marked and peculiar

excellence of the Genevan worship. . . . . The simplicity upon which this ritual was framed, pervaded also the manner of its celebration. The churches of Geneva had been stripped of all their ancient garniture; no symbol of worship remained except the Cross, which for some years was suffered to stand on the towers of the churches. The altar was replaced by a Communion-table; the baptismal fonts were at first removed, though afterwards restored; the prayers were said, and the Bible read from the pulpit. Instead of variegated vestments, the garb of the ministers was the plain black robe with embroidered lappets, the bands, and the black velvet cap, which were afterwards commonly worn for many years by the Calvinistic clergy of France, Holland, and Scotland.

"The posture of the people during prayer seems, in the early days of the Reformation, to have been that of kneeling. We infer as much from the remark of Calvin quoted on a preceding page, respecting the introduction of a form of absolution. The fact is indicated also by a canon of the Book of Discipline of the French churches, adopted in 1559. . . . . .

"While thus providing for the office of prayer, our Reformer introduced also the regular practice of congregational singing. To him we are all indebted for this feature of Divine worship, which was directly copied from the Church of Geneva into the Scottish and Anglican services. At his suggestion it was that Clement Marot and Theodore Beza translated the Psalms of David into French verse, and set them to simple and appropriate airs. A volume containing some portion of these psalms made its appearance at Geneva, with a preface by Calvin, in 1543; but the collection was not completed before the year 1561.

"In a survey of the Calvinistic worship, this interesting feature of Psalmody must not be omitted. It belongs peculiarly and characteristically to that worship. The Reformers of Switzerland and Scotland did not, as we often hear, deprive their ritual of a responsive and popular character. They did no more than separate the functions of minister and people into the distinct duties of reading and singing. The Psalms are the responsive part of Calvin's Liturgy. These choral services embodied the acts of adoration, praise, and thanksgiving, which are scarcely noticed in the forms of prayer; while in the latter, the offices of intercession, supplication, and teaching were assigned to the minister alone. The prayers by constant use made familiar to the people, were to be followed silently or in subdued tones; the psalms and hymns constituted their audible utterance in the sacred ministrations.

"This portion of Divine service was taken from the Roman Catholic Church, where it had been preserved from the Jewish and early Christian worship. Nor did our Reformers reject those other ancient Hymns which for ages had been closely united with the Psalms in public devotion. The *Te Deum*, the *Song of Simeon*, the *Magnificat*, were likewise transferred in a metrical shape to the Protestant ritual. None of these, perhaps, has been more frequently and heartily used, in the solemnities of the Church and in private acts of praise, than the sublime hymn of Ambrose and Augustine. . . . . .

"For the frequency of public services of worship, Calvin made abundant provision in the Churches of Geneva. Prayers with sermon were said on every day of the week. On the Sabbath there were three services, one of which was for catechetical instruction. On Monday, Tuesday, and Friday there was a service at the cathedral, to be attended by all the magistrates of the city. On Thursday took place the weekly expository exercise, called the '*Congregation*,' the object of which was 'to uphold the purity of the clergy, whether of the city or of the country. At this meeting, every minister was to discourse in his turn on the portion of Scripture appointed for

the day. After the sermon, the ministers were to withdraw and make their remarks especially on the preacher. If any controversy arose on matters of doctrine, they were to employ their best endeavours to preserve union; and if they failed in this, the elders of the church were to give their opinion on the subject, and strive to restore peace.' This expository service was imitated, as we shall see, in Scotland, and thence transferred to the Church of England. Magistrates, soldiers, and people were alike required to attend these week-day services. The students of the academy or university founded by Calvin were to be present at Divine worship every Wednesday in the cathedral, as well as three times on the Sabbath. The city garrison, by a later regulation, were directed to attend prayers twice every day. And here let us observe, in passing, one of those beautiful customs that belong peculiarly to the religious times of which we speak. At every gate of the city, a soldier knelt down and repeated aloud a prayer, before the portal was closed at night, and before it was opened in the morning. Truly, with such habits of devotion, and such facilities for the spiritual culture of its people, Geneva deserved the eulogy of Knox, when he called it 'The most perfect school of CHRIST that ever was on earth.' 'GOD hath made of Geneva,' says an old writer, 'His Bethlehem; that is to say, His *house of bread.*'"

Our readers may be curious to look at this form for themselves.

"THE FORM OF CHURCH PRAYERS.

"*On week-days the minister useth such words in prayer as may seem to him good, suiting his prayer to the occasion, and the matter whereof he treats in preaching.*

For the Lord's day in the morning is commonly used the Form ensuing. After the reading of the appointed chapters of Holy Scripture, the Ten Commandments are read. Then the minister begins thus:

INVOCATION.

Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth. Amen.

EXHORTATION.

Brethren, let each of you present himself before the LORD, with confession of his sins and offences, following in heart my words.

CONFESSION.

Lord GOD! Eternal and Almighty Father: We acknowledge and confess before thy holy majesty, that we are poor sinners; conceived and born in guilt and in corruption, prone to do evil, unable of ourselves to do any good; who, by reason of our depravity, transgress without end thy holy commandments. Therefore we have drawn upon ourselves, by thy just sentence, condemnation and death. But, O LORD! with heartfelt sorrow we repent and deplore our offences! we condemn ourselves and our evil ways, with true penitence beseeching that thy grace may relieve our distress.

Be pleased then to have compassion upon us, O most gracious GOD! Father of all mercies; for the sake of thy Son JESUS CHRIST our Lord. And in removing our guilt and our pollution, grant us the daily increase of the grace of thine Holy Spirit; that acknowledging from our inmost hearts our own unrighteousness, we may be touched with sorrow that shall work true repentance; and that thy Spirit, mortifying all sin within us may produce the fruits of holiness and of righteousness well-pleasing in thy sight: Through JESUS CHRIST our Lord. Amen.

This done, shall be sung in the congregation a Psalm; then the minister shall begin afresh to pray, asking of GOD *the grace of his Holy Spirit, to the end that his word may be faithfully expounded, to the honour of his name, and*

to the edification of the church; and that it be received in such humility and obedience as are becoming.

The form thereof is at the discretion of the minister.

[*Prayer which the ministers are accustomed to make.*]

FOR ILLUMINATION.

Most gracious God, our heavenly Father! in whom alone dwelleth all fulness of light and wisdom: Illuminate our minds, we beseech thee, by thine Holy Spirit, in the true understanding of thy word. Give us grace that we may receive it with reverence and humility unfeigned. May it lead us to put our whole trust in thee alone; and so to serve and honour thee; that we may glorify thy holy name, and edify our neighbours by a good example. And since it hath pleased thee to number us among thy people: O help us to pay thee the love and homage that we owe, as children to our Father, and as servants to our Lord. We ask this for the sake of our Master and Saviour, who hath taught us to pray, saying: Our Father, &c.

At the end of the sermon, the minister having made exhortation to prayer, beginneth thus:

INTERCESSION.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father! who hast promised to grant our requests in the name of thy well-beloved Son: Thou hast taught us in his name also to assemble ourselves together, assured that he shall be present in our midst, to intercede for us with thee, and obtain for us all things that we may agree on earth to ask thee. Wherefore, having met in thy presence, dependant on thy promise, we earnestly beseech thee, O gracious God and Father! for his sake who is our only Saviour and Mediator, that of thy boundless mercy thou wilt freely pardon our offences; and so lift up our thoughts and draw forth our desires toward thyself, that we may seek thee according to thy holy and reasonable will.

FOR RULERS.

Heavenly Father! who hast bidden us pray for those in authority over us: We entreat thee to bless all princes and governors, thy servants, to whom thou hast committed the administration of justice; and especially * * * May it please thee to grant them the daily increase of thy good Spirit, that with true faith acknowledging Jesus Christ, thy Son our Saviour, to be King of kings and Lord of lords, unto whom thou hast given all power in heaven and on earth: they may seek to serve thee and exalt thy rule in their dominions. May they govern their subjects, the creatures of thy hand and the sheep of thy pasture, in a manner well pleasing in thy sight; so that as well here as throughout all the earth, thy people, being kept in peace and quiet, may serve thee in all godliness and honesty; and we, being delivered from the fear of our enemies, may pass the time of our life in thy praise.

FOR PASTORS.

Almighty Saviour! we pray for all whom thou hast appointed pastors of thy believing people, who are intrusted with the care of souls and the dispensing of thy holy Gospel. Guide them by thy Spirit, and make them faithful and loyal ministers of thy glory. May they ever hold this end before them: that by them, all poor wandering sheep may be gathered in and made subject to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, and in him daily grow up and increase in all righteousness and truth. Deliver thy churches from the mouth of ravenous wolves and hirelings, who seek only their own ambition or profit, and not the exaltation of thy holy name, and the safety of thy flock.

FOR ALL CONDITIONS OF MEN.

Most gracious God, Father of all mercies: We beseech thee for every

class and condition of our fellow-men. Thou who wouldst be acknowledged as the Saviour of all mankind, in the redemption made by thy Son JESUS CHRIST: Grant that such as are yet strangers to thy knowledge, in darkness and captivity to ignorance and error, may, by the enlightening of thy Spirit and the preaching to thy word be led into the right way of salvation; which is to know thee, the only true GOD, and JESUS CHRIST, whom thou hast sent. May those whom thou hast already visited with thy grace, and enlightened with the knowledge of thy word, grow daily in all godliness, and be enriched with thy spiritual gifts. So that we all with one heart and one voice, may ever praise thee, giving honour and worship to thy CHRIST, our Lord, Lawgiver and King.

FOR AFFLICTED PERSONS.

GOD of all comfort! We commend to thee those whom thou art pleased to visit and chasten with any cross or tribulation; the nations whom thou dost afflict with pestilence, war, or famine; all persons oppressed with poverty, imprisonment, sickness, banishment, or any other distress of body or sorrow of mind: That it may please thee to show them thy fatherly kindness, chastening them for their profit; to the end that in their hearts they may turn unto thee, and being converted, may receive perfect consolation, and deliverance from all their woes.

FOR PERSECUTED CHRISTIANS.

More especially we commend to thee our poor brethren scattered abroad under the tyranny of Antichrist, who are destitute of the pasture of life, and deprived of the privilege of publicly calling on thy holy name. We pray for those who are confined as prisoners, or otherwise persecuted by the enimies of thy Gospel. May it please thee, O Father of mercies! to strengthen them by the virtue of thy Spirit, in such sort that they faint not, but constantly abide in thy holy calling. Succour them, help them as thou knowest they may need; console them in their afflictions; maintain them in thy safe keeping; defend them against the rage of devouring wolves; and augment within them all the graces of thy Spirit, that whether in life or death, they may glorify thy name.

FOR THE CONGREGATION.

Finally, O GOD our Father! Grant also unto us, who are here gathered in the name of thy holy Child JESUS, to hear his word [and to celebrate his holy Supper], that we may rightly and unfeignedly perceive our lost estate by nature, and the condemnation we have deserved and heaped up to ourselves by disobedient lives. So that conscious that in ourselves there dwelleth no good thing, and that our flesh and blood cannot inherit thy kingdom, with our whole affections we may give ourselves up in firm trust to thy beloved Son, JESUS CHRIST our Lord, our only Saviour and Redeemer. And that he dwelling in us, may mortify within us the old Adam, renewing us for that better life, wherein we shall exalt and glorify thy blessed and worthy name, ever, world without end. Amen.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name: Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven: Give us this day our daily bread: And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors: And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory for ever. Amen.

THE CREED.

Lord, increase our faith.

I believe in GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in JESUS CHRIST, his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy

Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

THE BLESSING.

Which is pronounced at the departure of the people, according as our Lord hath commanded in the Law,—Numb. vi. 23.

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee;
The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee;
The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

Whereunto is added, to remind the people of the duty of alms-giving, as it is customary upon leaving the church,

Depart in peace. Remember the poor; and the God of peace be with you. Amen."

We have now upon our table a great variety, more especially of foreign liturgical forms, all more or less based on similar principles; but as we have alluded to the propriety and utility of having services adapted to special occasions, we shall give a specimen or two of these services as contained in the Liturgy of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of North America. Our first extract is from the "Form for the Administration of the Lord's Supper." We pass over the introductory exhortation, which is an excellent one, but too lengthy for our pages, and quote the actual service, which begins by the following prayer:—

"Let us humble ourselves before God, and with true faith implore his grace.

"O most merciful God and Father! we beseech thee that in this Supper, in which we celebrate the glorious remembrance of the bitter death of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, thou wilt so work in our hearts by thy Holy Spirit; That we, with true confidence, may more and more give ourselves up unto thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, so that our burdened and fainting hearts may, through the power of the Holy Ghost, be fed and refreshed with his true body and blood—yea, with himself, true God and man, that only heavenly bread: That we may henceforth live, not in our sins, but he in us and we in him, and thus be true partakers of the new and everlasting covenant of grace; and that we may not doubt that thou wilt for ever be our gracious Father, never more imputing our sins unto us, and providing us, as thy beloved children and heirs, with all things necessary as well for the body as the soul.

"Grant us also thy grace, that we may cheerfully take upon us our cross, deny ourselves, confess our Saviour, and in all tribulations, with uplifted heads, expect our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven, where he will make our mortal bodies like unto his most glorious body, and take us to be for ever with himself. And wilt thou also, by this holy Supper, strengthen us in the Catholic undoubted Christian faith, whereof we make confession with our mouths and hearts, saying:[1]

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost,

[1] "It is recommended that the ancient custom of repeating the creed audibly, by the communicants, be restored.

born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, he descended into hell: the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body;[1] *and the life everlasting.* Amen.

That we may now be fed with the true heavenly bread, Christ Jesus, let us not cleave with our hearts unto the external bread and wine, but lift them up on high to heaven, where Christ Jesus is our Advocate at the right hand of his Father, whither all the articles of our faith do lead us; not doubting, that, through the working of the Holy Ghost, we shall be fed and refreshed with his body and blood, as surely as we receive the holy bread and wine in remembrance of him.

Hereto assist us, the Almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, hrough his Holy Spirit. *Amen.*

In breaking and distributing the bread, the minister shall say:

The bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ.

And when he giveth the cup:

The cup of blessing, which we bless, is the communion of the blood of Christ.

During the communion a psalm may be devoutly sung, or a chapter may be read, in remembrance of the death of Christ, as the 53d chapter of Isaiah, the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th chapters of John, or the like.

After the communion the minister shall say:

Beloved in the Lord, since the Lord hath now fed our souls at his table, let us therefore jointly praise his holy name with thanksgiving, and every one say in heart, thus:

Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name.

Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.

Who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases.

Who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who crowneth thee with lovingkindness and tender mercies.

The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy.

He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities.

For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy towards them that fear him.

As far as the East is from the West, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us.

Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.

Who hath not spared his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, and given us all things with him. Therefore God commendeth therewith his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us; much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him: for if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled we shall be saved by his life. Therefore shall my mouth and heart show forth the praise of the Lord from this time forth for evermore. *Amen.*

Let every one say with an attentive heart:

O Almighty and merciful God and Father! with our whole hearts we thank thee, that thou hast of thy boundless mercy, given us thine only-

[1] "That is *flesh*, which is the term in the original Greek, the Dutch, from which we translate, and in all other versions of the Creed."

begotten Son, to be our Mediator, and the sacrifice for our sins, and our meat and drink unto life eternal; and that thou also givest us lively faith, whereby we are made partakers of these thy benefits. It hath also pleased thee, in order to confirm this faith within us, that thy beloved Son Jesus Christ should ordain his Holy Supper; grant, then, we beseech thee, O faithful God and Father, that this remembrance of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this showing forth of his death, may, by the working of thy Holy Spirit, secure our daily growth in the faith of Christ, and in his saving fellowship, through Jesus Christ thy Son, in whose name we conclude our prayers, saying—OUR FATHER, &c.

BENEDICTION.

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*"

We fear that we have already trespassed at too great length upon the patience of our readers. We may possibly, however, recur to the subject, and give some farther liturgical specimens upon a future occasion. Meanwhile we wish to direct special attention to the circular so largely distributed with a view of attracting the notice of the clergy and influential members of the Church, by an attached and excellent member of our communion, Dr Smith of this city. We delight to find laymen of enlarged and liberal views coming forward on such subjects, and showing their deep interest in the welfare of our national Zion; and we strongly sympathise with the desire so forcibly and justly expressed, that some manual, such as he specifies, should be prepared for the use of our emigrant brethren, our colonists who have not the advantage of a stated ministry, and the many of our people at home whom unavoidable circumstances at times preclude from joining in the worship of the sanctuary. It is only fair to Dr Smith that his views should again be brought under public notice in our pages:—

"No one can read the details from the Colonies in our *Missionary Record*, without lamenting the destitute condition of our brethren in respect to the privileges and enjoyment of Gospel ordinances. In many churches in our North American colonies, there have been no services for a series of years, from the want of ministers. In these trying circumstances, the people have earnestly and repeatedly appealed to the General Assembly to supply this want, and have at the same time petitioned to be provided with a Book of Devotion, as a great help in the absence of the public Services of the Church. It is gratifying to know that these appeals are now meeting with attention; several missionaries having been lately sent out, through the indefatigable exertions of Dr Fowler, and the other members of the Colonial Committee. The Committee which has been long in existence for the preparation of a suitable Manual of Devotion, and of which you are now the Convener, will meet with much encouragement from the Synod of Aberdeen, who, on the subject being lately brought before them, unanimously agreed to overture the General Assembly, 'to prosecute with all diligence and earnestness this interesting and very important work.'

"Our late experience in the Crimean campaign, particularly in the early part of it, serves to prove, in a painful manner, how destitute our gallant and pious soldiers and sailors were in this respect. A letter from one of

them shews how deeply it was felt. He writes in March 1855: 'Since I landed in Turkey, I have not heard the Word of God preached, with the exception of hearing the Church of England prayers read twice. How many of Scotland's sons have gone down to the narrow grave, and no minister to read a verse, or utter a word of prayer?' Had we possessed such a manual as this proposed, as a household book, would it not have prevented, in a great measure, this ground of complaint?

"At home the want of such a work must in many localities be no less a matter of regret, especially in pastoral and highland districts, where the churches are far separated,—some parishes being forty miles by thirty, and even sixty by thirty in extent, thus rendering it impossible to attend church during the winter season, or even to receive the visit of a minister. In our lowland districts, and in our large towns, it would not be without its use. Families and individuals, prevented from attending church, would find it a great comfort. In many of our large institutions, such as infirmaries and factories, it would confer a great benefit, and would prove a material help to missionaries and scripture readers, supplying their absence in many cases.

"All classes of our people, from the want of such a volume, have no alternative but to make use of the English Prayer-Book; and although there is no doubt that, from getting accustomed to its use, many, particularly the young, are led to join the Episcopal Church, still we may be thankful that there is such a book to have recourse to. 'A book in which the prayers and thanksgivings of millions in either hemisphere, as well as the worship of a thousand floating sanctuaries on the seas between, find language every Sabbath day.' Is it not to be desired that the same beautiful reflection should be equally applicable to our own Church?

"Whilst such a work would be of great use in affording the means of public worship, as well as of promoting private devotion, it would also be a convenient medium for keeping correct views of the doctrines and forms of the Church before the people, particularly on Baptism and the Lord's Supper. This is certainly very necessary in these times, when Romanism and Puseyism are making such strides. The idea of Baptism with many, is very low and erroneous, being often looked upon as little more than giving the child a name. Clear and intelligent views of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper are certainly of great importance. There are also very unscriptural views on the reading of the Bible as an essential part of the Public Service of the Church, many considering the reading of the Scriptures in a great measure superfluous;—therefore, such expressions regarding this essential part of the service, as these, 'the reading of the Bible is a mere waste of time; we can read our Bibles at home,' are by no means uncommon. Such expressions are certainly to be deplored, as they not only convey a very mistaken idea of public worship, but strike at the root of it altogether. For may it not be said with equal justice, there is no need of a sermon, there is no need of praise, there is no need of prayer, we can do all at home? If we attach so little importance to what God speaks to us in His Word, how can we expect that He should listen to us when we present our petitions to Him?

"'In hearing of the Word, men look usually too much upon men, and forget from what spring the Word hath its power; they observe too narrowly the different hands of the sowers, and too little depend on His hand, who is Lord of both seedtime and harvest.' . . .

"I have ventured to mention in the Syllabus annexed, that the prayers should be short, simple, and well arranged, according to the natural order of prayer, as, by being so, they would not be fatiguing, could be more easily followed, and so more likely to be edifying. As bearing upon this point, I was glad to see the remarks of the Rev. Dr Crombie, at a late

meeting of the Presbytery of Perth, when, on the attention of the Presbytery being called to the Act of the last General Assembly on the Public Reading of the Scriptures, by the Rev. Mr. Cumming, and which Act received the support of the Presbytery, the Rev. Doctor says:—'He could not help observing that their prayers should not extend beyond ten minutes, the bodies and minds of the people were often worn out before they were concluded.' Similar remarks might in my opinion be extended to the length of sermons in general, which are often so long as to defeat, by the weariness they indnce, the object in view.

"In a Service where all the parts are essential, it is surely of importance that they should be fairly balanced, and that each should have its due share of attention.

"In making the above remarks I need scarcely say that I have been actuated solely with the view of promoting the usefulness of our Church, by providing for the wants of her people. The volume proposed, by becoming a household book, would prevent the continual desertion of her children, by strengthening their affections towards her,—whilst it would carry comfort to the hearts, and relieve the longings of many of her sons in distant lands, far removed from her ministrations.

"In presuming to make a suggestion as to what the Manual of Devotion should contain, I do so with the greatest deference to the reverend fathers and members of our Church, so much better fitted than I am to prepare this Manual, but I have considered what might have been my own wants if placed in the position of those for whom the Manual is intended, and arranged its contents accordingly. I state my own views, however, more in hopes that they may call forth abler opinions from others, than with any expectation that mine will be to any considerable extent adopted."

We append in a foot-note the Syllabus referred to.[1]

[1] 1. The Order of Public Worship.
2. Various Short, Simple, and Well-arranged Prayers for the Public Service.
3. Prayers adapted to Times of Humiliation; as, during the late war; pestilence, and other times of trial and danger.
4. Thanksgivings.
5. The Order of Baptism, with an explanation of the Doctrine.
6. The Order and Administration of the Lord's Supper, with an Explanation of the Doctrine.
7. Prayers and Meditations adapted to the Season of Communion.
8. The Visitation of the Sick, with Services for the various stages of sickness, containing Prayers, suitable Psalms, and other portions of Scripture, to be read to or by the sick.
9. Various forms of Prayer for relatives and friends, with portions of Scripture suitable to the time of death and burial.
10. The Ordination of Ministers and Elders.
11. The Order of Marriage.
12. The Thirty-three Articles of the Confession of Faith.
13. Shorter Catechism, Lord's Prayer, and Creed.
14. Psalms, Paraphrases, and Hymns.
15. Short Morning and Evening Prayers, for a fortnight, made to suit Families or Individuals.
16. Short Prayers for particular trials and occasions.
17. One or two forms of Grace before and after meat.
18. Prayer before and after Public Worship.
19. A Table of Select Portions of Scripture, for Daily Reading.
20. Reasons for the faith that is in us.
21. What Presbyterianism is; with a short account of the early history of our Church. This might be contained in the Preface.

Here surely is a most important point for consideration. But though the matter has been so often talked of, as yet nothing has been done; and we are beginning almost to despair, after the sad experience of our psalmody committee, and the poor result of their labours, yet still not worthy of the contemptuous treatment of certain learned doctors a few assemblies since, and the manner in which the affair seems almost to have been set to sleep,—we almost despair of any such practical work being speedily done, or done to purpose, unless the public voice shall insist upon it. We long that in our church, adherence to conventional practice were less pertinaciously insisted upon. We want her to read the "signs of the times." We should like to see her more free, generous, and expansive, with services for the intellectual and polished, as well as for the poorest of the poor. Why should we not as far as we can, gratify the earnest longings of many, instead of moving round in the same unvaried course? Is that portion of our devotional service,—the only part in which our people audibly join—never to be suitably enlarged from the vast body of materials available for this purpose? Alas! too much of our committee work is little else than talk, issuing often in a most wearisome and profitless expenditure of time. Would that learning were more largely cultivated amongst us, that we made it an endeavour to fan the flame of devotion among our people, providing for that purpose suitable and wholesome aliment! Would that a spirit of wisdom might be vouchsafed, if it is not going too far to hope so—even to the prescriptive leaders in our church-courts, and more especially to the select gentlemen, clerical and lay, who are drawn as by magnetic influence, around the Clerk's Table of the General Assembly!

MADELEINE HAMILTON SMITH.

On Sunday the 22d March 1857, Pierre Emile L'Angelier, a native of Jersey, and holding a situation in the mercantile house of Messrs W. B. Huggins & Co. of Glasgow, left the Bridge of Allan where he had been residing for a few days, travelled by the Caledonian Railway from Stirling to Coatbridge, walked thence to Glasgow, and arrived unexpectedly at his lodgings in that city, about eight o'clock in the evening. Two days previously, he had written to Stevenson, a friend of his, holding an appointment in the same counting-house, mentioning that he intended to be home, not later than the following Thursday morning, and he had made the same statement to his landlady when he parted from her on the 19th. Mrs Jenkins, his landlady, was therefore surprised at his arrival on the 22d, but he told her that the letter which had been sent to him had brought him home. He then enquired as to the time when that letter had been delivered at his lodgings, and ascertained that it had come on the Saturday afternoon. M. Thuau, a fellow-lodger, had, in terms of a request from L'Angelier, re-directed the letter to him at Bridge of Allan, and it had been put into the post-office at Glasgow on

Saturday evening. L'Angelier had tea and cold toast after his journey on the 22d, and went out about nine o'clock, having first got the pass-key from Mrs Jenkins, as he anticipated being late in returning, and did not wish to trouble her to rise and let him in. He also desired her to call him next morning early, as he intended to return to Bridge of Allan. But, about half-past two next morning, L'Angelier appears at the door of his lodgings. He is unable to use the pass-key—he rings the door-bell with great violence—and when Mrs Jenkins opens the door, she sees her lodger bent in an agony of pain and sickness. He makes no statement as to where he has been—he gives no account of himself for the last five hours, and only mentions that he had scarcely expected to reach the house, as he had been so ill on the road. He refers to former similar illnesses. "I am going to have another vomiting of that bile." He vomits severely and with great pain. He is chilly, cold, exhausted, and depressed. At first he is unwilling to trouble Mrs Jenkins at such an hour, by allowing her to go for a doctor, but after a while, he feels much worse, and asks her to go for the nearest. At five o'clock, she calls Dr Steven, who, however, cannot visit the patient so early, but prescribes for him. He becomes worse towards daylight. About seven o'clock, there is a peculiar expression in his features, and the skin about his eyes is dark. Mrs Jenkins is more and more alarmed, and hastens again to Dr Steven, who now comes to L'Angelier, and remains with him nearly half-an-hour. The M.D. obviously suspects that his patient is merely suffering from last night's intemperance, and is perplexed when Mrs Jenkins assures him that her lodger is by no means given to tipple. The poor sufferer tells the doctor—"this is the third attack I have had—the landlady says it is the bile—but I never was subject to bile." He complains sorely of something in his forehead, and says that he never felt in this way before, and that this is the worst attack he ever had. He several times exclaims, "my poor mother! my poor mother!" He is now getting weaker and worse, and Dr Steven leaves him after having given him morphia, and applied a mustard poultice to his stomach. About nine he seems very ill, and says, "if it would not be putting you to too much trouble, I would like to see Miss Perry." That lady is sent for, and arrives two hours afterwards. Meanwhile, Dr Steven returns. Mrs Jenkins believes that the patient is asleep, for he is quiet and still, and had said a short time before, "Oh! if I could get but five minutes' sleep, I think I would be better." The physician noiselessly approaches the bed. He touches the hand that is lying out on the bed-clothes. He raises the head of the sick man, and lays it back again. Draw those curtains. L'Angelier is dead!

These are the elementary facts out of which the recent great criminal trial evolved—a trial most remarkable in its nature and history, and unparalleled in the interest which it has excited among all ranks and classes. It has been the absorbing topic of conversation. It has given the world the rehearsal of a tragedy enacted in private life, where all was seemingly serene, and where peace and piety had apparently found a home. It has tracked the footsteps of vice, and the dark shadow of a fearful crime among the retreats of religion. The world has been awe-

struck by the discovery, and men reflect with trembling, on the ominous and fierce volcano which suddenly sprang up at their feet. But there is much to be learned from the solemn inquisition for blood which lately closed. And now, that the criminal judicature has done its office—now that the final and unalterable verdict has been given—now that we are able to look back on the judicial proceedings with deliberation, we deem it our duty to recal the attention of intelligent men, to what has really been disclosed, and to some of the theories which boldly assumed the place of facts and realities, during the raging fever which for many days ruled the public mind. We mean to do so, without impugning the intelligence of the jury, without any sympathy with the morbid vision which sees heroism in crime, and without any other object than to deal fairly and honestly with the case, as now a matter of judicial history. Every one knows the facts, and therefore we need not trouble ourselves with giving a mere newspaper report of the evidence, but we propose to tell the story briefly in our own way, and to accomplish our whole object in doing so.

L'Angelier was a stranger. He had been for about four years and a half in the employment of Huggins & Co., and enjoyed the good opinion of his employers. By steadiness and attention to his duties, he had improved his position, and was at his death receiving a yearly salary of one hundred pounds. His fellows in the counting-house had a great regard for him, and considered him well-behaved, well-principled, religious. These parties had excellent opportunities of estimating his general character, and they all attest the same thing. His acquaintances formed the same opinion. The Chancellor of the French Consulate at Glasgow, Mrs Jenkins, his landlady at the time of his death, Mrs Clark, with whom he had formerly lodged, Miss Perry—all speak of him with affection and respect. A very strong prejudice has, no doubt, been roused against him as one who boasted of his success with the gentle sex, but it is only just to observe, that this charge is emphatically denied by those who had the best means of knowing it.[1] Had he died in England, a coroner's inquest would of course have been held on the cause of his death. But the same object was attained in another way. His employers, most properly considered, that though no such inquest is provided in Scotland, it was their duty, in this case of a sudden death of a stranger under their charge, to ascertain the cause of it. Dr Steven had never seen L'Angelier before the morning of the 23d March. His usual medical adviser was Dr H. Thomson, who was applied to for the purpose of making a *post mortem* examination, and who suggested that Dr Steven, who had seen L'Angelier a few hours before his death, should be called in to assist him in the work. On 24th March, those medical gentlemen, therefore, examined the body to a certain extent, and reported that what they saw and knew, justified a suspicion of death having resulted from poison. They, accordingly, preserved the stomach and its contents for further investigation by chemical analysis, should such be determined on. L'Angelier's body was buried on 26th March. Until the report by Drs Steven and Thomson, there had been no suspicion about

[1] Evidence of De Meau, Kennedy, Stevenson, &c.

the cause of death; but when the result of their investigation was known, a communication was made on the subject to the Procurator-Fiscal. On the 3d April, under a warrant from the Sheriff, the body of L'Angelier was exhumed and again examined with much more care and minuteness. This examination took place in a vault of the Ramshorn Church, in presence of Drs Steven and Thomson, and also of Dr Corbet and Dr Penny, Professor of Chemistry in the Andersonian University. Portions of various parts of the body were removed and placed in proper vessels for subsequent examination. And on the 6th April, Dr Penny made a professional report of a chemical analysis of the contents of the stomach, the stomach itself, and other parts of L'Angelier's body. The result was, that arsenic was found in them all, and that upwards of 82 grains of that poison were ascertained to be left in the stomach after death. The medical report referred also to a few small ulcers at the upper part of the duodenum, which, of course, could not have been caused by any poison administered *within a few hours before death*, and indicated either the result of a previous administration of an irritant poison, or a previous disease of the affected part. The chemical analysis and medical report were afterwards entirely confirmed by Dr Christison. And it was thus established, beyond all question, that L'Angelier's death had been caused by arsenic poison.

We therefore retrace our steps from the vault and the laboratory, to L'Angelier's bed-room. How are we to account for this violent death? No arsenic or similar poison is found in his apartment. The most minute and systematic search by the proper officers, could not discover that he had any where purchased or obtained arsenic, or had a single grain of it in his possession. Mrs Jenkins assures us, that when he arrived on Sunday evening at his lodgings, he looked much better than he had done for some weeks, was in excellent spirits, and ate some food after his journey. We have found out a companion of his walk from Coatbridge to Glasgow, who remembers that he saw him taking a refreshment of roast beef and porter before starting; that he walked well, and did not seem tired at the end of the journey, and that they entered no house or shop by the way.[1] He thus left his lodgings at nine o'clock in health and vigour. He told no one where he was going, but he was seen walking eastward in Sauchiehall Street. He was then going from his lodgings in Franklin Street, towards Bath Street, Blythswood Square, Regent Street, St Vincent Street, &c. &c. About twenty minutes past nine, he called at a lodging-house in St Vincent Street, for a Mr M'Alister. The servant in this house knew L'Angelier, and recognised him on this occasion. She remembers that he had on a top-coat of light colour, and a Balmoral bonnet, and that when he learned that M'Alister was not at home, he halted at the stair-head, and then went away. She thinks that he would have liked to come in, but she did not ask him. From that moment, until he appears at his own lodgings in mortal agony, there is no trace of him. He is not seen by man, woman, or child. It was not late when he left M'Alister's lodgings, and many people would still be passing on the streets. The watchmen were on

[1] Rose's Evidence.

duty as usual, and some of them in that quarter of the city even knew him by name. But no one saw him that evening. He entered no club—he visited no friend, so far as can be ascertained. He was ill, very ill on the way home, but no watchman heard or saw the invalid. All the instinct and resources of the police are baffled in tracing him. Where could the man have been from half-past nine till two o'clock next morning? He was not on the street. He was not in any house where the inmates, if they knew of his presence, were willing to acknowledge it. He was at no great distance from M'Alister's lodgings, otherwise, he must have been observed. And wherever he was, he did not wish to reveal it to Mrs Jenkins. These considerations help us a little, but in spite of them, the case is still mysterious.

Mrs Jenkins reminds us that L'Angelier's return home had been unlooked for, and that he had come unexpectedly in consequence of receiving a letter. We must now look carefully to that fact. But before touching it, we have some relative facts to gather up. He had been a week in Edinburgh, but came home on the 17th March, in hope of finding that letter waiting for him. He was disappointed, and returned to Edinburgh on the 19th; but first directed that any letters which might come for him were to be forwarded, not to Edinburgh, but to the Bridge of Allan. Why then does he go to Edinburgh? *The letter* is still the key of his movements. He thinks it possible that it may have gone to Edinburgh, and, therefore, before he will proceed to the Bridge of Allan he must make sure that the all-important document is not in the metropolis. We find him on the 19th in Leith Street, Edinburgh, telling Mr Pollock, that he had just come from Glasgow in quest of a letter, which he had not found, and that he was now setting off to Bridge of Allan. On the evening of that day he engages lodgings there, which he occupies till Sunday; when, on the receipt of *the letter*, he travels to Glasgow, leaving his luggage, &c., in his apartment with the obvious intention of returning. He accordingly told Mrs Jenkins to call him early on Monday morning, as he was going back. But she must tell us all that she knows about letters coming for him since the 19th. On the 19th, after his departure, a letter came, which was duly forwarded. None came on the 20th. But one was delivered on Saturday afternoon the 21st, between three and four o'clock, which was posted the same afternoon for Bridge of Allan. That letter is traced, and is known to have been given to L'Angelier on Sunday forenoon. He expressly states to Mrs Jenkins when he reaches home that night, that it was *the letter* which had brought him.

What could that letter be which kept him unsettled and anxious—which controlled his every arrangement for a week—and which summoned him irresistibly to Glasgow, though he should have to travel on foot a considerable portion of the way? Immediately after his death, Stevenson, his fellow-clerk, is sent for, and Mrs Jenkins wishes him to take charge of what belonged to L'Angelier. He examines the clothes which his dead friend had worn on the previous night. He takes a letter from the vest pocket. That, says Mrs Jenkins, is the letter which came

yesterday. And this, exclaims Stevenson, when he reads it, explains all!

"Why, my beloved, did you not come to me? O my beloved, are you ill? Come to me. Sweet one, I waited and waited for you, but you came not. I shall wait again to-morrow night—same hour and arrangement. Oh come, sweet love, my own dear love of a sweetheart. Come beloved and clasp me to your heart; come and we shall be happy. A kiss, fond love. Adieu, with tender embraces. Ever believe me to be your own ever dear fond MINIE."

This is the draw-bridge on which we walk out to find the last footprints of L'Angelier. It answers every preliminary requirement. It accounts for the letter of the 19th—it accounts for L'Angelier's anxiety and reserve—it accounts for the silence which hangs over his history on midnight of Sunday, as the interview which it appoints presumes secrecy and seclusion. Who then is Minie? Who is this passionate and lovelorn mistress on whose beck L'Angelier waits with trembling impatience—who can lure him by a vague expectation from city to city—who can send him wandering in quest of her token—and keep him watchful and eager wherever he sojourns? But was there not a previous letter on the 19th which had failed to move him? Yes; and some one already knows the secret of the first letter, and has long had a key to the second. Miss Perry, whom L'Angelier wished to see when he was dying, had received a letter from him, dated the 20th, in which he refers to a letter which had come too late, so that he could not keep the appointment which it had proposed. We begin to see more light. We understand how some one had waited and waited, and yet L'Angelier came not. Miss Perry knew the nature of that appointment, and the party who made it. She has wended her way in fear and awe to a house in Blythswood Square, and on the very day of L'Angelier's death has made an announcement which has filled that household with unutterable amazement, and with a gloom darker than the shadow of death.

Down in the dead man's chamber, in the presence of that stiff and sheeted figure, the secrets of his history are being rifled, and long cherished letters which he had kept with the grasp of a miser are revealing his mystery. MINIE is decyphered and translated. The interpreted hieroglyphic unfolds the name of a young lady moving in excellent society, distinguished for many befitting accomplishments, admired by many, and envied by some as the fair fiancèe of Mr Minnoch, a gentleman of the highest respectability in Glasgow. What! Madeleine Smith! Are we all at fault, or are we beginning to unravel one of those fearful things which now and then demonstrate that fact is stranger than fiction? Madeleine Smith was engaged to Mr Minnoch on the 28th January, with the full knowledge and approbation of her family. It was in every respect a desirable match, and the man entered on his betrothment with pride and happiness. No cloud darkens their love,—no doubt, no jealousy, no misunderstanding. On the 12th of March, at Bridge of Allan, they spend a day of love and confidence, and fix upon their wedding-day. It was to be the 18th of June. There is no possibility of mistake as to the endeared relation between Mr Minnoch and Madeleine, for she thus

writes to him on 16th March: "My dearest William, It is but fair, after your kindness to me, that I should write you a note. The day I pass from friends I always feel sad; but to part from one I love, as I do you, makes me feel truly sad and dull. My only consolation is, that we meet soon again. To-morrow we shall be home. I do so wish you were here to-day. We might take a long walk. Our walk to Dunblane I shall ever remember with pleasure. That walk fixed a day on which we are to begin a new life—a life which I hope may be of happiness and long duration to both of us. My aim through life shall be to please and study you. Dear William, I must conclude as Mamma is ready to go to Stirling. I do not go with the same pleasure as I did the last time. I hope you got to town safe, and found your sisters well. Accept my warmest, kindest love, and ever believe me to be yours with affection, MADELEINE." After the date of this letter, she dines along with her father and mother at Mr Minnoch's on 19th March, and on the same evening accompanied him and his sister to the opera. Madeleine Smith reaches home with Mr Minnoch on the 19th, about eleven o'clock. This date is of consequence as we proceed. For this was the day on which the first letter came to L'Angelier, making the appointment which he could not keep. Madeleine Smith, the betrothed of Mr Minnoch, dining at his house, appearing with him in public at the opera, has a midnight appointment of the same date with another man, whom she calls her own dear love of a sweetheart, and whom she entreats to come and clasp her to his heart! We shall soon, however, have no surprise or indignation to spare for this fact.

Down in the dead man's chamber strangers are busy with his effects, glancing curiously at rings, pocket-books, and letters. One, two, three, four, a hundred, and more letters in Minie's hand among the repositories of the poisoned man! The inquisitors would like to find the address of his mother, his "poor mother!" but they cannot find it there. Alas, these are letters which even a mother should not see. The earliest notes are maidenly though they are not wise. They mark the first little step which Minie took from the safe path—a step that might be retraced and obliterated. But another, and another, and another follow. The amenities of all that is sweet and lovely in women are set on fire. Amid the conflagration she takes to herself a legion of spirits more wicked than she at first had dreamed of, and by her own act she places the foul record of her shame and guilt in the clenched hand of L'Angelier. Folly, deceit, madness, dishonour, licentiousness, terror, hypocrisy are a fearful series, without another and a more dreadful attribute being added. How terrible is the progression! Gently move the earlier measures. Hopes and desires of parental approval cast a pleasing light on the doubtful page. Some straggling rays of conscience break for once through the cloud with which she is veiling herself; but that light is eclipsed and put out. The sacred names of wife and husband are profusely assumed in a correspondence which, under her own hand, records not the fall, but the headlong rush of Madeleine Smith into an abyss of sin and shameless sensuality which is almost incredible. Her own letters divest her of the least pretensions to virtue, and robe her with an effrontery and a prurient

and disgusting licentiousness, such as wretches old in vice might sincerely blush to wear. Madeleine Smith's letters are beyond imagination abominable. Three-fourths of them are suppressed before they can be presented even to a jury of men on a criminal charge; and even of these, mutilated and comparatively purified as they are, many passages can neither be read nor referred to. Dead L'Angelier, was this the fruit of your teaching? Or were you a pupil and a dupe as well as a victim?

Without stirring from the dead man's side we have made an immense progress in our investigation. The writer of that letter which brought him to Glasgow, which addresses him in the warmest terms of mutual love, and which coaxes him to hasten to her arms, is not only betrothed to another man, and has named the wedding-day, but is proved by these letters, strewed on the shroud of L'Angelier, to have lost all sense of decency and self-respect, whatever may be her character in the eye of the world. The plot begins to thicken. Gloomy vistas open up in the darkness round the dead man. No artless and innocent girl sought him and urged him to come to her embrace. We have to deal with a woman experienced in shameless intrigue—a woman degraded and caught in her own snare. She is encompassed with inextricable toils—her marriage-day with Minnoch is coming on apace, Miss Buchanan is already engaged as her brides-maid; but what of her marriage with L'Angelier? Minnoch knows nothing of L'Angelier,—and L'Angelier is assured by the most awful and sacred protestations that his Minie has no connection whatever with Minnoch. We must, however, definitely ascertain her relations with L'Angelier at the time when she summons him to her presence from Bridge of Allan. The letter of the 21st March implies that they were at least betrothed—that they were on terms the most endeared and loving—and that she cherished for him an undivided, passionate, and absorbing devotion. Already then we have ascertained that at this date she is deliberately practising heartless and infamous deceit upon L'Angelier. But we must look along the course of the correspondence to put ourselves in clear possession of all important facts and circumstances.

On 4th Sept. 1855 she addresses him as her dearest Emile—she protests that it will break her heart if he goes away—and that she lives for him alone and adores him; and she writes: "O dearest Emile, would I might clasp you now to my heart." On 3d December she advances in her amorous eloquence, and calls him her own darling husband, the sweet one of her soul, her all, her own best beloved, and subscribes herself his own, his ever fond, his "own dear loving wife, MINIE L'ANGELIER." On 29th April 1856, she assures him that *the first night her father is from home* she shall see her beloved Emile. On 3d and 7th May, on 14th and 27th June, and on 15th and 24th July, a similar style and strain characterize her letters,—she declares herself his wife before God, and writes many things which no wife ever wrote. But at the end of July, there is the shadow of a misunderstanding. L'Angelier wishes her to return all his letters, and she reluctantly agrees to return them though with "a sigh and a pang." It is in the same letter that Minnoch is first mentioned, and in such a way as shows that L'Angelier

was uneasy regarding him and his intentions to Madeleine Smith. This state of things becomes more decided when it is arranged that her family are to occupy a house adjoining Mr Minnoch's. She thus writes: "I see misery before me this winter. I would to God we were not to be so near the Minnochs. *You shall hear all stories*, and believe them." This letter of course employed only the positive form of the loving adjective, and sternly began "My dear Emile;" but his suspicions about Minnoch are lulled to sleep, and the next letter is therefore again superlative and rapturous—"My own darling, my dearest Emile—from your devoted wife, your loving and affectionate wife, MINIE L'ANGELIER." On 21st November 1856, Madeleine is residing at 7 Blythswood Square, and refers to the manner in which their interviews had previously been planned and accomplished. This is of the first importance in our investigation, for it establishes the fact that clandestine interviews took place in her father's house, utterly unknown even to the domestic servants. Christina Haggart, you were house-maid in this family both in India Street and Blythswood Square. You are only aware of three or four times at most in which Miss Smith had interviews with L'Angelier in India Street, and these were at the back gate of the house, and once on a Sunday in the laundry. "Did he not come into the house at all? Not to my knowledge. Do you believe that he did not? I believe he did not."[1] Let us then attend to Madeleine's own statement in her letter of 21st November: "If Mamma and Papa were from home, I would take you in very well *at the front door*, just the same as I did in India Street, and I wont let a chance pass—I wont sweet pet of my soul, my only best loved darling." We ascertain, therefore, that clandestine interviews took place in her father's house, unknown and unsuspected by the domestic servants, and that after removing to Blythswood Square, it was her intention to arrange similar interviews in the same way. We are not, therefore, to expect the connivance or aid of a house-maid when we come to the last interview.

Meanwhile, Minnoch again appears in the correspondence. On 5th Dec. 1856, Madeleine writes, "I wept for hours after I received your letter, and this day I have been sad, yes, very sad. My Emile, I love you, and you only. I have tried to assure you, no other one has a place in my heart. It was Minnoch that was at the concert with me. You see I would not hide that from you. Emile, he is papa's friend, and I know he will have him at the house; but need you mind that, when I have told you I have no regard for him? It is only you my Emile that I love; you should not mind public report. You know I am your wife," &c. Another point is thus established—that Minnoch's attentions to Madeleine were publicly spoken of, and that L'Angelier was annoyed on the subject. The same annoyance and complaint continue. On 8th Dec. she writes doubtfully of their proposed marriage, and affects most romantic horror at the proclamation of banns. On 17th Dec. she proposes having interviews for a few moments some nights at the door under the front door, but on 19th and 28th Dec. her letters are entirely occupied in persuading him that there is no truth in the reports about

[1] Haggart's Evidence.

Minnoch. The correspondence proceeds in the usual style, on Jan. 9th, 11th, 14th, and 16th. But on 21st Jan. she writes, "I cannot see you on Thursday as I had hoped, Jack is out at a party, and the boy will sit up for him, so I cannot see you." The difficulty was overcome, however, for at midnight on Thursday, she writes, "Emile, my own beloved, *you have just left me.*" This was no interview through a grated window, for the following passage occurs in the same letter, "yes, I must again be pressed to your loving bosom, be kissed by you, my only love, my dearest darling husband." Within one short week after these burning words were written, Madeleine Smith accepted the hand of Mr Minnoch.

We come now to bold incidents in the correspondence. During the first week of Feb., L'Angelier sends back a letter which he had received from Madeleine, and she is indignant. "I felt truly astonished to have my last letter returned to me, but it will be the last you shall have an opportunity of returning me. When you are not pleased with the letters I send you, then our correspondence shall be at an end, and as there is coolness on both sides, our engagement had better be broken. . . . Altogether I think, owing to coolness and indifference, (*nothing else*) that we had better for the future consider ourselves strangers. I trust to your honour as a gentlemen that you will not reveal anything that may have passed between us. I shall feel obliged by your bringing me my letters and likeness on Thursday evening at seven. *Be at the same gate,* and Christina Haggart will take the parcel from you. On Friday night I shall send you all your letters, likeness, &c. . . . You may be astonished at this sudden change, but for some time back you must have noticed a coolness in my notes. My love for you has ceased, and that is why I was cool. I did once love you truly and fondly, but for some time back I have lost much of that love. *There is no other reason for my conduct,* and I think it but fair to let you know this. . . . I know you will never injure the character of one you so fondly loved. No, Emile, I know you have honour, and are a gentleman. What has passed you will not mention. I know when I ask you that you will comply. Adieu."

Let us attend to dates here. On 22d January, she wrote as already quoted about being pressed to his loving bosom, called him her own sweet one, her beloved little pet husband, and subscribed herself "for ever your own dear, sweet, little pet wife, your own fond MINIE L'ANGELIER." Six days days later, namely on 28th January, she betrothes herself to Mr Minnoch. Within the following week she writes to L'Angelier that her love has ceased, that for no other reason than this, their engagement must be at an end, and that she trusts to his honour that he will not injure her character or mention what has passed. It appears, therefore, that she is alarmed about what L'Angelier may do when he sees that he has been duped. She is not so anxious about the return of her letters as about his silence. She has now formed a new project, brilliant and fortunate, L'Angelier is unnecessary to her now. She has concluded a matrimonial engagement of the most eligible and flattering kind, and all that is required for the merriest peal of marriage bells is that L'Angelier be silent. Every thing has hitherto bent to her

will,—she resolves and expects that everything will bend now. She had no doubt many a time called God to witness that she was L'Angelier's wife, that she lived only for him, and that she could not without sin be the wife of any other. But these oaths and vows pass away like a morning cloud before the dreams of ambition which she now cherishes. She means deliberately to be false to L'Angelier. She tells him in that very letter in which she appeals to his honour to conceal her guilt, that she breaks her engagement for *no other reason* than that her love has ceased. She thus tells him under solemn circumstances that there is no rival, no favoured competitor for her love. And she does this, having pledged her hand and her heart to the very man whom L'Angelier had feared, and about whom he had so often been jealous and distressed!

Some one may rail over his bones and the fragments of his body, about his selfishness, his matrimonial speculations for his own fortune, and the depth of his wickedness which could make such a girl as Madeleine Smith a very adept in the foulest obscenity. We have many things to consider before we can yield to these assertions. If his teaching, if his letters took the lead in such a course, where are they? Why, in the defence afterwards set up, is there such a keen sensitiveness to shut out from the knowledge of the world every sentence which L'Angelier ever wrote? Why is a letter (No. 25 of Inventory) written by him to Minie, and found among his papers, so sternly hindered from being received in evidence? Why is his memorandum book opposed and withheld? Why are we kept in the dark about what he could say for himself, unless it be that his memoranda and his letters would tell against the party accused? We do not speak lightly of the conduct of L'Angelier. He has enough, and more than enough to answer for, without being charged with what he did not do. But we can say this for him, from the letters found in his possession, that for two years he was loving and true to Madeleine Smith, giving her without deceit his whole heart, and that when the curtain descends, and the poisoned man falls asleep, Madeleine is false and treacherous, and L'Angelier is true. But we are anticipating.

Madeleine has stated there is coolness on both sides, and that on this account she wishes that her letters be returned, and that their engagement should end. Can any of his friends help us at this conjuncture. Was he in apparent distress on this account? Did he confide his sorrow to any one? O yes, says Mr Kennedy, the Cashier to Huggins & Co., "He came to me one morning and asked what he should do about the correspondence. I advised him strongly to give back the letters. He said he would never allow her to marry another man as long as he lived. I said it was very foolish. He said he knew it was, that it was infatuation. He said, Tom, she will be the death of me. He came to me between 10 and 11 A.M. crying." Kennedy's statement corresponds precisely with the terms of her letter. Perhaps Miss Perry, the confidante of both parties, can tell us something more. "Miss Smith proposed a return of the letters on both sides. He said he refused to do that, but that he offered to give the letters to her father. I did not understand the meaning to be that he threatened to show the letters to her father.

I understand that to be a consent on his part *to give up the engagement*, and so he represented it. Miss Smith would not accede to that proposal, and *the engagement remained unbroken at Miss Smith's desire.*"

Miss Perry's statement is a simple and concise account of a most tragical negociation. The engagement did remain unbroken at Madeleine's desire, and we shall immediately see how this came about. L'Angelier told her that if the engagement was to end, he would deliver her letters to her father, but to no other mortal. On 9th Feb. she therefore writes, "Emile, I have just had your note. Emile, for the love you once had for me, do nothing till I see you. For God's sake do not bring your once loved Minie to an open shame. . . . Emile, write to no one, to papa or any other. Oh! do not till I see you on Wednesday night. Be at the Hamilton's at twelve and I shall open my shutter, and then you come to the area gate, and I shall see you. Emile, do not drive me to death. When I ceased to love you, believe me it was not to love another. I am free from all engagement at present. Emile, for God's sake do not send my letters to papa. It will be an open rupture. I will leave the house, I will die." Next night she writes, if possible, in a more distressing strain. "Emile, for the love you once had for me, do not denounce me to my papa. Emile, if he should read my letters to you, he will put me from him—he will hate me as a guilty wretch. I loved you, and wrote to you in my first ardent love—it was with my deepest love I loved you. It was for your love I adored you. I put on paper what I should not. I was free because I loved you with my heart. If he or any other one saw those fond letters to you, what would not be said of me? On my bended knees, I write you and ask you as you hope for mercy at the judgment day, do not inform on me—do not make me a public shame. . . . I have deceived the best of men. You may forgive me, but God never will. For God's love forgive me, and betray me not. . . . Oh will you not keep my secret from the world? Oh will you not, for Christ's sake, denounce me? . . . Hate me, despise me, but do not expose me. I cannot write more. I am too ill to-night. P.S. I cannot get to the back stair. I never would see the way to it. I will take you within the door. The area gate will be open. I shall see you from my window at twelve o'clock. I will wait till one o'clock."

There is thus no difficulty in arranging midnight interviews without the concurrence or knowledge of any third party. These letters, however, are very distressing, especially the last. "Is that the language of deceit? Is that the mind of a murderess, or can any one affect that frame of mind? Can you for one moment listen to the suggestion that that letter covers a piece of deceit? No, no. The finest actress that ever lived, could not have written that letter, unless she had felt it; and is that the condition in which a woman goes about to compass the death of him whom she has loved? Is that the frame of mind, shame for past sins, burning shame, dread of exposure, grief at the injury she had done her parents—is that the frame of mind that would lead a woman, not to advance another step on the road to destruction, but to plunge at once into the deepest depths of human wickedness? The thing is preposterous." Is it so, Mr Dean?

What really is the meaning of all this agony? Has L'Angelier resolved at all hazards and in all circumstances, to send these dreadful letters to her father, and denounce her to the world? If it were so, we could understand her distress. But L'Angelier only says that he will not give up those letters which prove the nature of the relation between them, to any one but her own father, and he will only do so, in the extreme event of their engagement being broken up for ever. L'Angelier has no wish to forsake or betray her. The poor man wept at her proposal, that they should henceforth be strangers to each other; and he acknowledged, that his love for her was a very infatuation. Madeleine Smith has asserted in this paroxysm of distress, that she loves no other, and is free from all other engagement. What then is the meaning of this agony? Is there no base deceit and falsehood even in this cry of wo? She perhaps believes herself sincere, and she seems to pour out in eloquent misery the deepest thoughts of her heart. But after all, this is only an illustration of its desperate deceitfulness. For deeper down, there is a shrine of cold selfishness and reckless resolution in which she is arranging the programme of the 18th June, and the style of her equipage and establishment, at the same moment when she is wailing in all the agony of a broken spirit. The deceit of these letters is consummate, and it is all the more wonderful, that in them she may have out-witted herself. The poison to her peace, is the threatened prevention of her marriage with Mr Minnoch. L'Angelier has resolved that she must be a widow before she can be Mrs Minnoch; or that his relation to her shall only be broken when he has placed in the hands of her natural guardian, the documentary evidence which establishes that he had been no faithless and heartless seducer, who had triumphed over innocence, and then cruelly spurned the ruin which he had made. Her letters betray no thought of womanly shame, no grief for her sin, no conscientious sorrow for the injury which she has done to her parents, her family, and herself, but they manifest a mere dread of being found out, a dread of exposure which owes all its power and terror to her own falsehood. How and when could such an exposure take place? *Never*, if she be keeping truth with L'Angelier, and if her solemn asseveration be true, that she is not engaged to any other. And we are not to lose sight of the significant fact in these two distressing documents, that it is not so much the return of her letters that she implores, as L'Angelier's silence upon her conduct. The letters might all be returned—they might be blazing in the fire-place where at midnight she prepared her cocoa, but her danger would remain the same until after the ceremony of the 18th June. Her real anxiety is not about the letters, but about the man, for whatever may be the fate of the letters, her scheme of fortune hangs upon the man's silence. She presents a fearful alternative to her choice. She must either renounce Mr Minnoch, and tell him that she has impudently deceived him, surrender at once all her dazzling dream of wealth, fashion, and splendour,—or she must bring herself under the vengeance of a man whom she has already heartlessly deceived, who by a word can load her name with infamy, and who will be goaded to madness when he sees that he has been duped, betrayed, and trampled

on. This interprets the agony of those two letters—the very essence of which are falsehood and exquisite diplomacy. Is there no plan by which she may evade the alternative, and by which L'Angelier's silence can be infallibly secured? He has been proof against two most potent and moving entreaties—we must see whether he can be proof against something else. We must look for a stroke of policy corresponding to the spirit of these letters in intensity of feeling, resolution at all hazards to marry Mr Minnoch, and consciousness of the fearful weapon which L'Angelier would wield against her.

Pray, do not go on with this investigation. Do not yield to these pregnant and ominous indications. "It is not by such short and easy stages as you have yet traced in the career of Madeleine Smith, that a gentle loving girl passes all at once into the savage grandeur of a Medea or the appalling wickedness of a Borgia. No; such a thing is not possible." But we are not at present considering *such a thing*—we are tracking the progress of a very different thing. Short and easy stages! They may have been short, but they were swift, and the transition was sure and tremendous. No gentle girl is the object of our inquiries—but a woman old in deceit, shameless in intrigue, fierce in passion, reckless in device, secret in action, indomitable in will, matchless in hypocrisy, inexhaustible in falsehood, treacherous in her kiss, the avowed wife of one man, and the betrothed of another. She has fallen into her own pit—her sin has found her out—and we are now engaged in detecting how she endeavours to escape. But even in so serious a matter, we must not overlook the ingenious and daring inconsistency which, to deter us from the conclusion to which we are driven, pleads in one paragraph the unequalled wickedness of L'Angelier as the reason and cause of Madeleine's precocious guilt, and in another, assumes her comparative innocence and rectitude.

Our next step may bring us to a *denouement*, so let us walk warily. Miss Perry has mentioned that the engagement remained unbroken at Miss Smith's desire. She has not renounced Mr Minnoch, so she makes her condition more desperate, by suddenly affecting a renewal of all her old love and hearty engagement to L'Angelier. A week ago, she wrote in apparent extremity, she now assumes an altered mood and writes to him lightly about what had taken place. She wishes to obliterate even the recollection of any doubtful hour in their engagement. "I want, the first time we meet, that you will bring me all my cool letters back—the last four I have written, and I will give you others in their place." Between the 14th and 27th February, they had at least one clandestine meeting at midnight in her father's house. For, in a letter written *before the 27th*, she states—"You did look bad on Sunday night and Monday morning. I think you got sick with walking home so late, and the long want of food, so *the next time we meet*, I shall make you eat a loaf of bread *before you go out*. I am longing to meet again sweet love, —we shall be so happy." There is internal evidence that the Sunday and Monday referred to, were the 22d and 23d February, for on Saturday the 14th, she asks him to write to her for Thursday (19th), and then she will tell him when she can see him. Now, the only Sunday

and Monday between the 19th and the 27th, were the 22d and 23d days of that month. These dates are of essential importance to our inquiry—they are supplied to us under the very hand of Miss Smith—and they certify that L'Angelier was ill on the night of the 22d February, that she subsequently learned that he was sick after reaching his lodgings, and that she ascribed this sickness to his *walking home so late*, and *his long want of food*, and that their interview had been within her father's house, as she promises that when next they meet, she will make him eat a loaf of bread *before he goes out.*

Has L'Angelier mentioned this illness of the 22d February to any one? Or does any one know of it? What say you Miss Perry? "He dined with me on the 17th February. He told me that day when he next expected to see Miss Smith, that was to be on Thursday (19th). I did not see him again till the 2d March. He was looking extremely ill then. He did not tell me that he had even seen Miss Smith on the 19th. On the 9th March he said, 'I can't think why I was so unwell after getting that coffee and chocolate from her!' I understood he referred to two different occasions." Can you give us any information, Mr Towers? He dined with you at Portobello in March, did he not? He did on the 16th March, the Monday before his death. "The conversation turning on his health, he stated he had had a very violent bilious attack or jaundice. He stated he had had first two attacks after he had taken some coffee and cocoa. He spoke a good deal about this matter. He said that he thought himself poisoned after taking the coffee and cocoa. I understood that he took the cocoa on one occasion and the coffee on another, and that on both occasions he was the worse of it."[1] So far this covers the 22d, and implies another interview on the 19th. Has Mrs Jenkins any recollection of such illness? "I recollect his having an illness somewhere about the middle of February. That was not the first serious illness he had since he came to lodge with me—he had one eight or ten days before. I think the second was about the 23d February. On a Monday morning about four o'clock he called me. He was vomiting. He complained on this occasion likewise of pain in the bowels and stomach, and of thirst and cold. I did not know he was out the night before. He did not say anything about it. I have no recollection of his going out on the Sunday. I don't remember his asking me for the check-key. I think I would have recollected if he had done so. I can't bring it to my recollection whether he was out that night."[2] Mrs Jenkins cannot state with certainty whether or not L'Angelier was out on the night of the 22d, but she remembers minutely the fact that he was ill on the morning of the 23d. We have already established by the written testimony of Miss Smith, that he was actually with her on that Sunday night and Monday morning, and that she knew of his being ill after their interview. There is then no uncertainty as to the date of this interview and illness. In the meantime, we need not follow the tangled line connected with an earlier illness—the letters give us no clue—and even Mrs Jenkins asserts that she has nothing by which to remember its date. The statements of Miss Perry and her brother-

[1] Towers's Evidence. [2] Jenkins's Evidence.

in-law Mr Towers, give us no help, for they are rather founded on an impression of their own, than on any definite assertion by L'Angelier. If we could get access to his memorandum-book, we could easily find out how the facts stand. But that book is not to be opened, and its entries are to be concealed from the world. It was found in the dead man's repositories, and known certainly to be in his hand-writing. But it is not to be examined. Its entries begin on 11th February, and extend to 14th March, and thus embrace a most important period for investigation, but they are to be withheld from scrutiny. This is, indeed, very extraordinary. And it becomes more than extraordinary, when we learn the reason which is alleged for suppressing them. Two learned judges stand on the other side of the poisoned man's body, and inspect the book. They ostentatiously tell us that the entries in this book, "go directly to the vital part" of a charge of poisoning with intent to murder—and that "there is to be found in the letters which have been read, *much to give corroboration and verification to some at least of the entries in the pocket-book.*" Yet they shut this book, and withhold all that it tells and explains, because it may have been written from an improper motive, and for a vindictive purpose. But my lords, you are not the judges of this matter, you have no commission to decide upon the value and credibility of any part of testimony. That province has been committed to a jury, and they are entitled to know all the facts and circumstances in connection with the alleged crime. They have right to know what the victim told of himself. If the entries in his diary be statistically erroneous—if the dates be inconsistent with each other or with established facts—if an improper or vindictive spirit or intention be discoverable in the statements recorded—these are considerations for the jury, and for the jury alone, in estimating what weight, if any, is to be given to the book. And if that book be found in the repositories of the poisoned man, and be professedly a recorded narrative of his engagements during a period included in the investigation, the jury are entitled to know every line which he has written in it, as well as every word which he has spoken on the same matter. They have the same right to know the contents of his diary, that they have to know the contents of his stomach, his pocket, or his medicine chest. But we cannot found on this book, or refer to it any farther, although the slovenly and unjudicial manner in which it was rejected, supplies us with a gossiping account and indication of its contents. Lay the book then in L'Angelier's coffin.

On 27th February, Madeleine writes to her "dear sweet Emile," telling him that she cannot see him that week. On 3d March (Tuesday), she writes that on the Friday following she was going with her family to Stirling for a fortnight, and that she was sorry that she could not see him before going. Next day she writes to the same purpose, and adds, "if you would take my advice, you would go to the south of England for ten days,—I hope you won't go to the Bridge of Allan, as Papa and Mamma would say it was I brought you there," &c. Rumours of her engagement with Mr Minnoch again reach L'Angelier and distress him. He accordingly writes to her on 5th March—the only letter from him (and that a copy preserved by himself) which we are

permitted to see. "My dear sweet pet Minie, I feel indeed very vexed that the answer I received yesterday to mine of Tuesday to you, should prevent me from sending you the kind letter I had ready for you. You must not blame me for this; but really your cold, indifferent, and reserved notes, so short, without a particle of love in them, (especially after pledging your word, you were to write me kindly for those letters you asked me to destroy,) and the manner you evaded answering the question I put to you in my last, with the reports I hear, fully convince me Minie that there is foundation in your marriage with another. Besides, the way you put off our union till September, without a just reason, is very suspicious. . . . No, Minie; there is foundation for all this. You often go to Mr M.'s house. . . . I know he goes with you, or at least meets you in Stirlingshire. Minie dear, place yourself in my position, and tell me am I wrong in believing what I hear? I was happy the last time we met—yes, very happy. I was forgetting all the past, now it is again beginning. Minie, I insist on having an explicit answer to the questions you evaded in my last. If you evade answering them this time, I must try some other means of coming to the truth. If not answered in a satisfactory manner, you must not expect I shall again write you personally, or meet you when you return home. . . . Is it true that you are directly or indirectly engaged to Mr Minnoch, or to any one else but me? These questions I must know. The doctor says I must go to the Bridge of Allan. May God bless you pet, and . . . believe me, with kind love, your ever affectionate husband, EMILE L'ANGELIER."

Madeleine Smith, you are on the very brink of detection and exposure. The danger which now presses you is not so much from what you have put on paper as from the position which L'Angelier has assumed regarding you. He threatens no publication of your letters, but he will certainly ascertain whether these reports are true. He more than suspects your engagement, and he is determined to try some other means of coming to the truth of it. What can you say or do now?

She writes immediately: "My dear sweet pet, I am so sorry you should be so vexed. Believe nothing, sweet one, till I tell you myself. It is a report I am sorry about, but it has been six months spoken of. Believe nothing till I tell you, sweet one of my heart. I love you and you only. . . . . We shall speak of our union when we meet. We shall be home about the 17th, so that I shall see you about that time. —Could you, sweet love, not wait for my sake till we come home? You might go on the 20th or so. I would be so pleased with you if you can do this to please me, my own dear husband.—Neither M. nor his sisters go with us.—I will tell and answer you all questions when we meet. Adieu dearest love of my soul, &c. &c. ever your own fond dear and loving MINIE." From the Bridge of Allan, she writes to him on 10th March, and states, "We shall be home Monday or Tuesday. I shall write you sweet love. When shall we have an interview? I long to see you, to kiss and embrace you, my only sweet love." On 12th March she walks with Mr Minnoch to Dunblane, and arranges with him that they shall be married on 18th June. On 13th March she writes

to L'Angelier her "dearest and beloved," and says, "I think we shall be home on Tuesday, so I shall let you know, my own beloved sweet pet, when we shall have a dear, sweet interview, when I may be pressed to your heart," &c. On Tuesday, 17th March, she returns to Glasgow.

L'Angelier is thus waiting with painful anxiety for that interview which is to explain everything. She has promised that they will speak of their union when they meet, and that she will satisfy him on every point that has distressed him. He has not quite recovered from his illness of the 22d February, and though ordered to Bridge of Allan, has delayed going there at her special request. But he has gone to Edinburgh, and dines with Mr Towers, as already mentioned, on the 16th. Madeleine has told him that she will be home on the 17th (Tuesday). He is so anxious to hear from her—so anxious for the interview when she is to tell and answer him all questions—that he returns from Edinburgh on the 17th. He asks Mrs Jenkins if she has any letter for him, and seems disappointed at not finding one. He remains in Glasgow during the 18th, hoping and waiting, but is so impatient for the letter appointing the promised interview that he goes to Edinburgh in quest of it on the 19th. A letter follows him on the 19th; but, as Miss Perry knows from himself, it arrives too late for the appointment; and the second letter is despatched on the evening of the 21st,—reaches him at Bridge of Allan on the 22d,—brings him home that evening,—and is found next morning in his vest pocket after his death. That letter corresponds with all the circumstances already ascertained; it refers to the failure of the earlier tryst; it appoints that interview so much desired and longed for by poor L'Angelier.

A word or two of caution before taking our next step. It is proved that L'Angelier's death on the morning of the 23d March was caused by the poison of arsenic. But many of the symptoms which marked his last illness had been observable on two previous occasions in February. There is, however, no direct evidence that arsenic or any other poison had been administered to him on the earlier dates. There is no doubt a very strong presumption, from the similarity of symptoms during all the three sicknesses, that the first two were occasioned by the same cause as the third. This presumption is also strengthened by the appearance of his intestines, more especially the duodenum, as found at the second *post mortem* examination. But there was no analysis made of what he vomited in February, and consequently we must proceed on the understanding that while there can only be a potent and well supported presumption that the illnesses in February were attributable to poison, it is an ascertained fact, that poison was administered to him on the 22d March. If we keep this in mind we shall at once see the utter fallaciousness of the theory which, by casting doubt on the first case, would assume that this doubt could affect the third. The course of our investigation does not proceed from the first illness in February to the second in the same month, and the third in March. We start from the dead body of L'Angelier saturated with poison, and we only suspect, presume, or infer that a previous somewhat similar illness was owing to a similar

cause. This may be incorrect, yet the fact remains unmoved and unmoveable that the fatal illness was caused by arsenic. You may set aside the first illness without much difficulty, because you have deprived us of the means of defining and fixing it. But in casting this illness out of the field of suspicion, you have made no inroad on the vital part of our investigation, and you have weakened no point of our case. There are forms of disease to which it appears L'Angelier was peculiarly subject, which are marked by symptoms very similar to the effects of irritant poison. And, therefore, we should be extremely averse to assume any thing in a case like his. But his illness and death on 23d March, are not *assumed* to have taken place from poison; it has been ascertained and demonstrated that he was in agony and died from the administration of arsenic. For the reasons already mentioned, we take no note of the first illness, and we consider the second as only yielding at most a strong presumption. This illness was on 23d February. We have evidence under the hand of Madeleine Smith that this attack developed itself immediately after an interview with her in her father's house.

We are now in quest of purchases of poison; but unless we can detect the purchase or possession of arsenic we do not gain much. Arsenic was the only poison found in the body of L'Angelier at his death. Let us then prosecute our enquiry. Dr Yeaman has a laboratory in Sauchiehall Street. He remembers that from eight to ten weeks before L'Angelier's death, a boy, who said he came from Miss Smith, Blythswood Square, asked for half an ounce of prussic acid. It was not supplied. But Dr Yeaman's assistant corroborates the statement. We must now find out the boy, and ascertain what was the alleged purpose for which this deadly poison was sought. William Murray, you were at that time in Mr Smith's service, did Miss Madeleine send you on any such errand? "She did. She sent me to an apothecary for a small phial of prussic acid. She said she wanted it for her hands." For her hands! This is in the highest degree suspicious and significant. She wishes to possess herself of poison, and affects a trifling and false reason for it. Such a use of prussic acid is not only unheard of, but would be dangerous and probably fatal to the person inhaling it. Still with this most ominous fact, we have found no arsenic, the special poison by which L'Angelier died, and by which he most probably had suffered in February. Mr George Murdoch, you are a partner in the firm of Murdoch Brothers, druggists, Sauchiehall Street, will you look up the register kept by you of sales of poison during that month? "Under date 21st February we have an entry here—Miss Smith, 7 Blythswood Square, 6d. of arsenic for garden and country house. M. H. Smith." This arsenic was mixed with *soot* in terms of the Act. William Campsie, gardener, in the service of Mr Smith at his country house, did Miss Madeleine ever supply you with arsenic? "I never got arsenic or any poison from her,—and I never used arsenic." Madeleine Smith is thus in possession of arsenic, obtained for a false reason, on 21st February. L'Angelier is in her presence on the night of the 22d. Their relations to each other are altered. She dreads, with a terror approaching to madness, a disclosure which he may be soon provoked to make. On this occasion he receives cocoa or coffee

from her, after which he feels as if he were poisoned, and undergoes all the usual sufferings caused by arsenic. The beverage which she gave him would conceal the colour of the sooty compound, and sufficiently disguise the taste and smell of it—for there would only be a small quantity of soot in the dose administered, as it was not fatal. Madeleine has given a false pretext for obtaining arsenic from Mr Murdoch, perhaps she will give a different pretext if she be again asked. She may even give the old convenient, lady-like, and stereotyped excuse of her hands. And she actually does so. "I used it all as a cosmetic, and applied it to my face, neck, and arms, diluted with water."[1] What! Use that sooty powder for your fair skin! We have put the very quantity of arsenic with the same alloy of soot which you purchased, into a basin of water, and washed our hands in the filthy, dirty, miry-looking liquid. It has cost us a long and weary labour to get rid of the smell and hue of the soot, and we have not yet by any means got rid of the nausea and local uneasiness which the operation created. Nothing need be said about your washing your face, neck, and arms in that filthiness. The mere sight of the basin with its greasy scurf of soot on the surface of the water, and the blackened, clayey masses at the bottom, is the best demonstration of the monstrous and impudent falsehood which you have told. But you say that at school Miss Guibilei advised you to use arsenic in this way. That lady is here, and she solemnly swears, "I never advised her to use arsenic as a cosmetic, or to apply it to her face, neck, or arms, nor to use it in any way." Madeleine Smith, you are enclosing yourself in a net of falsehood.

But L'Angelier does not die on the way home or in his bed next day. The man recovers. If, after kissing a poisoned cup, she fawned on him and caressed him till he drank it, she would be surprised and outwitted when the man survived the consequent illness. She would suspect that Mr Murdoch had given her something else than arsenic. Is this then the reason why she calls at Murdoch's three days after, to enquire "if arsenic should not be white?" She has grave doubts whether she can have had the true poison. And if she is bent on murder, she will not try it again with arsenic from the same druggist. Mr Murdoch, did Miss Smith purchase any more arsenic from you? Not a single grain.

L'Angelier, L'Angelier, we have seen enough to make us fear the "loaf of bread" which you are to eat at your next interview "before you go out."

On 5th April he writes to her the letter which we have quoted. He can no longer allow himself to be trifled with. He is determined to know whether she, his avowed wife, is false to him and engaged directly or indirectly to another. He means to try some *other* means of coming to the truth. The following day, whither away Madeleine? Why walk along Sauchiehall Street? Are you in quest of poison again? She now enters *Currie's* shop in that street. She affects innocent ignorance about arsenic. She asks, "How do you sell arsenic? *Would sixpence worth be a large quantity?*"[2] She returns home with her second purchase of arsenic.

[1] Miss Smith's Declaration.

[2] Miss Buchanan's Evidence.

Let us rest a moment here. Would L'Angelier's death be of any advantage to Madeleine Smith, so long as she does not recover her letters? Or, would his death be perfectly certain to lead to the exposure of every thing that had passed between them? There is little risk of any such exposure. If L'Angelier die, the probability is that a business friend will seal up these letters as obviously of a most delicate and confidential character, and send them to his mother, or burn them as is every day done. Besides, the signature MINIE is not very suggestive, and may be entirely unintelligible to the person who sees the letters, and this advantageous difficulty is enhanced by the names of parties in the letters being marked only by initials. The only risk of exposure depends on whether the writer of these letters is to be suspected of foul play in connection with L'Angelier's death, and on this matter, Madeleine does not anticipate or calculate on suspicion. Everything therefore, so far as we can see, depends on his death—she will then be relieved from the terror of exposure which was threatened—and she will no longer have an obstacle to her selfish and heartless ambition. But is L'Angelier seen or heard in her father's house in Blythswood Square? She no doubt protests solemnly that he has never entered that house,[1] but her own letters refer to numerous interviews there. Christina Haggart was privy to one of these meetings, and at Miss Smith's request, opened the back-gate and back-door for his admission. But there were midnight interviews which Christina Haggart was not allowed to suspect or know. It is scarcely necessary after what we have proved on this point to adduce any other testimony, yet it is well to proceed with the important and specific information of the following note, fresh in our minds. It was written at last Christmas. "P. and M. are from home. Will you not come to your wife Minie? I think you may come shortly to the house. I shall let you in. No one will hear you. You can make it late; twelve if you please. I will long for you, sweet dear Emile," &c. We are not therefore to look for the knowledge or suspicion of any mortal regarding the last interview on earth between L'Angelier and Madeleine Smith.

We now move onward. She bought arsenic on the 6th March, but she had no opportunity of using it. L'Angelier did not go to Bridge of Allan while she was there. She had, however, provided for contingencies, and when she returns to Glasgow, she makes a third purchase. Has she destroyed her last packet, or does she suspect that poison to be very deadly must be fresh from the store of the druggist? The interview must come—the enquiries must all be answered—L'Angelier must be silenced. And thus the woman who has pledged her love to Mr Minnoch, and has fixed with him to be married on 18th June, again visits Currie's shop on 18th March. She purchases an ounce of arsenic, writes that same night to L'Angelier appointing the all-important interview, is surprised and annoyed when he does not come, and writes again making a new appointment. Gather the curtain of a gloomy cloud over the west end of Glasgow. Suppose a quiet Sunday evening, and the din of the mighty city dies away. Let thicker darkness invest Blythswood

[1] De Mean's Evidence.

Square and the adjoining streets. From within the darkness suppose a voice summons L'Angelier to enter. It speaks in the phrase of fond and impatient affection, but we know it to be the voice of falsehood and hypocrisy. The betrothed of another calls to him. She has arsenic in her hand when she cries, "Come, beloved, and clasp me to your breast, come, and we shall be happy." L'Angelier had waited with restless and sickening weariness for the summons, and now obeys it with alacrity. He enters within the cloud—no eye sees, no ear hears him—and he disappears in the darkness. A few hours elapse, and he staggers out stricken with a deadly malady. A few hours more, and arsenic has done its work—L'Angelier is dead and his secret is with him. Yet, as he reached his home poisoned, and with the hand of death upon him, he still significantly bore near his heart that fatal summons which had lured him from his distant retreat, and which supplies the key to all that is mysterious in his history during the night of 22d March.

The hindrance to her marriage is opportunely removed—the tongue, that might have revealed her shame and interdicted her ambition, is silent for ever—the man, at whose exasperated wrath and betrayed love, she had cause to tremble, lies cold and dead. The tangled and thorny path before her is cleared. Something, however, stops the way. It is the avenger of blood.

Such is the fearful tale disclosed in the recent trial. For nine days Madeleine Smith sat at the bar of the criminal court, unshaken, unmoved, unblushing. Her letters to her dead lover, so far as they could be repeated even before a company of men, were read in her presence, and scarcely brought a shadow on her brow. The details of his torture and death, the description of his body rifted, buried, drawn out of the grave, torn, analysed, were heard with seeming curiosity and heartless interest. The testimony of Mr Minnoch, the man whom she had shamelessly deceived, and for whom she did, no matter what, moved her not. But this amazing self-command and stern power of will are only reconcileable with her previous history, and with her entire capability of committing the crime with which she was charged. They are not reconcileable with truth or innocence. She who cast her arms around L'Angelier's neck, and called him her own dear husband, and protested in God's name that she loved him alone and more than life, and perhaps within an hour pledged mutual vows of love with Mr Minnoch, and spoke blushingly and fondly of their coming marriage, could alone act as Madeleine Smith has done. The verdict of the jury has pronounced her *not guilty* on the first charge to which we have referred, and no wonder, when we consider how little of the available evidence they were permitted to hear. But their verdict has only said *not proven*, in regard to the second and third charges. If it be necessary for a conviction on a charge of murder, that some witness must have actually seen the blow struck, or the cup of poison administered, then the verdict in this case is excellent and unimpeachable—and the verdict in many other cases has been rash and unwarrantable. But men and women of the great jury of the world, who have looked on with breathless interest and amazement at the disclosures of this awful

case,—while you may in some measure sympathise with the verdict, and be glad that the life of this girl has been spared, have you the least shadow of a doubt as to the fate of L'Angelier and the hand that murdered him? Have you sympathy with the morbid and heartless and profane spirit which would ascribe to Madeleine Smith the heroism of a martyr? Behind the verdict which has been given, there are a crushing load of separate iniquity, and a fearful warning to every man. Is it a light matter that the foulest crimes, at which humanity shudders, are no longer attributable only to the outcasts, the ignorant and the brutalized of society, but may fill up the history of those who may be distinguished for the most polished manners and the most envied accomplishments? Has the character of Madeleine Smith developed itself as the natural growth of the training to which she was subjected? If so, there are others on their trial before the Judge of all the earth for the murder of L'Angelier. This case then is ominous and instructive. It demands a most prudent and searching scrutiny of our present social habits and relations—of the character and tendency of female instruction and education—and of the economy of home and parental guidance. Is there nothing wrong in the general condition of these things when a case so prodigious ripens unnoticed and finds no lack of excusers? Some of her panegyrists are insanely oblivious that her own judicial declaration condemns her. For who can realize the wickedness and depravity of the woman gently nursed, politely educated, professedly religious, who secretly and steadily pursues a course of the grossest vice and deceit, and becomes an adept in the most disgusting licentiousness—who can unblushingly assert that her own letter, full of every phrase of endearment to L'Angelier, lavish in her love, impatient for his embrace, profuse in assurances of fidelity to him, was written for the mere purpose of having a meeting with him to tell him that she was engaged in marriage to Mr Minnoch—who, when lost not only to ordinary virtue but to all sense of decency, speculates on matrimonial advantages, and prosecutes her aims with consummate hypocrisy—who, with God's name continually on her lips, lives in a very atmosphere of falsehood, and cannot, even by the singular advantages of suppressed evidence, and a most eloquent, impressive and bewildering defence by her counsel, free herself from the charge of the most atrocious and cold-blooded murder?

The jury have said *Not Proven*: but they have refused to say *Not Guilty*. They have heard her statement as to the purpose for which she procured arsenic—the very poison found in the dead man's body. She washed her hands with it!

"What is it she does now? Look how she rubs her hands.
It is an accustomed action with her to seem thus washing her hands.
I have known her continue in this a quarter of an hour.
What! will these hands ne'er be clean? Here's the smell of the blood still. All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand!"

"NOT PROVEN."

The insensible progress by which the most wonderful and startling impressions yield to the influence of lesser agencies, is perhaps one of the clearest illustrations of what has been called the power of littles. The gradual waves of time close silently above the wildest wreck; and the stealing waters dream and murmur after the great billows of the storm. Already the almost delirious excitement which fevered the nation, while the balance of justice was yet trembling, is on the wane, and its pulses are returning to the calm beat of health; but, with the passing of the crisis, precaution augments, rather than relaxes her care, anxious to avert, by her untiring vigilance, the danger of the perilous relapse.

The verdict which has restored the prisoner to liberty, has given her no moral freedom; her clipped and broken wings must flutter for ever within the dark enclosures of suspicion and mistrust. But she has already braved the worst; lifted her fearless eyes to the judicial sword which hung over her by a hair,—surrendered, without a shudder, every nerve and fibre of her mental anatomy to the searching probe of the law,—and laughed in the valley of the shadow of death. There can be but one feeling as to her escape; and perhaps the saddest and deepest persuasion of her guilt only enhances the unbidden sensation of relief which the hesitating decision conveys. It is well that she has escaped with her life; well for herself, for the Eternal Pity is still open to her, and her feet may pass that way;—and well for others also, for the execution of the extreme sentence in this case would have struck a chord, whose intense horror, wailing in the hearts of thousands, might have drowned the claims of justice in misguided commiseration, and induced sickly sensibility to crown this young girl with the halo of judicial martyrdom. Happily, this danger is averted; and reason may look with unclouded eyes into the theatre of this strange, sad life,—sweep away its tinsel, quench its flaring lamps, and recal in grave and patient sorrow, the dark dream of its tragedy. There is no occasion to recapitulate here the details of this harrowing story, or even to advert to its more prominent incidents. All ears yet tingle with the recent disclosures; and it is not the province of these remarks either to enter the lists with the professed recorder, or to infringe the sacred precincts of the tribunal. We would no more pursue the unhappy delinquent with pusillanimous obloquy to her unknown refuge, than we would join in the cowardly and dishonest outcry which has hurled upon Emile L'Angelier, in his grave, a torrent of cruel and unmitigated abuse. Let those, who, with unthinking perversity have loaded this unfortunate young man with the entire odium of the bitter sin and shame that preluded the catastrophe, and even imputed to him, by a singular refraction, the guilt of the catastrophe itself, bear with us while we seek for a moment, not to justify him, but to do him justice. Morality cannot vindicate his conduct; religion offers her silent tears; but equity cannot refuse to his memory the tribute of one redeeming grace, which has been denied to him with savage indiscrimination. Whatever were his faults,—(and we seek nei-

ther to evade nor to palliate these, neither to narrow the obligations of social, nor to lower the standard of divine, law,) his love was genuine, abiding and sincere. Amid all the frailties of a weak and vacillating mind, without stamina, and without control, he never swerved in the ill-fated attachment which silently drew him to his grave. This is no hazardous inference, and no forced conclusion. In that one letter of his, which lies a dumb witness, side by side with hers, there speaks an unmistakeable sincerity, a quiet tenderness, a kind of sorrowful forbearance, nay, even a grave and unexpected determination, which present the best answer to those thoughtless and wholesale imputations which have been thrown upon his motives, and the most advantageous contrast to the frothy and puerile affectations which have been dignified with the name of love-letters. In weak characters, there is often observable an isolated position, round which the whole mental energies seem to centre and cling, producing, where they come into play, a force and vigour apparently at variance with the primary structure of the mind, and the ordinary capacities of the intelligence. This rallying point in L'Angelier's organization, was his love for the girl who infatuated him; and although the well regulated mind turns regretfully from the inspection of the nature that *could* thus captivate him, and from the undisciplined tenor of his pursuit, candour may at least assoil him of infidelity, and compassion speak gently over his grave.

It is not easy to say so much for his betrayer. Holding his soft and pliant heart in the strong grasp of her clear and subtle will, she flung around him the fetters of an irresistible fascination, and when she found herself entangled in the meshes she had woven, she lured him by a cruel witchery to his death. A moral turpitude of the most sorrowful character stamps the whole track of this unhappy crime. It has been affirmed that she was led astray, deceived, corrupted, ruined by L'Angelier. But what shallow sophistry will pretend that the depth and height of this unparalleled depravity disclosed in her guilty correspondence, was the result of any mere external influence, however forcible? The mind must have been mournfully predisposed to degradation, and miserably warped with evil, that could make such sudden and fearful shipwreck of its truth, its purity, and its womanhood. Her careless effrontery when the avenger was on her track, her bold assumption of indifference in presence of her accusers, her almost unflinching endurance of an ordeal too terrible and withering to conceive, her irreverent hardihood at the very mouth of the grave,—exalt her into a very questionable heroine. One might fancy her defying the summons of death, and smiling on the accusing angel.

That L'Angelier died by poison, is a point which no one seeks to controvert; that this poison was self-administered, is a theory which will scarcely bear a contradiction, and which we can hardly imagine retained for a moment, by the most thoughtless pretender to ordinary penetration. The eager and impatient hand which took the letter from the country post-office, that spring Sunday morning, was not likely to lift the death-cup to his lips at midnight, and forestal the expected re-

alization of vague and long-cherished hopes. The feet that trod in their haste, so many dividing miles to the tryst she had appointed, would scarcely turn voluntarily to the borders of the silent land, with that tryst unkept. The heart that could yet beat so fast to the voice of her now too surely simulated affection, would hardly still its own pulses on the very verge of the critical interview. Human nature will settle this question, apart from all legal evidence, or fortuitous possibility. An attempt to convict L'Angelier of suicide, is a mere impertinent evasion. It is too sadly evident, that poison was in the power of her whose letter lay upon his heart, as his last sun went down; that he met his death in those silent hours that have sent no deputy to the cloud of witnesses. The moral instinct is satisfied,—but justice sheaths her inflexible sword.

It is not, however, so much the conviction of the crime upon which we seek to insist, as its results, warnings, and possible bearings upon social life in some of its phases. And first, let us glance at that unhappy sophistry that would exalt such an unholy passion to the dignity of *love*. Even those first foolish days, innocent by comparison, what do they present, but the silly flutter of an ungoverned and wayward heart, rejoicing in the excitement of a clandestine amour,—a climax to which the ambition of young minds of a certain class points, as the highest felicity of incipient womanhood? Fatal effect, too often, of that mistaken system of education, which turns our young daughters adrift, to snatch a perilous and unwholesome aliment, far from the divine shelter of the parental roof, its hallowed associations, and silent, humanizing influences. Returning with a superficial gloss of accomplishment, a crude mass of questionable learning, and a rank undergrowth of knowledge of a yet more dubious nature, they suddenly exchange the enforced discipline of school for a premature independence, which is rarely met and tempered by that tact and judgment so imperative at this juncture. Those critical and important years, upon the direction of which the whole future character depends, are surely too holy and precious a trust to be thus recklessly launched upon the wild waste waters. The child that went out, returns no more; sympathies are broken which can never be re-linked; and the dividing interests of the intervening time, create a barrier of mutual distrust and reserve, which to most temperaments, and with rare exceptions, is insurmountable. The mischief, either discovered too late, or totally ignored, results in stern severity or unbridled license; but too harsh and severe a scrutiny will eventually sap the foundations of candour and confidence, while the opposite extreme of passive complacency, allows the unregulated feet to wander at will on paths, where, if no higher law attract and support them, their goings are sure to slide. So lonely and self-reliant, this unhappy girl strayed into forbidden ground; but let none call her wild and fatal folly by other than its proper name. Love is a thing too good and pure to be traduced and blasted. It was no love that flashed up for a moment in her heart, passed its scorching breath over honour, decency, and maiden pride, and then went out, above the bleak and treacherous gulf into which it had enticed its victim.

If it can be imagined, (and truly the hypothesis seems to afford a possible solution to a difficult problem,) that this erring mind experienced a gleam of unholy pleasure in finding herself the centre of an infamous notoriety,—it may not be amiss to advert for a moment to the shocking moral degredation which such a morbid state of sentiment presupposes; to warn young impulsive hearts lest they palter with the miserable fallacy which would invest crime with the insignia of heroism, deck sin with the garments of originality or romance, and seek to cast over deeds of darkness the sunny shadow of an angel of light. Perhaps it were scarcely fair to attribute in any measure to the influence of feelings like these, the spontaneous burst of cheering which greeted the verdict of the jury. Suspense had reached its climax, and probably the instinctive utterance of delight was not such a questionable moral symptom as it might appear, without a due consideration of the state of tension which this verdict brought to a close. But those shouts fall with a most mournful sound upon the heart; and, as they fade away, the sadness grows and deepens. To thinkers who put any faith in those mysterious intuitions by which our moral being is fenced and guarded, those still small voices which whisper through the inner chambers of man's listening heart the evidences of his immortality, and which refuse to be influenced or even biassed by the loud outer clamour above which their divine silence chimes,—the heavy sound which weighs upon the spirit when all is over, speaks a more hopeless certainty of conviction than the audible language of testimony, or the assenting voice of reason. Will any one acknowledge that the *abiding* result is one of satisfaction, or even of relief.

There are minds, however, to whom such considerations will appear nothing more than a futile evasion of perplexities, and a morbid endeavour to substitute a fallacious and brain-sick theory for the solid evolutions of material evidence. To those who draw their deductions solely from externals, the unimpugnable fact of the prisoner's calm and unterrified demeanour from first to last, speaks far more indisputably for her innocence, than any amount of indefinite moral impression for her guilt. But we think it must be a distorted vision that can discover the "quietness and confidence" of integrity in this repulsive composure. Reading her apparent simplicity of assurance under the original accusation, by the light of her after-bearing, is it a harsh or unjustifiable inference that the cheek which knew not how to burn under the utmost agony of shame that ever bowed a woman to the earth, was able to retain its colour under the pressure of a more dubious and far less infamous charge? Innocence is not birth-strangled; she does not meet the sudden element of suspicion without a cry of pain. Total insensibility is a very precarious evidence of vitality; such unimpressible callousness, such rigid effrontery, look too much like the studied attitude of premeditated disguise, or the death-trance of moral sensibility.

There is a terrible danger, to the young female sex especially, in confounding discrepancies and misinterpreting distinctions in such a matter. At an age when impulse is generally so much stronger than principle, when appearance is so readily assumed to be reality, where the springs of action are so little sought for, and so seldom found;—a double guard

should be set upon those inscrutable yearnings which, never content with their immediate existence, are even unconsciously for ever seeking rest; and which, in their unsatisfied wanderings, will twine themselves too often round hopes that are no anchors for the soul, or return into the house whence they come, to find an empty and unfriended home, where no good angels will come in and dwell.

But let such remember, that it is in their own hands after all that the jewel of their destiny lies. No outer influences, no early training, no watchful counsel, no tender sympathy, can cope with the determined sophistry which passively ignores the one great end of being. A deep and eternal consciousness of life's supreme realities, is the only safeguard on earth's enchanted ground. Individual temptations can only be parried by intrinsic strength, sought and obtained in Him who has so honoured human weakness as to accord to it the perfecting of his own exceeding power. If they slight their true mission, and evade their silent responsibilities, and press with a mournful daring into tracks where their feebleness will not stand; if they measure life by its pleasures, and degrade the eternal standard of duty to the level of their weak and lawless will, they will find that there is no abiding happiness where self is wholly undenied. Life is perhaps thorny at the best; but Christians, and Christian women especially, will walk the safer in those silent paths where they cannot count it all joy. The world is ever loud and busy; its outer courts are filled with strangers, who pass and traffic to and fro. Even within its sacred home enclosures, where the hum is not so loud, will come at times the tinkle of the money-changers, and the flutter of the caged doves. But surely in the hearts of its women, there should be a sanctuary where the tumult is hushed to an echo, and holy thoughts may rise like incense beyond the listening heaven and the soft summer stars.

Young girls, accept your mission with meek faith and courage, for a dark and sorrowful stain has fallen on your order. Brighten your maiden armour, uplift your bruised lilies, guard the white shield of innocence with the clasped hands of prayer. And for your wandering sister, may some kind angel lead her to the feet of Him who can still the enemy and the avenger, from whose absolving lips the divine acquittal fell of old, "Go, and sin no more."

LITERARY NOTICE.

Two Lectures on Some Changes in Scottish Life and Habits. By E. B. Ramsay, M.A. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

We have omitted from our statement of the title of this publication, the appendix affixed by the author to his name, that of "*Dean of Edinburgh.*" We rather thought that there was an Established Church in Scotland, and that a Presbyterian Church;—that Episcopacy—even the modified form of which Scottish churchmen would not tolerate, had been abolished; that our High Church brethren were no more than Dissenters—as they are—and we are not

more prepared for the Rev. E. B. Ramsay,—highly respectable and useful clergyman as he is, among his own communion,—taking the title of *Dean of Edinburgh*, than we are to allow that the respected Dr Terrot, the pastor of a congregation of Episcopalians, meeting in St Paul's, York Place, has a right to assume the title of *Bishop of Edinburgh*. The Scottish *bishops* may assume the title if they please; they may wear if they choose the short hat, apron, and even wig; but it is after all, only what Thomas Carlyle would call a *sham* and a delusion. Recent appointments to the Episcopal Bench, are not such as to encourage the entertainment of these pretences,—and—as Bishop Terrot is believed to be a man of prudence, we would advise him to call the "Rev. E. B. Ramsay," &c., to some measure of order. Perhaps the Rev. gentleman's publishers have affixed this handle to his name—and bearing it, he was no doubt, a very welcome visitor at the *reunions* at Ulbster Hall, where tea and literature were dispensed during the last and the preceding winter to a select few of our townsfolk—the *elite* in attendance including a stray Lord of Session or two, a Free Kirk reverend Baronet, a swarm of minor celebrities, and such other lions as could be caught. We are bound to say that Mr Ramsay has produced a very passable lecture on the subject mentioned at the head of this notice. It wants the graphic force and *naïvete* of Lord Cockburn's "Memorials" and is rather a weak water-colour sketch, than an embodiment of the times and manners treated of; still it is pervaded by a genial spirit,—contains some interesting anecdotes, and is fitted to amuse a passing hour.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Presentation.—We understand that the Duke of Roxburgh has presented the Rev. James Farquharson, assistant minister of St Luke's Church, Edinburgh, to the vacant church and parish of Selkirk.

Presentation.—William Baird, Esq., of Elie, the patron, has conferred the presentation of the Church of Anstruther Easter, upon the Rev. John Webster of the Church of Strichen.

Ordination.—On Tuesday, 30th ult., the Presbytery of Stirling met at Haggs, and ordained the Rev. John Anderson to the pastoral superintendence of the Church there.

St Andrew's Church.—The Presbytery of Edinburgh met on the 23d current, in St Andrew's Church, to moderate in a call to the Rev. John Stuart, Stirling, as one of the ministers of this church and parish. The Rev. Dr Muir preached on the occasion, and the call was signed by nearly all the members of the congregation who were present, no objections being offered.

New Church at Alloa.—The laying of the foundation stone of this new church, took place on Tuesday the 30th ultimo. Mr Baird performed the ceremony in due masonic form, after which the Rev. Dr Graham, offered a most impressive prayer.

MACPHAIL'S

EDINBURGH ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL.

No. CXL. SEPTEMBER 1857.

THE CHERUBIM EXHUMED, OR EXCAVATIONS IN THE TEMPLE.

IV. In the last number of this Journal we traced the chief *details* of these mysterious symbols, and marked their relations, their offices, and constitution. Our object, in the present number, will be to view them *as a whole;* and to observe, in special, the *general* purposes which they serve, and facts or truths which they symbolize. In the immediately preceding section we have surveyed them rather from Ezekiel's standpoint; while in the present we purpose to begin from John's. The former viewed them in analysis; the present will regard them rather as a synthesis. In the previous section we have sought the interpretation of their several members—their constituent parts; while in the present our object will be to ascertain what this entire representation or symbol considered as a whole, from the throne downwards to the base of their operations, symbolizes.

What then is the question? What are the facts to be explained? The mystery to be solved? They are these—God, His throne and firmament—all joined in some sense with these creatures. His will is done by them as His agents and ministers, both for good and evil, or rather, reward and punishment. He comes by them, or rather—for *coming* where ascribed to God is but a figure—they come for Him, in His name, and at His pleasure, as ambassadors for their King. They are his representatives; the agents and ministers of his will, so much so that He not unfrequently challenges for himself what they have done, and done from motives *peculiar* to themselves, Is. x. 5–19, &c. "Shall evil be in a city and the Lord hath not done it?" Such then are the facts in general; and now, what is the solution?

This glorious representation—from the throne downwards to the base of the creatures as in John, or from the creatures upwards to the throne as in Ezekiel—is symbolical, first, of God's *general* providence; and specially of that as now administered by the Mediator through second causes, Eph. i. 19–22, Matth. xxviii. 18. And here, it delights to add, we have at last found one point which the best of the older interpreters upon this subject, viz., Pradus, Junius, and Polanus, are at one with the present attempt. But still this agreement extends no further than the general proposition; for no sooner do they descend to particulars than they are at variance with themselves. Thus, for example, Pradus—who is decidedly the best of the older interpreters upon this subject—has no sooner made the general announcement that they are indicative of the general and special providence of God, than he represents the whole as God's triumphal march from Egypt at the head of his people—which has no other foundation as an explanation than his own imagination; while Pradus, Polanus, and Junius, when they come to the interpretation of the four creatures, make them, the first representative of the "four monarchies, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome," or of "the four gospels," the two latter, "angels," all of which have been already disproved. They are then significant of God's general providence, and specially of that as it is now administered by the Mediator and through second causes. The facts of the case make good all this; for it is He who occupies the throne in human form, and is compassed with the glory of the God of Israel. These creatures are all beneath and subject to *His* throne. Their offices also are all discharged in harmony with His will and in obedience to His command. Their constitution, therefore, their position, and their offices, all assure us that they are the instruments or agents of His general providence.

But, secondly, not only does this entire representation symbolize the *general*, but also the *special* providence of God as that also is now conducted by the Mediator through the same causes. For it is evident that their appearance on this occasion, Ezek. i.–xi., as well as in Is. vi., Ps. xviii. 6–10; Rev. iv.–xix., had a *special* reference, and was connected with a *special* mission. That His coming on this occasion, Ezek. i.–xi., was "to destroy the city," we are expressly told, Ezek. xliii., 1–3; whereas His coming, recorded Ezek. xliii. &c., was evidently to restore the city and specially the Temple. His first coming was to purge and purify; His second to build up and be adored; and both towards one special people. The cherubim by which he came on the first occasion, the instruments of his vengeance, the ministers of his will, were the Assyrians or Chaldeans; while on the second, the cherubim by which He came, the ministers of His will, the agents of the restoration, were the Medes and Persians under Cyrus, Is. xliv. 28; xlv. 1–13. But why, say you, did the cherubim,—on these several occasions, as Ezek. i.–xi.; Rev. iv., &c., and designed for these special purposes, —assume the combined form of man, the lion, the ox, the eagle,

&c.? To show, doubtless, that in subordination to and combination with those respective peoples, God would, in the execution of these purposes, avail himself, more or less, of the *combined* energy of all these agents on these several occasions. They are significant, therefore, both of God's *general* and *special* providence as that is now conducted by the Mediator through second causes, which are all creation.

V. We have thus considered the leading features of the cherubim in particular and general—in analysis and synthesis; and now it only remains to consider a few *collateral* questions, which we have hitherto reserved, in order both to perfect this interpretation and complete our argument.

Are these creatures, then, the *same* as seen in Eden, the Tabernacle, and the Temple; and by Isaiah, Ezekiel, and John? This question, it is to be admitted, should have been discussed at an earlier and preliminary stage, if, in every respect, a strict conformity to logical forms were to be complied with; and would certainly have been, had it not been for the dread of introducing confusion and debate into a subject already too much distracted and confused before we had arrived at any true idea of the facts of the case. Hitherto, therefore, as may have been observed, we have taken this for granted. But now that the facts are all before us, we enter, as will be admitted, with greater fairness upon the enquiry. We have withdrawn it, for these reasons, from the foundation of our super-structure; but with not less advantage, as seems to us, to be placed among the buttresses which both adorn and support it.

Are they the same then? Or are they different? As may have been observed, all the previous parts of this interpretation go upon the supposition that they are the same. And now, what evidence have we in support of this? Wherein do they agree? And wherein do they differ? And which prevail, their differences or their agreements? In Ezekiel and John, where they are most fully and minutely described, they agree in number, being four in both; they agree also in being, and being described by both, as "living creatures," a circumstance which of course Isaiah's description assumes; they agree also in having the same forms, faces, hands, wings, eyes, &c., or at least in having various combinations of the same parts; they agree in being complex and compound creatures; they agree in the positions which they occupy with respect to the throne; they agree also in the offices which they perform around it as worshipping, ministering, and waiting upon the throne. And now wherein do they differ? They differ first in *name;* but only in Isaiah vi. and John. In neither of these are they designated *cherubim*; in Ezekiel they are; but then, it is evident, that in John, such a circumstance as this can have no weight at all against the above *substantial* and *manifold* agreements, and more especially when it is remembered that in other respects they are also *one in name;* for both John and and Ezekiel agree in designating them "living creatures," ארבע חיות

—τέσσαρα ζῶα. Nor on the other hand can Isaiah's denominating them Seraphim or "burning ones" militate against the *unity* of these representations; for it is evident that he describes them simply from their appearance, and in this also Isaiah and Ezekiel are one. For if with the former they are "burning ones," the latter makes their general appearance like "lamps" and "burning coals of fire," Ezek. i. 4, 13. In all these descriptions, therefore, they are one in substance, and even in name and denomination. That, therefore, neither John nor Is. vi. designates them by the name cherubim cannot be allowed to weigh against the above substantial agreements; the more especially when both agree with Ezekiel in designating them by *other* common names, the one Seraphim or "burning ones," the other "living creatures." A greater and more substantial difference, however, is to be found in the facts that in Isaiah and John they are said to have each *six* wings, while in Ezekiel they have only *four;* and that in Is. and certain other places where they are mentioned, as 1 Kings vi., and even in Ex. xxv, and xxxvii., many of their parts or members are altogether omitted. But it is evident that no argument can be drawn from such omissions against their *essential* unity; for, on the same ground it might as well be argued from the cherubim of Ezekiel, xli. 18–19, which have only two faces, against the cherubim of the first ten chapters of the same writer, which have four. Again, these omissions vary from the absence of nearly all description as in Eden, to the absence of a wing, showing that the differences were not *essential;* and that the omissions were made rather on the ground of their being generally understood or supposed to be understood. On no other ground can we account for the variations, rather than essential differences, that exist among them. But finally, what we hold to be a conclusive answer to these and all such objections drawn from omissions and variations, entire or partial, or even from real differences, as in the case of the wings, &c., is the fact, that while God's cherubim are *all* nature, His cherub may be *any* part of it; that while His cherubim are *all* creatures, they may for the time be *any* creature, just as He wills it, whether they have wings or not; and that, in consequence, the absence of any particular members or parts, proper to the general description and types of the cherubim on any particular occasion, as in Eden, Isaiah, Ezek. xli. 18, 19, is no argument against their still being God's cherub or cherubim as the case and service require. Thus, for example, as already remarked, the wind, by the law of Hebrew parallel constructions, must be God's cherub, Ps. xviii. 10, where the wings are only figures, and so of the clouds and wind, Ps. civ. 3. And in the fact that in Ezekiel, x. 14, "the face of a cherub" is substituted in the identical representation, x. 15, 20, 22, for "the face of an ox," chap. i. 10, we read this other, that the ox or any other creature may be God's cherub on any special occasion, and that the term cherub is *predicable* of any or all God's creatures, whether they have wings or not. In this fact therefore we find the key which opens up, ventilates, and dissipates all such objections; for in it we learn, that it is not necessary that all God's cherubim should

have all those parts which are proper to the general type; and that, whenever cherubim are mentioned, we are not entitled to demand that all these parts should be produced or pointed out. The general law upon the subject is this, viz., *that God's cherubim in general possess all these attributes or powers, but not God's cherub or cherubim in particular, at least not necessarily.* They are therefore the *same* in all.

Another question of still higher interest and deeper importance which here presents itself, is, Whether these creatures, as such, have any relation to and derive any benefit from Christ the Redeemer of men? And if so, what? Of course, so far as man is concerned, and even so far as he is represented in them,—this is a settled question. Our question, therefore, does not refer to him, but to these creatures as constituted of *him* and *them.* Of his interest in redemption, there can be no doubt; but the question is, whether they with Him are made in any way to participate in the benefits and obligations of redemption? And if so, in what? Our appeal is still to the facts. What do these affirm? They answer, first of all, that these creatures, so constituted, have some connection with Him. They are, for example, beneath His throne and do His pleasure as has been already shown; for it is He—the God man—Mediator, that occupies the throne, Ezek. i. 26–28; a fact which identifies this entire representation with the facts and representations of Ephes. i. 10, 20–22; Col. i. 20; Mat. xxviii. 18; &c. Again, we find them in the tabernacle and the temple—the holiest of all; and what is their position there? and what their office? They are *there* bending their heads and gazing—upon what? The propitiatory or mercy-seat, and Him who presides upon it. "I will commune with thee from off the mercy-seat, and from between the cherubim?" "Toward the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubim be," and toward one another, Exod. xxv. 18–22; xxxvii. 7–9. Another fact which lies in our present line of proof and enquiry, is their repeated praises. What is the burden of their song? What do they praise Him for? What are the contents of their laudations? It is here, if anywhere, that we shall find the solution of the present question. And here it is not to be denied nor glossed over, that the burden of their repeated songs is God Himself—the Almighty—the Creator of the ends of the earth—the holy, and just, and true—the God of Hosts, rather than the *Redeemer*, Is. vi.; Ezek. iii. 12; Rev. iv. 8–11; v. 14; xix. 4. It cannot be denied that there is a *marked* difference between their praises in general, and the praises of the specially redeemed, as may be seen from a comparison of the above with the following passages:—Rev. i. 5, 6; vii. 9–12; xix. 1–4. And now, the only other passage which seems to conflict with these, and represent them as actually praising Him for redemption, is Rev. v. 7–10; where it seems undeniable that they praise the Lamb for redemption by His blood. These, then, are all the facts bearing upon this point. And now, what is the conclusion? On the one hand, it cannot be doubted, that *the creatures* join in the Song, "Thou hast redeemed us by Thy blood," Rev. v. 7–10; and are immediately

subjected to the Redeemer's throne, or gathered up into His Headship, Eph. i. 19–22; Ezek. i. 26–28; while on the other, it is not less unquestionable, that they do not praise Him as man praises Him, and that their praises are of a *more general* and *less specific* nature than man's. Our conclusion therefore is, that they, viz., all other creatures as well as man, and not less than man, enjoy certain benefits from Christ as the Redeemer; and that these are not less owing to the blood of Christ, than is man's redemption, strictly taken; so that they—viz. all creation, not less than *he*, both *can* or *are entitled*, and *ought* to sing "Thou hast redeemed us by Thy blood." We do not say, that they are, in every respect, saved as man is saved; but we do say, that they are saved in *their* degree and after *their* kind—and saved by the blood of Christ, not less *than he. Their's* is a redemption by the blood of Christ, not less than *man's;* or, in other words, our creatures, as above interpreted to consist of both man and all inferior creatures, are *both deriving benefits from Him*, and are *subject* to Him. But what benefits? How can all creation besides man be said to be saved by the blood of Christ? *In the same way*, we answer, *as they fell* with Him. They are saved by the blood of Christ, out of *that estate* into which by man's sin they fell, as man is saved out of that estate into which he fell. We are quite aware, that Geologists deny that inferior creatures die or suffer punishment in consequence of man's sin. But here it is established, and that by fact, that they are in some sense or other saved by man's Redeemer. We have in this fact, therefore, the very strongest presumption, that they must also have suffered and fallen with man. To the facts then, as being best able to solve both questions, viz., how and whether they fell and suffered with man; and consequently, how they rise and are redeemed with Him. And what are the facts? They are these. As has been shown, these creatures are all *in* man—incorporated with him. It has been shown, moreover, in what sense they are all *in* him, viz., that of subjection and dominion. And now, we add, that this they *were* originally and before the fall; for "God *created* man with dominion over the creatures;" so that, had he kept his first estate, *they too*, doubtless, *as the subjects of his dominion*, would have shared a far happier and less painfully laborious condition. But no sooner did he sin, than he dragged along with him that whole creation into a *state* of misery, and pain, and death;* so that, with *himself*, and not less than *he—this whole creation groans and longs most earnestly* for the fuller and the fullest manifestation of the sons of God. Because, the more fully that manifestation is now developed, the more man now enters into the character of the sons of God, the more they are made to share with him the blessings of an *ameliorated condition*, and a *kindlier treatment.* "The merciful man is merciful even to his beast." They share the benefits even now, though only partially, of an *ameliorated condition* as the result of the gospel and death of Christ. "Our humane societies," which owe their origin to *it*, show that even these are not

* Who can doubt it who looks upon their sufferings in the *world*, the *flood*, &c.

below *its* care. And every higher advancement and fuller manifestation that is now made of God's sons, will bring still farther accessions of amelioration to their condition.* And therefore it is, that this whole creation—the cherubim,—is represented as groaning together with man for such higher manifestations and ameliorations. They sank with him, and were subjected to vanity—not willingly, when man with whose lot theirs was bound up sank into corruption, and guilt, and misery. And now that he is raised—and as he rises, through another head—they rise with Him into the enjoyment of a happier, more kindly, and tolerable condition. They share the benefit, therefore, after *their* kind, and in *this* degree. They share also the obligation. They *praise*, and *serve*, and "*groan*," or long therefore, not less than man; and all because Christ died, and rose, and lives. Such, it seems to us, is the substance of Scripture fact upon this point in general. They were originally constituted in man, their head and lord; and with him sank into misery, and pain, and toil. And now that he is being raised through another head, they rise with him in *their* degree and after *their* kind; and that as equally a fruit of the Saviour's death, Ephes. i. 10; Col. i. 20; Rom. viii. 19–22. They were lost to God in Adam their first head and king, Matth. iv. 8; John xiv. 30; 2 Cor. iv. 4: they are being restored in Christ their second head, Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20. They are partakers, therefore, of Christ's redemption.

So much, then, for the discussion of this point in particular; and now it will tend as well to the confirmation and establishment of these things, as to the better ordering and methodizing of them, if we consider briefly—

1. The Creation-State of this world, or of the "creature."
2. Their State or Condition consequent upon sin, or immediately after sin.
3. The State of the "creature" under Christ; or the nature of Christ's dispensation over it, &c. And,
4. Its final state.

Our object in this place, be it observed, is to evolve what Scripture says upon these points with reference exclusively to other creatures than man.

First, then, as to the creation-state of this world, it cannot be doubted that all things, or rather all creatures, were subordinated to man, and that he was made with dominion over the creatures; that in this condition, they were not employed in any service at variance with the divine will; while they themselves were the subjects of a gentle and generous rule. The last two of these positions rest and are well founded on the character and condition of man, as he came from his Creator's hand. The first is expressly stated, Gen. i. 26–28; Ps. viii.; &c. In this creation-state, therefore, the creature was subordinated to man—and man immediately to God. By commanding

* We define, therefore, the result of man's sin or fall upon the creature to be a *condition* or *state* of at least suffering and misery, toil, hunger, &c.; and it seems to us, of certain deaths or death in such circumstances.

man, accordingly, the ruler of this inferior creation, who ordered them according to his will, it is evident that God also commanded them. So long, therefore, as he maintained his allegiance to his God, we have thus the surest guarantee, both for the world's fidelity and devotion to God, and for the gentleness and kindliness of man's dominion over the creatures. All this, both God's law and man's *then* perfect obedience perfectly secured. Man thus ordered the creature; and God, by ordering man, ordered *both*. The world thus under its first head or prince was exclusively the Lord's—at his bidding and at his service; at least so long as man maintained his allegience unbroken. God then, in His most general and absolute character as Creator and Governor of the universe, held *immediate intercourse* through its head with this dominion, Gen. iii. 8. So long, therefore, as man was at God's devotion, these two things were perfectly secured, viz., the faithfulness or constancy of the world in its allegiance to God and devotion to his service, and the gentleness and generousness of man's dominion over the creatures. The Prince carries His dominion with Him. Such, in general, was the creation-state of this lower world.

But, secondly, having fallen, and failed in his allegiance—the question arises, did he carry his dominion with him into the rebellion and its consequences? Or did it continue independently, and despite of him, faithful in its allegiance to God? Geologists, because of some of the consequences which the affirmation of the former would imply, are fain—though not expressly, and though not so positively as it is here *worded*, yet in effect—to affirm the latter of these alternatives; while, on the contrary, *defining the sense in which* we take it, it is our purpose to affirm the former. Accordingly, it is here affirmed, that the state of this world after sin was one of total separation and estrangement from God, and consequently one of suffering or punishment; that God, in His most general and absolute character as Creator and Governor of all things, could have had no further communication with it; and that, but for Christ, it had immediately been resolved into a reign of justice, as is that which is now established over fallen angels. So much for our affirmation in the general; it will meet with still further limitations as we advance. And now for the reasons—

First, As to its being *involved* in the revolt and punishment,—this is rendered, at least, highly probable, by the facts that a king usually carries his dominion with him, and that this is one of the chief ways in which *he* may be punished, and made *himself* to suffer; while, on the other hand, it is absolutely certain, that if his connection with it were continued after the fall, he could not become a depraved and cruel despot—as we find he actually did become—without his subjects being made to reap the bitter fruits of such a change. Defined from this point, therefore, and granted this supposition—which cannot be denied—the state of the world or other creatures after the fall and under man, *was one of a depraved and cruel despotism*.

But secondly, what confirms both this supposition and definition,

is the fact, that Scripture variously describes the state of the world in both these respects, and shows expressly that it was involved both in the revolt and punishment. Thus, for example, as to the first of these points,—*nothing* can be plainer than such descriptions as that there is an irreconciliable antagonism between the world in itself, or as it now is, and God. Their services cannot be united in the same person, Matth. vi. 24; nor their love in the same heart, 1 John ii. 15. He who would become the friend of one of them, must necessarily become the enemy of the other, James iv. 4. The same thing is most indisputably, and not less distinctly, set forth in such descriptions as evince that the world has gone under another prince, and bows submission to another God. Thus: "Now is the judgment of this world; now is the prince of this world cast out." "The prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in me." "The God of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not;" and Satan himself, does he not assume the prerogative of a God, when addressing the Son of God he says—pointing to the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them—"all these will I give thee, if only thou wilt fall down and worship me?" The world, therefore, it is evident, has been involved in the revolt, estrangement, or separation. The same thing is engraven as on the rock for ever upon the tablet of experience. Man's dominion over the creatures has—subject to the changes which the fall superinduced upon them—been retained over them. He acquires them as his property. He uses them in his service. And if, of course, his service is all devoted to the world and sin and Satan, they also as well as his other possessions, *are* all *appropriated* to the same service, and alienated from that of God. Hence it is, also, that he often meets his punishment in their destruction and removal.

And now as to the punishment. What could be more direct and positive than such narrations as Gen. iii. 17, 18, and 19? There the ground is actually cursed for man's sake. Thorns and thistles, instead of grain and other fruits, were thenceforth to be its only spontaneous growths. If ever again he was to be served by these—they were to be grown in the soil of his own endurance, and nourished by the moisture of his own sweat. But still in all this, it might be here objected, there is nothing said of other creatures besides man, but only inanimate nature. Well, but it is implied, we answer; inasmuch as this curse could not take effect without *their* being made to suffer from it as well as man. But further, the same thing is set before us in all such facts or representations of Scripture as show that they, not less than he, were involved with him and on his account, in such calamities as the deluge, the plagues of Egypt, the destruction of Sodom, the Canaanites, &c., Gen. vii. 21–23. Nor only are we left to "good and necessary consequence" in this matter; the fact is *expressly written*, Rom. viii. 19-22. The state of "the creature," "the creature itself," "the whole creation," is there said to be one of *earnest* expectation of a better state, of *subjection to vanity*, of bondage to corruption, and of grievous bur-

den and oppression or labour so as to excite a longing and groaning earnestness for *deliverance* and *liberty*. The same thing, in both its aspects, may be read every day by any one on the page of experience. There we find, by simply opening our eyes, that man has carried his dominion with him and appropriated to himself the services of the creatures. In the case of the wicked always, and even of the godly sometimes, we find the creatures used in services and expeditions which are contrary to God's law and involved in the greatest miseries. But *whether employed for* or *against* God, they are always, even as they are to be seen upon our streets, more or less involved in the grinding labour and sufferings of man's estate.

Defined, therefore, from these descriptions or facts, both of Scripture and experience, the state of this whole creation, besides man, is, at least, one of *grinding* and *oppressive bondage* and suffering—if not of death—as well as of estrangment and separation from God.

But thirdly, that this world—that all things have, now or since the fall, been separated and estranged or alienated from God—usurped by another prince—and taken allegiance to another prince, and done homage to another God;—that the fall inferred the loss of this province to God entirely, so that he could have had no more dealings with it immediately, except as a reign of justice, is most distinctly brought before us in the Saviour's Commission, as mediatorial King and Governor of all things; for hear its terms. In the very first germ or purpose of it that we find revealed, it runs thus: "That in the dispensation of the fulness of the times he should gather *together in one* or *re-collect into one* head, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth." To re-collect, therefore, or gather up all things into himself—to reconcile them all again to God—to bring them back or certain of them to God immediately under another head, is one certain part of this commission, Ephes. i. 10; Col. i. 20. They must, therefore, so far as God is concerned, have been scattered, lost, and alienated under their former head. Again, at 1 Cor. xv. 24-28, we find this same Commission running in these terms, that he "put down all rule and all authority and power;" that he "put all his enemies, of whom the last to be destroyed is death, under his feet;" that he subdue "*all things* under him; and that on all this being accomplished, he restore the kingdom immediately to God in his most general character, that "God may be all in all." All things, therefore—this whole province—must have been in a state of revolt and estrangment from God, and consequent punishment.

Defined, therefore, from all these facts together, it is evident that we cannot define the true condition of this whole creation besides man since the fall better, than just by using the apostle's description, Rom. viii. 19-22, viz., that it is one of subjection to vanity, of bondage to corruption, of grievous burden and bondage, if not of death, so as to excite an earnest and groaning expectation of deliverance and liberty; a fact which tends greatly to confirm our present conclusion as well as this other, which has been disputed, viz.,

that the apostle is in this place reasoning of the same "all nature" as this present discussion.

But still there are some exceptions taken to certain premises in the above reasoning; for example, it has been objected that the terms, "all things in heaven and in earth," Ephes. i. 10; Col. i. 20—"the whole creation"—"creature," &c., Rom. viii. 19-22; which Christ's Commission embraces, are by many respectable interpreters restricted to men, to Jews and Gentiles, to the church on earth and the church in heaven, &c.; and we know that there are some highly respectable names on this side of the question or interpretation. But still, and notwithstanding this, it will serve as no small counterpoise to be able to array against them such names as Davenant on the Colossians, Bengel, Eadie, Olshausen, &c. But waiving this altogether, we contend that the gathering into one head, Eph. i. 10—the reconciling of all things unto himself, Col. i. 20—have far wider signification than Dr Hodge in his new work on the Ephesians would seem to give them; for, first of all, *this is expressly* taught in such places as 1 Cor. xv. 24-28; Heb. ii. 8, 9; and, secondly, Christ's mission and commission bear other and wider aims than the reconciliation of men to God. Thus, for example, we are taught, Eph. ii. 14, 15, that his object was as well to reconcile men to one another as unto God;—to re-collect them and make them one among themselves as well as to make them one with God. Reconciliation, therefore, or gathering up into one head in Christ, is not to be restricted simply to the reconciliation of man with God. It has other and wider purposes. But, thirdly, it must be evident to any one who carefully reads the immediately succeeding contexts, Eph. i. 10, and Col. i. 20, that the all things in heaven and in earth extend far more widely than redeemed men alone; for it is evident in both these contexts—Eph. i. 11-14, and Col. i. 21-23—that the application of this *reconciliation and re-collecting into Christ* to men, is but a special and restricted application of that which is far more *extensive* and *general* in the propositions themselves, Eph. i. 10, and Col. i. 20. The plain inference from both these facts is this, that Christ's commission, in both these places, embraces the reconciliation and re-collecting of men, both Jews and Gentiles;—but, further, that it embraces also the re-collecting and reconciliation of *other* things also. The last of these inferences is expressly stated in the general propositions, Ephes. i. 10; Col. i. 20; the first in the contextual passages, Ephes. i. 11-14; Col. i. 21-23. *That the minor is true*, therefore, is no reason in good logic why the major or greater and more extensive propositions should not be true also, but the very opposite. But, fourthly, in such passages as Rev. v. 13, we find all creatures in heaven and earth and sea chorusing to the song of the Elders, living creatures, and angels, &c. They are therefore, they must be, included in some sense, 2 Pet. iii. 10-13.

And now, as to the term "creature," "creation," "the whole creation," of Rom. viii. 19–22, that it extends more widely than man, or the mortal part of man in this passage, contrary to the

opinion of some, and includes in some sense this present state of things or other creatures as well as he, seems to follow, first, necessarily from the fact that the *whole creation*, v. 22, is brought into immediate contrast with the "we ourselves who have the first fruits of the spirit," v. 23; for, on the one hand, whether we take it in the sense of "every creature," or "the whole creation," the restriction of the term to every creature or man who has not the spirit, is *too violent* and *harsh* to any one who sets himself to read the passage without prejudice or purpose; while, on the other hand, if it be true that men having not the spirit, do groan in this present state being burdened, then it is not less true that other creatures as well as he, and especially those which are immediately subjected to his control, and do him service, are burdened also and have the like occasion to groan for a deliverance from the bondage of corruption, and for the glorious liberty and full development or manifestation of the sons of God or of their new Son-state. Nor would it, it seems to us, be very difficult to show that they groan and long quite as much as such men—that such men are often more patient of this present evil state than they. But yet again, we answer, that in a decided majority of the places where this term, κτίσις is used, as Rom. i. 25; viii. 39; Mark x. 6; xiii. 19; 2 Pet. iii. 4; Col. i. 15-17; Rev. iii. 14; Heb. iv. 13, it has a far more extensive signification than mere men; that only two passages can be pleaded for this more restricted sense, viz., Mark xvi. 15; Col. i. 23, while in the five remaining passages it tells it own tale, Rom. i. 20; 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15; Heb. ix. 11; and 1 Pet. ii. 13; for, looking at the first of these, Rom. i. 25, we find "creature" immediately contrasted with the Creator, while turning back* to verse 23 we find the same term or creature defined to be "corruptible man, birds, four-footed beasts, and creeping things." Again, looking at Rom. viii. 39, we need but to read it to see that the term "creature" includes angels, principalities, powers, height, depth, &c. But further, what else than the beginning of the world and all things in it can "the beginning of the creation" mean? Mark x. 6; xiii. 19; 2 Pet. iii. 4. And now again, if we turn to Col. i. 15-17, we will find the term "every creature," of verse 15, defined by the all things, &c., in heaven and in earth of verses 16 and 17. There is, therefore, in this apostle's usage of the term, every reason to conclude that where he contrasts this whole creation, or every creature, with those who have the first fruits of the spirit, the term has a wider reference than merely to men who have not the spirit. The prevailing usage, therefore, does not warrant this limitation; neither, as we have seen, is there any reason, or rather necessity, to demand it, but the contrary. We must be content to take it, therefore, in its simple acceptation, and as it presents itself to every unbiassed reader, *i. e.*, as having a reference to other creatures besides man. The same thing is supported by the Scripture usage of the term κτισμα in the only passages where it is used, 1 Tim. iv. 4; Rev. v. 13, and viii. 9. Nor will it seem any small

* This comparison is suggested by Schleusner.

recommendation of this opinion of the creatures, that it is supported by such names as Hodge, Tholuck, Olshausen, Haldane, &c. Nor indeed, as it seems to us, can we do better, either for our general purpose, or for the confirmation of this especial point, than just to quote the closing paragraph of Dr Hodge's comment upon this place. It is the following: "The word rendered creature means the act of founding or creating, Rom. i. 20; and then that which is created, Rom. i. 25; Col. i. 15. The expression, *the whole creation*, may, according to the context, mean the rational or irrational creation. That in this case it refers to the *latter* may be argued. 1. Because it cannot be said of mankind generally, or of the rational creation, that they are waiting with earnest desire for the manifestation of the sons of God; *that they were made subject to their present state of corruption, not of their own accord, but by God;* and that they are to be made partakers of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. 2. All this can be said, in strict accordance with the Scriptures, of the external world. The Scriptures frequently speak of the whole creation as a sentient being, rejoicing in God's favour, trembling at his anger, speaking abroad his praise, &c., as Paul here represents it as longing for the great consummation of all things. Again, it is agreeable to Scripture to speak of the earth as cursed for man's sake, as made subject to vanity, not on its own account, but by the act of God *in punishment* of the sons of men. Finally, it is according to the word of God to represent the creation as participating in the blessings and glories of the Messiah's reign. See Isa. xxxv. 1; xxix. 17; xxxii. 15-16; 2 Pet. iii. 7-13; Heb. xii. 26, 27. 3. This interpretation is suitable to the design of the apostle. Paul's object is not to confirm the certainty of a future state, *but to produce a strong impression of its glorious character.* Nothing could be better adapted to this object than the grand and beautiful figure of the whole creation waiting and longing for the glorious revelation of the Son of God, and the consummation of his kingdom."

But still further, it might be objected, as Geology is fain to do, that even granting that you have made out your point and shown that the fall and punishment of man involved in some sense also his dominion, still this does not prove that death came upon other creatures in consequence of this transaction. Now, let us see what can be answered to this objection; or rather let us try what adjustment can be effected between them. What then are the facts on either side of the question? On the one hand it seems an established fact that the death of animals took place long epochs anterior to the present creation or state of things; nor is this all, it seems not less an established fact that even in these ancient and anterior epochs, when no man existed, as far as has been traced, animals were created to be the death of others and to prey upon them; many arguments go to the establishment of these points, which will be found in any system of Geology. And now, on the other hand, what are the facts which Scripture, touching this point, lays down? They are these; first of all, and in general, that the ground was cursed for man's sake, that it was doomed to bring forth thorns and

thistles, and that such a change, such a constitution was superinduced upon it, its trees, &c., as would entail the sweat and weary labour of man before it could be brought to yield him even a subsistence, for we cannot imagine that fruit-trees, as they came from the hand of God, bore only wild or crab-fruit,—as all our fruit-trees do until they are put under cultivation, grafting, &c. This much at least is undoubted, Gen. iii. 17-19. Thus far, unquestionably, the consequences of the fall extend beyond man himself. But still it may be retorted, there is no mention of the death, &c., of other animals in all this. Well, but stay you. Look at that deluge, Gen. vii. 21-23, in which every creature, and "every living substance" perished, except those which God had previously brought within the ark, "to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth." Look again at such catastrophies as earthquakes, the plagues of Egypt, &c., in which the cattle and other animals, not less than man, are often involved; and that even on account of man, and in connection with him, as in the case of the plagues of Egypt, the destruction of the cities of the plain, Achan, Korah, Dathan, and Abirim, &c.* In these and all such cases, we see death, punishment, &c., for man's sake, and in connection with him, brought upon these animals. Let us look at them again, as they go with him to war, and toil, and suffering; what carnage, what death, what sufferings do they not endure, in connexion with him, for his sake, and even at his hand? How often does God punish his wickedness, &c., upon them? What hunger, what maltreatment, what wasting, what weariness, yea, what death† do they not endure in consequence of man's sin? Such, then, are the facts in general; and now what is the result? This, namely, that at the very least they have—not willingly, doubtless, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope—been subjected to an hard and cruel bondage, the bondage of corruption, or of corrupt men, in which, like man himself, they endure such pangs as hunger, weariness, oppression, abuse, and often death, or in one word, *mortality;* nor only so, but in which they are often punished with suffering and death on man's account, as in sacrifices, &c., or rather, in which man is punished in them as his estates. Although therefore —and this brings us to the adjustment of the two apparently conflicting facts of Geology and Revelation—the sin of man did not originate or entail *all* death, yet are we warranted by it in concluding that it entailed such deaths or death† under such circumstances, and perhaps attended with pains and sufferings which had been unknown in another state of things. Defined therefore in the light of these indications from both Scripture and experience, the state of this world, or of all creatures besides man, after sin, and consequent upon it, is one of total separation from or loss to God; and consequently of bondage, suffering, labour, oppression, frailty, hunger, and at least such deaths; or in one word, mortality, with all its wants and needs in a state of punishment.

* Nor can it be objected that these examples are exceptional, for they are but extraordinary examples of that which is common or ordinary.

† "Surely the bitterness of death is past."—1 Sam. xv. 32.

But, *thirdly*, In considering the nature of Christ's mediatorial *commission*, we have already anticipated to some extent the state of the world or of other creatures than man under the Mediator. It is, as we have seen, a redemption state. The object of it is the reduction of this revolted province and its restoration to God. His enemies must either submit, or quit the scene, or be destroyed. The province must be reduced. God's right to it and sovereignty over it must be acknowledged. His sole *supremacy* must be *owned*. Now surely no one will contend that this reduction and redemption apply only to men; for it is matter of experience, that in proportion as man himself is reduced and redeemed, in the same proportion as he possesses the creature or the world, it also is in *its* way reduced and redeemed. The *world* or the *creature*, so far as he possesses it, and in proportion to his own recovery and restoration, or re-devotion to God—is *thus brought back to God*—again devoted to his service as at the beginning, and at the same time made itself to share the blessings of this partial but ever expanding and perfecting redemption. As, therefore, the loss of man, as we have seen, entailed the loss of the world to God at first; even so the recovery of man infers the recovery of the world and casting out of Satan who usurps through man. The creature itself, as has been already shown, was made to share in the revolt and punishment; and now we have seen further, that it is a fact of common experience, that they too are made to participate in the fruits of redemption in their degree and after their kind, according to the degree in which their Lord is himself redeemed. And having tasted in this good degree of this heavenly gift—having had thus the hope awakened in them of an improving and improved condition, can we wonder that they groan under remaining bondage, and desire with longing earnestness its full perfection? Even though their share in it should have no future reference, as has that of man; even though their interest in it should be confined to deliverance from present evils; even though they should have no hope of being recognized in the new heavens and the new earth; yet this itself, viz., present deliverance, is an object well worthy of their utmost longing and expectation. But how much more so, if, besides this, which is not improbable, there shall be a complete purgation and restoration of this whole province. The state itself, however, as described by the Apostle Paul, is—as contrasted with the obscuration of the sons of God, which followed upon sin,—one of their "manifestation;" as contrasted with the state of bondage into which sin reduced them and their dominion—one of their "glorious liberty;" and, as contrasted with the state of complete loss to God, which sin brought upon them, this state is one of complete restoration, 1 Cor. xv. 28. The creature, therefore, is a partaker of redemption.

And now, *fourthly*, Without discussing the question raised by such passages of Scripture as 2 Pet. iii. 13, viz., whether there shall be a complete *renovation* of this earth from sin itself and all the consequences of sin, and *restoration* of it to its original condition, which

is the opinion of some great men, and which the idea of redemption decidedly favours; or whether it shall be finally and for ever destroyed; we purpose here merely to state, that in whatever place or locality it be, and to whatever extent, we are warranted in affirming, that the last condition of the creature, as redeemed, shall be one of immediate subjection to God as at the beginning; under another head doubtless—but still with man himself in that head immediately restored to God—which certainly favours the idea of a complete renovation and restoration of all as redeemed, 1 Cor. xv. 24-28.

The following are *inferences* which the above *evidence* warrants, and which make for the *establishment* of several of the above positions, as well as for the accurate distinction of things that differ, as—

I. That Christ *conducts* the present *administration* of Divine Providence towards this *world*, Ephes. i. 19-22; Phil. ii. 9-11; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Matth. xxviii. 18; John iii. 35.

II. That under this, and by means of it—which is at once an honour and an instrument—a reward and a necessary qualification, He has been delegated or received a commission to reduce this revolted province—make up a new kingdom out of it—and restore it to God, even the Father, 1 Cor. xv. 24-28; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20.

III. This general administration of Providence, which extends over all creatures—angels and even devils, as well as men and all other creatures—is not to be confounded with that which he is to make out of the present revolted and chaotic province and restore to God, destroying or banishing all others.

IV. The two dominions are *quite distinct* and not to be confounded. The *one is a present possession* with which he is even now invested. The other is *a present commission* which he is now in the course of executing. The one is the means, the other the end, of said commission.

V. The subjection of the cherubim to the throne of God is synonymous, or rather identical, with the subjection of all things to the Mediator in the first of these respects, as the God and present Administrator of Divine Providence, Ephes. i. 20-22; Matth. xxviii. 18; John iii. 35; Ezek. i. 26-28.

VI. The cherubim themselves are identical with the "all things in heaven and in earth" of all these and such like places.

A third collateral question, which has been reserved till now, is, Whether or not this symbol or representation includes angels and higher creatures? We think it does; although it does not seem to us that they are specially included in the composition of these mysterious creatures except as representatively; for, on the one hand, as already pointed out, it seems to include all agency up to the throne of God—the Mediator; while, on the other, we know, not less certainly, that angels as well as other creatures are subject to His throne—minister to the heirs of salvation—reap benefits from Him and praise Him on this account, Eph. i. 20-22; iii. 10; Heb. i. 14; 1 Pet. i. 12; iii. 22; Matth. xxviii. 18; Luke ii. 13, 14. The

same conclusion seems to follow necessarily from the fact that cherubim—real beings—were placed in Eden when none but Adam and Eve existed of the human race, as well as from other circumstances already stated and need not be repeated here, as, for example, their position in the Holy of Holies, Ex. xxv. and xxxvii., and in Is. vi. It seems, therefore, as if we could not escape the conclusion that angels are included in the general type of the cherubim.

The only other subject that now remains to be disposed of is the name—Cherubim. This, of course, in the natural order of enquiry ought to have opened the discussion, and shed its light upon the succeeding investigations. But as it seemed itself to be involved in almost hopeless obscurity, the next best thing which seemed to suggest itself was to defer consideration of it till the end; and as the name could not give any help in discovering the thing, to see if the thing could cast any light upon the name. Now, as it is plain that names, especially in the Old Testament, are taken generally either from the nature or uses of things; and as the nature of these creatures is complex, and their uses various, it is clear that we have very considerable scope for determining the meaning and derivation of this name. And, first, it is clear that, failing any direct root from which it could be derived, if we could produce some idiomatic expression corresponding to "the all," "the many," "the multiplied," "*the most or as many as possible*,"—and כ has this meaning according to Gesenius, Lex. page 379, while רב might be rendered "his many," Job xvi. 13.—See Ges. Lex, under רב, רבב, רבה, &c. —our object would be sufficiently attained; and failing this, the next best thing is to take the easiest and most natural explanation or transposition. Now as to the first of these, it is generally admitted that there is no direct root known from which it could be derived; and as to the second, it seems not less certain that such compounds do not obtain in the Hebrew or Shemitic languages * It only remains, therefore, to state the most probable explanations and transpositions which have been proposed,—which we do in the order in which they stand, to save any further discussion upon the subject,—קרוב an attendant, a derivative from קרב to approach or draw near; חורוב a destroyer, or, according to some, a plougher or ox, from חרב to destroy; כרוב for רכוב a chariot, (Ps. civ. 3,) from רכב to be carried or ride, whence רכב a chariot, and מרכבה, which is used of the cherubim, 1 Chron. xxviii. 18. These seem the most probable explanations which have been proposed; and while there is none of them but might *in sense* be legitimately predicated of the cherubim, yet are they nothing more than conjectures or probable solutions. The truth seems to be that the root from which the name is really derived has been lost.

VI. We have now done with this interpretation. But before

* "Scarcely any compounds appear in verbs or nouns, except proper names." —*Gesenius.*

concluding, it will be necessary for us to consider its *uses*. And here at first sight or mention of these mysterious symbols, it seems a matter of little practical importance, if not, of mere idle curiosity, to enter on such an investigation as the preceeding. On first enquiry, it seems as if no good purpose were to be served by such investigations. And hence, we doubt not, many will be inclined to ask, on taking up this enquiry, What use? as if it could be of no advantage. But this, doubtless, is owing to the vague, uncertain, and often conflicting notions that we have formed of them. No sooner does the light of truth—the true light touching these creatures—arise upon them, than such illusions are dispelled. But, even suppose the allegation were true, which it is not, as will immediately be shown, this were no reason for our neglecting them. That they form part of God's revelation to man, is sufficient reason to demand our attention and careful study. And though our efforts were to be attended with no other advantages than truth—knowledge—the accurate knowledge of what God declares—although we may not fully comprehend it in its widest compass—yet *this itself* were worth our most devoted study. That they are in God's book, demands this of us—even to the utmost—up to all that is written of them; while, that we should know them—or know the truth of them—even up to this point—and not be found speaking indefinitely and without meaning, is of itself a sufficient reward for the most laborious examination. But, when besides this, we add the following considerations, it will be seen that this is the very opposite of some idle enquiry.

The first application to be made of this subject, or rather inference to be drawn from it, is, that God must be a glorious and terrible king, —whose *hosts* these are—so numerous, so terrible, and so diversified. The storm, the whirlwind, the volcano,—the gentle zephyr, the glorious sunbeam, the genial shower,—the cloud, the vapour, and the fire,—and in short, *all things*—sun, moon, and stars,—all elements, winds, fire, earth, and rain,—all creatures in sea, and land, and air, are all equally His ministers and messengers. His *dominion extendeth* over all. Nor could we have a more glorious idea of His *power*, than to be assured that it commands *intelligent* and *free* causes, not less than unintelligent and irresponsible; that His is a dominion not only of *power* or *force*, as is that of man over inferior creation, but also of *intelligence* and *law;* and that, notwithstanding this, He can command the service of the highest *intelligences*, as well as of the most inanimate object. Pss. cxlviii., ciii. All equally are subject to His dominion.

A *second* inference to be drawn from this subject, is, that sinners should stand in awe of Him *on their account*. "The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble; He sitteth between the cherubim, let the earth be moved." Are these all equally at His command? Are they alike bound to His throne? Can He send them forth—the tempest, the flood, or fire, as He sees him good? Can "He muster their host to battle? Can He make the beasts of the field to be at war with thee? Can He array the elements against thee? Can

He submerge a world? Can He make the earth open her mouth, and devour the rebel? Can He consume the licentious city? He can, assuredly, and often has. All nature—these elements, man, angels, and inferior creatures, stand like so many separate companies, armed, ready, and waiting only his command to strike, or punish, or chastise. "Who would not fear Thee, O King of nations? for to Thee doth it appertain; forasmuch as among all the wise men of the nations, and in all their kingdoms, there is none like Thee." "The Lord is the true God, He is the living God, and an everlasting King; at His wrath the earth shall tremble, and the nations shall not be able to abide His indignation."

A *third* and converse inference which the same facts warrant, is, that His own people should trust Him the more *on their account.* Can He, as well as sending them forth against thee—send them forth on Messages of mercy? Can He make the beasts of the field to be at peace with thee? Can He make the ravens feed thee? Can He send His angel and shut the lion's mouth from hurting thee? Can He stay the violence of the burning furnace, even when heated seven times? Can He stay the tide and set bounds to the wrath of man? And in short, has He furnished a world with ministers to wait upon you, and agencies to defend you? Then say, why *you* should fear, who can not merely say, "my Father *made,*" but my Father *controls* them all? I will not fear, "though an host should encamp against me," Ps. iii. 6; xxvii. 3; 2 Kings vi. 16-17; Rom. viii. 35-39; Ps. xvii. 8; xxxvi. 7; lvii. 1; xci.

Are they all, then, either the one or other of these, at peace or war with thee—just as He *wills* it? Then, who does not see, as a *fourth* inference, the necessity of prayer? Can He restrain them or let them loose just as He pleases? Can He, according to His pleasure, either array them against you or send them to your help? He can, assuredly. They are all standing ready, armed, and waiting only His command either to assist you or execute His vengeance. Then, whichsoever be your state—whether of favour or of wrath—both equally, it is evident, dictate the propriety and necessity of prayer. Such, at least, was David's inference from them, and Assaph's, and Hezekiah's, Pss. xviii. 6-10; lxxx.; 2 Kings xix. 15-19; Is. xxxvii. 16-20; and such also is evidently the teaching of that saying, "I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, and from between the cherubim."

A *fifth* inference is that which teaches man humility and kindness to all about and beneath him. For, however great the difference between them in some respects, in others they are still his *equals,* Ephes. vi. 9; Col. iii. 22; iv. 1. True, they set forth his native excellence and superiority over them; true, at one time and in one view they turn this world into a court, where all creation is seen to do *him* homage; but then it is not less true that in an another view, and with quicker than magic hand, they turn *his* court into a temple, an outer sanctuary, in which man, reduced to the level of all creation, is but a worshipper, a vassal and a servant.

Another advantage, arising from the definite and right knowledge of these creatures or rather of this entire representation, is, the simplicity and unity in which it sets before us the divine providence. No subject, when viewed apart, more complex or more perplexing. But here, according to these figures, none more simply and radically one. Diverse, indeed, and very numerous and complicated, are those agencies and powers which it is here seen to command; but then, however numerous and complicated, and even perplexing, the multiplicity of agency herein displayed—they are all here seen to be gathered up into one hand, controlled by one will.

Another advantage which will accrue from the right understanding and interpretation of these mysterious figures, is, the right understanding and interpretation of such books as Ezekiel and Revelation. This, it seems to us, forms the true key to the consistent and intelligent interpretation of these mysterious books of Scripture. For, on the one hand, both of these books declare in general, certain comings or manifestations or dispensations of God—His will and providence towards this world; while on the other, His coming in vision upon these mystic creatures, shows at once the fact of those manifestations, the manner and purposes of them, and the variety as well as combination of agencies which He commands and by which He will accomplish these various purposes. And that this is the true key to the right understanding of these mysterious books, is shown from this, that in all the preceding epistles which the Lord dictates to the Churches of Asia, He himself assumes a character or name or appearance in harmony with the reward or punishment threatened or promised in the epistle. Thus, for example, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, He claims for himself the holding of the seven stars in his right hand, and the walking amid the seven golden candlesticks; while the punishment threatened, unless repentance ensues, is the removing of the candlestick. To the Smyrnians He assumes the character of the life, &c.; and his promise to them is a crown of life. To those of Pergamos he comes with a sharp sword; while the punishment he threatens against them in case of continued disobedience, is, that he will "fight against them with the sword of his mouth;" and so on with all the others. And now that He was coming to declare —in what remains of the book and vision, as well as in Ezekiel—the end from the beginning; now that, as the God of Providence, He was about to show in Rev. what would be the end of all things, and in Ezek. what would be the punishment of the Jewish people, as well as the agents and instruments by which his several purposes therein declared were to be accomplished, it is evident, that there is a strict and glorious propriety in his coming as the God of the cherubim, a strict and beautiful coincidence between the world-wide purposes therein set forth and the not less extensive agency which He commands and by which He can accomplish the minutest as well as the most momentous events.

In our former paper, not feeling altogether satisfied with the ex-

planation of "the wheels" which we there proposed, as not strictly and philosophically consistent with the other parts of our interpretation, we expressed a hope that another and more satisfactory explanation might be found in one or other of several suggestions we then made; and finding that the same want of satisfaction on this point, and the same hope has been sympathised in by others and especially the Rev. Dr John Brown—we now address ourselves to the evolution and expansion of one of these suggestions.

And here, first, we affirm that all the conditions of these wheels—as their presenting the appearance of a wheel in the middle of a wheel, their being pervaded or filled with the same spirit as the creatures, their moving as the creatures moved and whither the spirit led,—are satisfied by the fact that God conducts his providential government by circles or wheels of *being, time, plants,** &c.—as the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words, which signify generation,† year, ages, seasons, &c., all abundantly demonstrate—while each may be truly said to contain within itself the germ of its successor, or a wheel within a wheel, &c. We merely name a few of them as gathered from Gesenius' Lexicon, דור, עד, שנה, אפן, תקופה, עולם, &c., Latin, annus, Greek, ἐνιαυτός, περίοδος, αἰων, καιρος, &c.

But secondly, we affirm that these specified conditions are further satisfied by the fact that God fulfils his *general* purposes or purposes of the *ages*—as for example, the raising of a nation out of the family of Abraham and its successive descents until it could take possession of the promised land, the birth of Christ, and the re-collecting of all things again in Him as the second Adam, which is in the course of fulfilment—by means of innumerable *particular* purposes, events, agents, families, &c. God's general purposes stand thus to His special and individual purposes, by which they are fulfilled exactly in the same relation as a wheel within a wheel; or *vice versâ*, His special and individual purposes may strictly be represented as a wheel or system of wheels—working within the general wheel or purpose and in order to *its* completion.

Again, thirdly, the same thing may be affirmed of those general and particular laws by which God conducts the present administration of Divine Providence in this world. Those *general* and *particular*—or general and apparently fortuitous, or—ascertainable and inascertainable *laws* or *influences*, by which He at present directs all things, stand to each other as, and may well be represented by, a system of wheel-work, which *acts* and *re-acts* upon each other; as, for example, the wheel and pinion, the wheel and fly wheel, or the wheel and counter wheel. Or, indeed, if we were to represent those general laws or influences,—both of mind and matter—by *any* first meridian, the special and modifying, and sometimes counter-acting laws or influences of Providence might very well be represented by all the other meridional circles which *cross* and *influence* the *first* according to their distance or angle of deviation from it.

* Creations, &c., as revealed by Geology.

† There are, for example, several generations or wheels of being—as of the human race—upon the earth at the same time like wheels in the middle of wheels.

And now, fourthly, the same conditions will find their satisfaction of a wheel within a wheel, &c.,—although, as combining the divine and human, less strictly and consistently than the preceding explanations,—in the fact that God's providential purposes are often accomplished as by a wheel in the middle of a wheel, in the accomplishment of *men's* special and peculiar purposes. Thus, for example, the Assyrians and others fulfilled the *divine* purpose of punishing Israel, although they *meant* it not, but were only executing their own ambitious and haughty purposes, Is. x. 6-19.

But if, finally, the conditions in question are all fulfilled in these several and respective examples singly and separately; how much more so will this appear when we remember that these several systems of apparent wheel-work are not occasional and independent, but *simultaneous* and *interworking?* It is here, doubtless, if any where, that the *full idea* of these wheels in the middle of wheels is realized.

GORE OT OUMA.*

If we consider for a moment, that exclusive of the North-western coast of North America, that the Russian Empire comprises a territory in Europe and Asia of at least 7,700,000 square miles, and that this territory is inhabited mainly by a semi-barbarous and motley population of nearly 70 millions of souls, we are led naturally not only to enquire how such a gigantic empire can possibly exist under the dominion and guidance of one sovereign; but further, to investigate by what common sentiments and ideas so large a population are welded and held together. If, taking a merely outward and material view of the question, we were to suppose that force and fear were the only great agencies by which this was effected, we would find, on glancing deeper into the matter, that we had been overlooking principles and motives of action far higher than force and fear, which guide and direct in Russia, as every where else, the great body of the people. If, for example, regarding merely the outward aspect of the British Empire and British society, any man pretending to powers of observation were to maintain that the British people, consisting of a population of 29 millions of souls, were kept in order and subjection by an army of a hundred thousand strong and a sprinkling of police, the merest tyro would anon reply to him—No! The British people are kept in order and subjection by the peculiar sentiments and ideas common to every true British subject, combined with the respect which he owes to the religion, laws, and institutions which were implanted and have grown up in every British heart. It is this and this only which we term British liberty and British independence! and it is this that constitutes the true police and guardian of the British throne and British people. In the same way, if we are desirous to discover by what prevailing

* Gore ot Ouma; a Comedy. From the Russian of Griboiedoff. Translated by Nicholas Bernardaky. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. Edinburgh: Myles Macphail. Dublin: M'Glashan & Gill. 1857.

agencies so large a population as that included in the immense territory of the Russian Empire is held together, we will speedily find that the law applicable to Britain is no less applicable to Russia. That the Russian people possess certain idiosyncracies of disposition, temperament, and intellectuality, upon which have been superinduced the religion, laws, and institutions under which they live, and it is the growth and development of these, in harmony with Russian sentiment and opinion, that forms the strength and palladium of the Czar's authority. It was well said by Fletcher of Saltoun, "Let me write the lyrics of a people or nation, and whomsoever it pleaseth may make their laws;" in other words, "Let me sing of the loves and friendships, and of the manners and customs, blended with the religious sentiments of a people, guiding their peculiar forms of thinking into a lofty and far-reaching ideal, and the mere legislator must make his laws in accordance with my song; that is, with the spirit and frame of the national mind." It is thus that the true poet and poetical thinker moulds the mental constitution of nations, and fits it for loftier aspirations; and hence by this spirit the legislator is guided in framing his laws. The poetry and civil laws of a country are thus nothing more than the highest generalization of the national mind. They form a practical epitome of national opinion, and the strongest current of the national thought.

But many countries of the world are without high national character, and have produced no national poet to represent their generalized notions. Even the United States of North America, that recent offshoot from Britain and the rest of Europe, has yet no deep-seated, distinctive, lofty national idiosyncracies, and have, consequently, no true poet to represent them. Looking at America broadly, it is remarkable chiefly for a population of keen-sighted sharpers, who can shape both the past and the present to their own advantage, but who are too much wanting in a feeling both for nature and her laws to follow faithfully in her wake. Even their religion is only a many-sided fanaticism that, burning and flaring amidst Cimmerian darkness, renders their hopeless condition the more visible. Their Longfellow, Bryant, Poe, and some others, are soft, sweet, pleasing singers, teeming with the best assortment of stereotyped imagery; but utterly destitute of profound, original, or far-reaching ideas or feeling. Their rhymes please or even delight the senses by their tingling rhythmical beauty, but the underlying sense never reaches either the reason or imagination of the reader. It neither impresses by its power, nor instructs by its originality, nor does it elevate or strengthen by its delineation of vigorous emotion. What it lacks is immediate contact with a gushing, glowing human soul, to impart to it the force and strength of nature. Every thing that is high and enobling has come to the American mind over the bleak and far distant territory of the remote past—Greece, Rome, France, England, &c., have furnished it with the types and ideals of human thought and human action as well as with powerful singers to represent them. Ideal thought and emotion are not yet indigenous

to the American soil her citizens being incapable of those bursts of moral enthusiasm that occasionally distinguish the people of Europe. The American people, indeed, do not yet feel poetry in their inmost souls. But America has produced a few original observers, who represent it in the stead of poets. Of these, Ralph Waldo Emerson is the most remarkable, for he stands out as a clear and far-sighted seer in almost every practical sphere of observation. In depth and compresiveness he possesses all the insight of a true poet; but although he has attempted to clothe his ideas in verse, he has only shewn thereby that he is far from master of poetical symbols. Emerson, moreover, is wanting both in passion and power of emotion, and is deficient therefore in enthusiasm. He can descry and unfold, however, the largest ranges of human thought, but cannot, probably from the last mentioned defect, clothe them in commensurate symbols and imagery. Still Emerson is one of the first men of true genius that has sprung from the American soil—and God speed him in his endeavours.

But there are countries further removed from a state of high civilization and culture than the United States of North America, where, of necessity, the higher germs of genius never unfolded themselves; and where, for centuries to come, these may never appear. We mean those countries just emerging from the condition of utter barbarism, and under this description one of the most extraordinary examples is Russia. With a history extending back into the past little more than two centuries, we have already in Russia an empire which, for extent and physical strength, has never had a parallel. From the first blush of her history, the ideal of Russia has been the extension of her territory, and the accumulation of physical strength to preserve it. To acquire a competent insight and lay the foundation of this, Peter the Great visited Holland, France, and England, and worked as a common carpenter. He already recognised the great fact, that actual labour is the basis of all wealth, and the necessary harbinger of leisure and a higher culture. Before Russia, therefore, could in a true sense become highly civilised, she must not only produce gold, platinum, copper, iron, marble, granite, tar, hemp, and timber, all products of her soil; but she must by her own individual labour convert these raw and rude materials into articles of use and luxury. She must, moreover, not only produce wheat, barley, oats, and rye, from soils where it has almost spontaneously grown for centuries, but she must by her science and appliances, make all these grow up and flourish in the remote desert where human foot never trod. Both Peter the Great and his successors have faithfully exerted themselves in this good work, by introducing into Russia productive labourers of every description from all the other countries of Europe, to instruct the population; and at present it is progressing with an energy and perseverance that bespeaks the certainty of its future accomplishment. Rome was not built in a day, and Russia is not to be civilised in a century. But what she has already compassed betokens a sturdy strength of practical intellect,

with which a vigorous homely language and literature always co-exists—for the expression of thought and action necessarily follows their existence. Now, as the productive energies of Russia become expanded, her native literature will keep pace with them. Already Russia, though she has produced no true poet, has given birth to several remarkable prose authors, of whom the most notable is Gogol the novelist and romance writer.

But the question recurs, by what means or agency is this boundless territory, with its motley and semi-barbarous population, held together? It is actually composed of distinct and widely different races; for they are variously sprung from the Caucasian and the Mongolian types of mankind. Still they live as harmoniously under the same government as if they were all descended from the same family. As elsewhere, religion is the great uniting element. With the exception of a few Mahommedans on the outskirts of the empire, the Russians are essentially a christian people, and belong to what is termed the Eastern or Greek church. Towards the end of the ninth century, the Slavonian population inhabiting the north of the Black Sea, had already been converted to Christianity; and among a simple rural population, the precepts of the gospel were readily adopted and implicitly obeyed. All manner of offices of kindness, goodwill, and hospitality, formed the basis of their habits, manners, and customs. Out of these has sprung up not only the laws but the literature of the Russian people. The literature of Russia is thus founded in deepest of all senses on Christianity. Hence the native language of Russia is vigorous and natural, not only expressive of the deepest emotion, but is not deficient in generalised thought. It is these varied and complex elements combined with a sense of the security of living under a paternal government that welds and holds together this gigantic empire. But, not satisfied with their native language, the higher classes in Russia are fond of cultivating the manners, customs, and literature of other nations. Hence the literature of France, England, and Germany, are studied in Russia with avidity. Among the higher classes at St Petersburg and Moscow the French language, from its plastic character, obtains the preference. Hence French literature in Russia has essentially had the ascendancy. It expresses with equal force the simple habits of the peasantry, as the polished manners of the better classes. Thus, for upwards of a century, the introduction of French literature into Russia has essentially moulded the Russian mind, imparting to it sensibilities and tastes peculiarly characteristic of France, and must ultimately invest the native literature of Russia with a softness, plasticity, and delicacy not natural to the language of a semi-barbarous people.

But though Russia, like the United States, has produced many writers of verse in her native language, she has not yet been vouchsafed a true poet to sing her loves and friendships—the praises of her heroes—to describe her battles—or to delineate the wild features of her boundless domains. In the absence of this, however, Russia has produced some writers of remarkable power in imitation of the Eng-

lish, German, and French styles; marked, too, with considerable originality. Among these, the author of the "Gore ot ouma" is not the least notable. The meaning of these words, as the eloquent and talented translator informs us, is "Misfortune from Cleverness;" or, as we would rather render it, "Misfortune from the possession of Genius." But let our translator speak for himself. His preface runs thus:—

"I have undertaken to present to the English public the *chef-d'œuvre* of the Russian stage, the GORE OT OUMA of Griboiedoff. This production of a rising man of talent, whom, unfortunately, death prevented from showing any further developement of his powers, is equally remarkable as a brilliant literary achievement, and as the bold step of an author who first dared to raise the veil which covered the faults of his contemporaries. Great was the wrath which he excited, but he never swerved from the road he had opened; and he struck with a firm and resolute hand at the base of the stupendious edifice of prejudices, which centuries of ignorance had reared! *Gore ot Ouma* created a strong sensation, not only in the literary circles of Moscow, where it first made its appearance, but in all classes of Russian society. A great number of its verses remain as proverbs to the present day. There is in Griboiedoff more of the character of Juvenal than of Moliere. His style is strong and concise, and bears, from its very want of poetic expression, rather the aspect of a severe *satire* than that of a witty *comedy*. The author clearly perceives the prevailing faults of his contemporaries; he smiles at their ignorance and frivolity, but, a real patriot in his soul, he becomes bitter when thundering against the servile imitation of foreigners, which distinguished his epoch. Griboiedoff is a real caricature painter. A few words, a single sentence, is sufficient to present a clear idea of the character of every personage in the play. Throw a glance on this striking picture! Look in the foreground at the selfish, pompous, and servile figure of Famoussoff, the important man, who makes royal receptions to all Moscow, and scolds his servant for being out at the elbows! How affecting his despair is, when he exclaims, at the discovery of his daughter's intimacy with Tchatsky—'*Good Heavens! What will the Princess Maria Alexeievna say to all this?*'

"Your attention is assuredly next attracted by the rough voice of *Skalozoub*, the worthy old soldier, whose head nothing ever entered save parades, files, and ranks. He always, speaks even to a lady, as if he were issuing orders in front of his regiment. Peace be with you, old Skalozoub! You probably died with the sole regret of not seeing your dearest wish, *that all books should be destroyed*, fairly accomplished. Mark, in the background, a being that creeps silently along, hesitating at every pace, uncertain of his opinions, of his words, nay, of his very existence—that is *Moltchaline*, Famoussoff's secretary, who thinks it a part of his duty to assume the character of a romantic lover with his superior's daughter. You smile at the aspect of the rueful though placid face of poor Platon Michailovitch, who endeavours to look contented under the yoke of matrimony and trying circumstances. This picture of domestic happiness is a perfect touch of nature! In the melancholy, romantic girl, who stands near Famoussoff, you easily recognise Sophia, his daughter, the real pattern of all young ladies, whose education was chiefly based on French novels and songs, under the direction of a *second mother* (according to Famoussoff's expression), who cherished her *children* at the rate of one thousand roubles per annum. What does this sudden bustle mean? Ah! here comes the princess with her six daughters, all smiles, fashions, and scandal-mongering, the whole preceded by their venerable old father, the deaf old prince, who

is only anxious for suitable matches for his children. *Zagoretsky*, too, well known by his cheating, whom everybody calls a liar, and yet who is well received everywhere, on account of his dexterity in all those worldly matters which are rather of a doubtful character, appears hurrying to and fro from one person to another, never startled by the grossest abuse. In the midst of this vain, envious, contemptable crowd, we see a single individual of high talents, refined sentiments and liberal education. He seeks in vain to struggle with the powerful spirit of prejudice. The majority is opposed to him, and Tchatsky is vanquished in the combat! Such is the cause of all his misfortunes, and the origin of the comedy's name: *Gore ot Ouma* (literally, *misfortune from cleverness*). Tchatsky is unfortunate, because he is more clear-sighted than his contemporaries. He attempts to exhibit their faults, and they call him a Jacobin; and when he speaks as a man of feeling ought to do, on seeing himself surrounded by treacherous friends, they immediately fancy him mad. He is the only fine character in the play, and still he is not without an important fault. *Tchatsky* is too *ideal!* We seek in vain for flesh and blood in the figure of that pale, intellectual young man, He is rather an idea than a living creature. His very sorrow, though natural, has nothing of the sudden bursts of grief of a man, who, vanquished by opposing circumstances, yeilds to them, and appears in all the childish helplessness of our feeble nature! Tchatsky is never represented in that position. The loss of his dearest illusions, the unfaithfulness of the woman he loved, only stimulates in him the spirit of bitter irony. His very despair is not soft and melancholy, and does not, therefore, plead to the hearts of the listeners his cause so powerfully, as if the same sentiment were expressed with more human weakness!

"I must remind the reader that *Gore ot Ouma* appeared in the year 1823, and since that time many favourable changes have taken place in Russian society. He ought not therefore to judge of its present state by the whole character of the play. Tchatsky was the pioneer of an entirely different generation. The spirit of blind imitation of the French has been gradually wearing off for these twenty years, and very slight vestiges of it still remain in the civilized class of the nation. Griboiedoff did not live long enough to see his task achieved! Who knows how far he would have gone in his destructive though beneficent march! But Fate was already turning over the last leaf of his existence! After a brilliant political career, he was appointed ambassador to the court of Teheran in the year 1829. A short time after his arrival, an insurrection broke out, and Griboiedoff was one of the first victims of a fanatic and infuriated mob."

In fact, the "Gore ot Ouma" is a satire upon Russian life and Russian society, dished up to us in the spirit of the French mind. In a large and true sense it cannot be said to come within the category of poetry at all; for, as the translator justly observes, it participates more of satirical than of poetical sentiment. It professes indeed to be a peep into the interior of Russian life and manners, although from the framework and texture of the story, it would appear rather to body forth the habits and manners of the Parisians of the eighteenth century. But, after all, this only comes of the better classes at Moscow imitating slavishly the manners of the French,—dressing themselves up in French costumes, and imitating all the levity and frivolity of the French character. Almost all the charac-

ters of the comedy indeed are deeply coloured with flunkyism, selfishness, frivolity, and falsehood, with the exception of Tchatsky, who, following a high sense of law and moral obligation, is in consequence regarded by the rest as utterly and hopelessly insane. We cannot well see how Tchatsky could be otherwise than a shadowy, unsubstantial existence, for the simple reason, that his idealism is set forth in words rather than in actions. Still his character, such as it is, appears well sustained, for throughout he makes a manly and vigorous stand against all the authorised falsehoods, immoralities, and weaknesses of a profligate condition of society. The remarks of Tchatsky on the society in which he is environed are not clothed in poetical imagery, but in the strong, direct, and masculine language of a man of the world. He is constantly giving utterance to sentiments which, like proverbs, appeal to every heart, and whose truth is as patent to the unlettered peasant as to the man of science and culture. It is true that he does not, like Scott's Jeanie Deans, enact idealism in his daily life, at least this is not unfolded in the play, but it seems always present to his mind, and its language is constantly on his lips. But we must allow our readers to judge of Tchatsky and the other characters of the comedy for themselves. The following are the opening scenes :—

"ACT I.—*A drawing-room in* FAMOUSSOFF'S *house.* LISA *dozing in an arm-chair. The day is breaking.*

"SCENE I.—*Lisa (suddenly waking).* It is dawn! Ah! how quickly the night has passed! Yesterday I begged them to let me sleep; but they refused. 'I am expecting a friend, and our eyes must be kept open,' was the only answer. No sleep so long as I do not fall from my chair! And now that I have scarcely shut my eyes comes the day. . . . . I must speak to them (*knocks at the door*). Ho! Sophia Pavlovna! Take care! Your chat has lasted rather too long. Are you deaf? . . . . Alexei Stepanovitch! My lady! . . . . Strange! even fear has no effect upon them. Well! should your father be an uninvited guest! . . . A pretty job it is to serve a young lady in love! Part at length! It is broad day. . . . What?

"*Sophia (from the room).* What o'clock is it?

"*Lisa.* All the house is up.

"*Sophia.* What o'clock is it?

"*Lisa.* Seven, eight, nine!

"*Sophia.* That is not true.

"*Lisa.* Oh! that confounded love! They hear and they won't understand. Well! in order to open their eyes I'll just put the clock forward, although I know that I shall smart for it. I'll make it strike. (*The clock strikes.*)

"SCENE II.—*Lisa.* Oh! here comes my master!

"*Famoussoff.* Yes! your master! (*stops the hands of the clock.*) Oh! what a cheat you are, you little rogue! I could not make out what was the matter! At one time I heard a flute, and then a pianoforte. For Sophia it was too early.

"*Lisa.* It was I. . . . But quite unintentionally.

"*Famoussoff.* Well, so far so good! But if I were to look closer I should find an intention (*approaches her and attempts to kiss her*). Oh! you naughty creature!

"*Lisa.* You ought to be ashamed of yourself! Such grimaces don't suit you.

"*Famoussoff.* Ah! you are playing the prude, and yet there is nothing in your head save airy nonsense.

"*Lisa.* Be off with you! Come to your senses, you naughty man! You are an old fellow!

"*Famoussoff.* Not quite!

"*Lisa.* What a nice mess if any one were to enter!

"*Famoussoff.* Who will enter? Sophia is asleep!

"*Lisa.* She has just gone to sleep.

"*Famoussoff.* Really? and the night?

"*Lisa.* She has been reading all night.

"*Famoussoff* What whims she indulges in!

"*Lisa.* She shuts herself up in her room and reads French novels alone.

"*Famoussoff.* Tell her it is foolish to spoil her eyes for the sake of such reading. *She* can't sleep for *French* books, and *I* dose over Russian ones.

"*Lisa.* I'll tell her as soon as she gets up, but now pray be off! I am afraid you'll wake her!

"*Famoussoff.* Wake her! Was'nt it you yourself, who just wound up the clock and pealed a symphony over the whole street?

"*Lisa* (*at the full stretch of her voice*). Be done!

"*Famoussoff* (*putting his hand on her mouth*). Heavens! How you scream! Are you mad?

"*Lisa.* I am afraid lest this should end with . . .

"*Famoussoff.* With what?

"*Lisa.* You ought to know better—you are no longer a child. Young ladies sleep so lightly in the morning, that however gently you open a door or whisper, they hear everything.

"*Famoussoff.* What an impudent lie!

"*Sophia* (*from her room*). Lisa!

"*Famoussoff.* Hush! Hush! (*Walks off on tiptoe*).

"*Lisa.* He is gone! It is dangerous to be intimate with one's master. Every moment may bring one into trouble. I pray heaven to avoid, more than all other misfortunes, both his anger and his love.

"SCENE III.—LISA, SOPHIA (*holding a candle*), MOLTCHALINE.

"*Sophia.* What are you about, Lisa—what a noise?

"*Lisa.* Of course it is difficult for you to part. Here you have been closeted till daybreak, and still you can't tear yourselves from each other.

"*Sophia.* Ah! In reality it is broad day (*she extinguishes the light*). How quickly the night has passed! And day brings sadness with it.

"*Lisa.* You are dull, but do you fancy that I am at ease? Your father has just been here. I nearly fainted away. I was in a maze and don't remember a syllable of the nonsense I talked. (*Turning towards Moltchaline.*) What are you thinking of? Make your bow, sir! Be off! I'll be in a flurry so long as you remain here. Look at the clock and out of the window. It is a long time since people began to stream down the streets. All the house is up, and the servants are walking about, sweeping and cleaning.

"*Sophia.* Happiness takes no note of time!

"*Lisa.* It is all very well for *you* not to take note, but *I* must pay the piper.

"*Sophia* (*to Moltchaline*). Leave me! Another whole day will pass in dulness.

"*Lisa.* Heaven go with you. Don't hold each other's hands like fools!"

Laying out of view the somewhat equivocal situation of a young lady and young gentleman standing in the delicate relation of Sophia and Moltchaline, sitting up together during the entire night, we have Sophia's father, Famoussoff, actually making love to Lisa, his daughter's maid, and her lover afterwards doing the same thing, thus almost over-stepping the loose morality of France during the eighteenth century; and if such is an actual picture of Russian manners, they have verily much need of reformation!

But such frivolous escapades are moral traits of conduct compared with the frightful delineation of lying, villany, flunkeyism, and all manner of swindling that is set forth as pervading Russian society. Much of it is attributed by Tchatsky, the moral hero of the story, to the fantastic imitation of French manners by his countrymen; but upon a closer analysis of the characters, it will be found that all that is strikingly true in them is indigenous to the soil of Russia, and that it is only by means of French literature and French manners that their outsides are polished and become respectable. Hence, though the refined literature and elegant manners of France may float all kinds of immorality and baseness into fashionable society in Russia, it must be remembered that what is high in French literature is good and beneficial of itself, and what is polished in French manners is only the outward symbol of virtue, which of itself is always pleasing to contemplate and right to encourage. Still the form of the satire is no less telling and effective. Although, moreover, it does not appear, yet it is probably left to be surmised, that most of the evils of Russian society are traceable to the organization of government and public life. Be this as it may, it is obvious that although the author had felt so, it was both against Russian etiquette and Russian law to refer any such great evils to this quarter.

The defect of the comedy is the want of a character who enacts a lofty ideal, to contrast with the immorality, frivolity, falsehood, and flunkeyism of the rest. As already noticed, Tchatsky only protests in words against the habits and manners of his country; it is not realized before us in action; and inasmuch as example is always superior to precept, the effect of the play would have been much improved by the example. But we must take it as the author has rendered it. We trust it is not that there are not numerous characters in Russian society who would have formed a foil and set off against all its profligacy, but probably only that to have done so would have exceeded the space that the author had prescribed to himself. But let us give our readers the benefit of two of the concluding scenes:—

"SCENE XIII.—TCHATSKY, LISA, *and* SOPHIA.

"*Tchatsky.* Now for another fainting fit! That is the natural course of things! At least there is now a sufficient cause! At last I have found the thread of the plot! It is for such a reptile that I was sacrificed! How have I been able to restrain myself! As I looked on I could not believe my own eyes! And the *beloved object*, for whose sake was forgotten a friend of your youth and every sentiment of womanly modesty, now skulks behind the door, and trembles at the bare idea of an accusation! Ah! Who can understand the plans of providence? It seems to take

delight in torturing men of heart. In this world creatures like *Moltchaline* are born to triumph?

"*Sophia (weeping)*. Spare me! I avow my error! But who could have dreamt of falsehood so tremendious?

"*Lisa*. Good heavens! The whole house is up! They are coming towards us! Your father will give us all a pretty benediction!

"SCENE XIV.—TCHATSKY, SOPHIA, LISA, *and* FAMOUSSOFF (*accompanied by his servants with lights*).

"*Famoussoff*. Follow me! quickly! More lights! more lights! Where is the ghost? What does this mean? I see nothing but well known features! My daughter too! Are you not ashamed of yourself, Sophia, to be found here? Well! there is nothing to choose between you and your mother! No sooner did I quit the side of my better half, than she was deep in conversation with some young fellow! What means has he employed to gain your affections?—you were the first to declare him mad? At last the veil falls from my eyes! The whole affair was a conspiracy, in which *all* my guests took part, and Tchatsky was the ringleader! Why has this blow fallen on my head?

"*Tchatsky (to Sophia)*. Ah! so it is to *you* that I owe the madman's livery!

"*Famoussoff*. Come! were you to swear till you were black in the face, I would not believe that you were quarrelling in earnest! Were you even to come to blows, I should still think you and Sophia the best friends in the world. And you, Philka (*addressing the porter*), are as dull as a log! You are fit for nothing but to snore! Where have you been all this time? Why was the street door open? Are you blind and deaf? I'll clear the house of you all! You would betray me for a farthing! And you, my sharp-sighted Abigail, have had the chief hand in the pie! For this also I have to thank the Kouznetsky Most, with its fashions and French patterns! It was *there* you learned to get up a rendezvous! I'll march you off to your village, where you'll be in the choice society of ducks and geese! As for you, Miss Sophia, in the course of two days you shall turn your back on Moscow for ever, and go far from the sparks of the capital! You shall be off to the country, to your aunt's,—a real desert near Saratoff! There you shall have liesure for your lamentations! As for you, Tchatsky, I have only one request to make to you, that you will keep at a respectful distance from the retreat of my daughter! I trust that as soon as your conduct is known, every door will be slammed in your face! Do not imagine that I will throw any veil over your performances! I'll sound the alarm bell loud enough to be heard by all Moscow! I will publish your baseness throughout all Russia! My complaint shall reach the Senate—the Ministers—the Tsar himself!

"*Tchatsky*. What is the meaning of all this? It appears *I* am the culprit! I listen without understanding a word! My heart yearns for an explanation, and yet I cannot collect my thoughts! Blind fool that I was! What was the loadstar of all my pilgrimage? The road burned under my feet in my return to my native city! I trembled, while I dreamt that happiness was near! At whose feet did I so lately pour out all the wealth of my heart? (*Turning to Sophia*) Great God! on whom had your choice lighted? It is madness to think *for whom* you rejected *me!* Why did you lure me on with an idle hope? Why did you not frankly avow that all the past was to you but a subject of hollow mockery? Why did you not say that you stood unmoved in the presence of old memories, and that you had forgotten the emotions, which neither wandering, nor amusements, nor distance, could stifle in *my* soul! *They*

were the breath of *my* life—nay, my very life itself! Had you but confessed that my arrival awakened no answering chord, and that my words, my actions, but threw a gloom over you, I would not have troubled your repose, and the object of your affection would have remained unknown to me! (*Ironically*) However, I hope, after calm reflection, you'll find it prudent to be reconciled to Moltchaline! Why break needlessly two loving hearts? Besides, under your rule, he will be useful in running on errands at your bidding! The highest ideal of all *Moscow* husbands is to unite in one individual the characters of a boy, of a lackey, and of a page! Enough! I rejoice at our rupture! (*Addressing Famoussoff*) As for you, sir, whose whole life is spent in hunting after grades, receive my wishes that this happy ignorance of your household interests should accompany you to the grave! My wooing is over! You will have no difficulty in finding another bridegroom, moral, grovelling, and practical; who, in a word, will be a worthy copy of his father-in-law! The charm is broken, and now that the veil has fallen from my eyes, I see the danger from which I have been snatched! Now could I vent the anger which is swelling in my breast, with equal bitterness on the daughter, on the father, on the *romantic* lover—on the whole world! Why did I come hither? I have met with nothing save maledictions and persecutions! A crowd of tormentors surrounded me from the hour of my arrival! Traitors in friendship, faithful only in hatred, eternal gossips, brainless pedants, cunning simpletons, foul-tongued old women, hoary dotards, who, on the brink of the grave, still grasp convulsively their ancient prejudices and their ancient lies! . . . . You proclaimed me *mad* without one dissenting voice! You were right! I was mad! For he who remains with you unblackened for a single day, and breathes the atmosphere which surrounds you without feeling his reason give way, may well pass through living fires unscathed! Away from Moscow, and for ever! I hasten, without throwing a single reverted glance, to seek throughout the world some solitary nook, in which a wounded spirit may find an asylum! My carriage! my carriage! (*Exit hurriedly; Famoussoff remains for some moments in a stupor*)."

But we must not forget, that from the comedy before us, it would be as impossible to judge of the manners, habits, and customs of the upper classes in Russia, as it would be of those of England from the "School for Scandal," or from any other pungent piece of satire in the language. In considering such matters, it must always be kept in view, indeed, that a license is permitted to imaginative and satirical writers, that would not for a moment be allowed in the statement of mere matters of fact, in order that they may be enabled to put the principles propounded by them in the strongest point of view. It is but common charity, therefore, to suppose that although the author of "Gore ot Ouma" introduces a cheat and swindler into the very bosom of the highest society of Russia, and where too his character is as well known as in the dens where he practises his most unhallowed doings, our author could only mean to hold up to general scorn the fact, that persons were admitted within the pale of the higher circles possessed approximately of such tendencies. This, after all, is only a more vigorous and effective mode of putting the truths which he inculcates. Be this however as it may, we have to congratulate our countrymen on the publication of a satire upon

Russian life and manners by one of themselves, and from the admirable style in which the translation is executed (although not faultless), we have no doubt that, if pleased with the reception which his present work receives in Britain, he will continue his labours by introducing to the British public works of genius and merit, in other departments of literature, from the Russian tongue. We understand that Mr Benardaky, the translator, is a young Russian gentleman of Greek descent, only eighteen years of age, who has not yet completed the curriculum of his academical studies; and thus, with the advantage of a precocity and genius which we have rarely found equalled at his age, he may accomplish much for the good of mankind. His minute acquaintance with English literature and English idiomatic expressions, is beyond what we could have anticipated in any foreigner whatever, and if time is permitted him, we sincerely trust that he will, ere long, devote some portion of his leisure to the translation of some of the more important works in Russian literature.

We are fully aware, that much has been written on the faithlessness of all Russian officials, from the highest judge in the land to the humblest police detective; and that it has further been alleged, that from their general-in-chief to the common corporal, a system of swindling goes on towards each other that is actually revolting, and that the same thing obtains in every other government department. It is reported that the Emperor Alexander the First said of his Russian subjects, "If they only knew where to warehouse them, they would purloin my line-of-battle-ships; if they could do it without waking me, they would steal my teeth while I slept." In the works announcing these positions, we find, however, such statements as the following:—"In the class of peasantry, we still trace everywhere the main characteristics of their forefathers; they increase beneath misery and oppression which would wither any other stock; they display the same passive endurance, the same attachment to locality, the same want of pugnacity. In compensation of many evils, nature has bestowed upon the peasant a mirthful, happy, and contented disposition; naturally he is as little cruel as he is warlike or courageous." Again, they are represented as in the highest degree, benevolent and tender hearted, giving charity to all in need, and especially to the exiles as they pass the villages on their way to Siberia. One thing, moreover, is certain, that the Russian government endeavours by every means in its power, to attach every individual in the empire to itself. It has ennobled even its humbler officials, and it inculcates upon every subject the duty of praying to God for the Emperor, he being God's representative upon earth. Hence the enormity of political offences and the frightful punishments with which they are visited. In all this, we can recognise that the Russian mind, like that of most other similar nations, is more actuated by its mere impulsive or emotional tendencies, than by that large feeling of law and moral obligation by which the more civilized countries of the world are distinguished. It appears from all we have read and understood, that the Russian empire is governed by the strong impulsive sympathies of the Russian

people in favour of their Czar. It is not the idea of law, right, duty, or moral obligation, by which the Emperor inculcates the necessity of obedience to his government. The minds of the Russian peasantry, consisting of nearly 45 millions of souls, have not attained that circumference of thought necessary to comprehend what the moral law in its abstract and high form actually means, and it is not improbable that some centuries may elapse before they reach this desiderated goal. When they do so, they will remain no longer in the mere leading strings of the Emperor. They will originate and strike out for themselves laws which will be sufficiently broad and large for their government, guidance, and farther development. But the growth must proceed from within. They must, in the deepest philosophical sense, be spiritually elevated before they are susceptible of improvement even in their outward and material comforts and enjoyments, for it is the same idea of law that evolves and realises the latter that inculcates and enforces the former.

These remarks are thrown out to shew the necessity of the progress of Russia proceeding from within itself. It is its men of thought and genius that are first to impart an impulse to its heart and thought, to wean it from its present sensational and too impulsive and reckless spirit, and raise in it those lofty and far reaching ideas that constitute the true governing principles of every great people. Little do the peasantry of Scotland reckon how much of their freedom and independence they owe to their national poet, whom out of sheer love they call ploughman and peasant, to indicate how much largeness and nobility of soul can take lodgment within so rude and rough an exterior. He is the pole-star of his country's sentiment and opinion, and he has heralded it on to freedom. Russia has had yet none such—nay, she has not yet had a poet of any kind—she has had her few men of genius and insight like the most barbarous nations of the earth, but she has not yet been vouchsafed a poet to weld her spirit into one articulate whole; but when he appears, may he have such a talented and spirited translator as our present youthful aspirant to a place in the republic of letters.

In conclusion, we would earnestly recommend Mr Benardaky, if he has sufficient leisure to select from the Russian authors one of greatest mark and liklihood, and translate his works (let them be prose or verse) into our English tongue,—for from the specimen before us, there is no one more competent and able for the task,—and we can assure both him and our readers, that the work will be perused not only with avidity, but with gratitude. A few translations even of tales and romances from the best Russian authors would do more to familiarize the English mind with the real character of the Russian people, than all the idle and ill digested travels ever penned. It would enable us to examine the Russian character through the representations of it given by the native insight and genius of Russia itself, and thus give rise to a sympathy and kindness of feeling which does not at present exist between the two countries.

PRELACY AND THE COVENANT.*

The banishment of Andrew Melville seemed to King James to cut away the last prop of the last plank of the Presbyterian platform. Heartless and utterly discouraged, the heirs of Melville's duties and responsibilities virtually gave up a hopeless conflict, and Prelacy was fully if not very honourably chaired. James, the nephew of Andrew Melville, and his loving and able co-adjutor, was dead—heart-broken. Bruce was banished to Inverness; a transportation, it would seem, then considered as effectual, at least where the godly were concerned, as relegation to a distant penal settlement. A faint cry was indeed raised, and a frequent vote carried, in the courts of the church, against the growing pretensions of the nominated bishops. Their claim to the constant Moderatorship of Synods, for example, was successfully opposed for a time by all the Synods, with the solitary exception of that preserve of the loyal Ogilvies and Carnegies, the province of Angus. At Linlithgow (1608) an Assembly, and next year at Falkirk, a Conference, were tried in order to reconcile the nation into the new order. Although the experiment on the church and people proved fruitless, the Parliament cut short the controversy, in June of the latter year, by formally ratifying the restoration of bishops to their "*ancient* dignities, powers, and prerogatives."

To this measure succeeded almost instantly (1610) that *name of fear*—the High Commission—an engine as sharp and fatal as the Maiden, to those who brought themselves within reach of its edge. To make the operation surer, and that it might reach, in a certain way, civil as well as ecclesiastical delinquencies, its President had been created an Extraordinary Lord of Session, as well as Archbishop and Metropolitan. This was the historian Spottiswoode. The Archbishop and any four of his Committee, a body embracing bishops of course, some of the nobility and gentry, and a slight sprinkling of ministers, the latter apparently introduced for form's sake, and without any intention of receiving their counsel or protestations—ruled the measures of this formidable court.

There was still, however, something to do, before the new Prelatic platform, with all its machinery, dresses, and decorations, could be reckoned complete. The Scotch Bishops had hitherto affected to identify their calling with the pastorate, and it was on this pretext that they mixed themselves up with presbyteries and synods, and were willing to be reconciled to the Presbyterian ministers, by presiding in their courts as moderators. Now, however, a new course became necessary. Dr Downham had preached a sermon in London, which the King caused to be widely circulated in Scotland, as a kind of manifesto or proclamation, declaring that the bishop and pastor were to be reckoned one no longer. Bancroft, who had also preached the same doctrine, was now resolved that it should form a basis of Scotch and English uniformity. Recreant to the claim to far descended Episcopacy, for

* M'Crie's Works, Vol. 4. Blackwoods: Edinburgh and London. 1857.

which Spottiswoode has contended as an historian, and to the laws by which the bishops had just been restored to their ancient dignities, powers, and prerogatives, he and three others repaired to London, that they might be unfrocked of their old episcopacy, and refrocked after a new and better fashion. And thus equipped themselves, they brought with them to Scotland the means of dressing their brother bishops, according to the same more approved pattern. This happened at the exact time that it became expedient to clothe the High Commission with all possible decoration and authority.

Prelacy had now reached the culminating point of its restoration, as it pretended—of its establishment, as is the more certain fact. We do not relate the steps by which Prelacy pursued its march over a reluctant land; how the *Perth Articles* predominated over the less ornate dispensation of ordinances, and in some cases altered their nature and type—how the settlement of 1692 was brushed away like a cobweb—how the Craigs, the Davidsons, and Calderwoods, remonstrated—how the bishops stormed and persecuted—how disobedience to the *ordinary* became sedition, and rejection of the supremacy at least *second treason*, punishable with penalties and pains,—how the sacramental pill was gilded, but as seldom as possible swallowed, from the peer to the people—how truly it might be said, in short, Νυν, ταδὲ χθρα Παντα—*all* harmony was over, and the reign of hatred and terror became universal in the land.

To improve the golden time, King James came down in 1617. In his chapelry of Holyrood there was of course a demonstration exhibited, the like of which had not been witnessed since the first days of his mother of blessed memory, and scarcely then. Such vestments, such music, such crossing, such genuflection, such adoration, looking to the east the while! Unluckily for the darkening of the pomp, and the o'ercasting of the auspicious day, the nobility had sucked with their mother's milk an inveterate prejudice against kneeling at the holy sacrament, and the consequence was, that half their number stood bolt upright, in the very face of royalty, when they were expected to go on their knees before the altar. But the bad taste and silly policy of James exposed him to such affronts all his life, and he was too cowardly to punish, at least when he had stout nobles to deal with—while he threatened high.

A more scenic spectacle still is said to have been exhibited when, about three years afterwards, the famous Articles of Perth were ratified by Parliament. It may be remarked, in passing, that these Articles enjoined the solemn keeping of the *Church Festivals—Confirmation—Private Communion and Baptism*—and some other matters to which the people of Scotland had never been persuaded to reconcile themselves, and against which they are in general strongly prejudiced to this day.

Well, when this roll of abominations, for as such, whether truly or falsely, it was regarded, was about to receive the touch of the royal sceptre, in the hands of the Marquis of Hamilton.—flashes of lightning, three in succession, flared in the Commissioner's face, accompanied

with many loud claps of thunder, followed by darkness and rain, such as venerable elde has protested, and chronicle has storied, had not been known in the memory of man.

However this be—nothing of the kind could be too ominous of the heavy times that were coming. After a little more sparring with the discontented remonstrants—a very numerous body of his northern subjects—and having tried his usual polemic skill in controversy, and his stronger hand in tyranny and persecution, to put down the writings, and intercept the person of the powerful Presbyterian champion, Calderwood—efforts in which he expended almost his last breath—King James delivered what may at this stage be called, in imitation of some neighbours of ours, The *Church in Scotland*—poor ruined presbytery—of her more immediate fears, by his demise in 1728.

But, alas! This was not a case in which "sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est." The sunset, so far from not being succeeded by darkness, presaged indeed a night of clouds, shrouding, first, the nation, and finally conducting to the precipice the rash guide who undertook to be its conductor. The sceptred hand of Charles was soon to become bigger than his father's loins. Ever given to promise what was to answer any crafty purpose for the time, James had engaged that his pet Articles of Perth were to be his final demand on the compliance of his church, his last draft on the national stock of patience and of duty.

In these Articles, neither ceremonies, canons, or service-book, were, so far as appeared, implied or contemplated. The clergy of all ranks continued to wear the black gown, to preach and pray much like their Presbyterian neighbours, and to officiate at the communion, without restriction to any stated form or posture. We do not undertake to settle the question, whether a change in matters like these imposed a greater or less hardship on a reclaiming people than the Perth Articles. We shall merely recall a fact or two in reference to them that will enable us to take a convenient leap from Prelacy to the Covenant.

Of the ceremonies, the most offensive to all ranks seems to have been the kneeling at the sacrament. The objection to this posture was founded, of course, on the supposition of a symbolizing in reality, or at least appearance, with the Popish adoration of the sacramental bread, a supposition rather strengthened than weakened by some peculiarities in the forth-coming service book, and by certain incautious phraseology used in the canons. Except his own council, and the compliant members of the Scottish Bar, and the clerks of the Signet, who were expressly instructed by royal command to adopt the kneeling posture, as a *pattern to others*—(this was, we suppose, by advice of their aspiring chief, the younger Spottiswoode)—nothing like a considerable number of any rank could be persuaded to comply with this usage. The nobility, in particular, very stoutly adhered to the example set to their order at the memorable scene enacted in the Chapelry of Holyrood, on occasion of King James's visit. The very clergy at length began to find it impracticable to get the holy sacrament administered at all without some relaxation of this odious ritual. They

were only divided on the question, whether a present right of choice should be allowed to communicants to kneel or sit as they please, or whether the effect of a previous supplication to the king to that purpose should be tried. And on the latter proposal being carried, in the General Session at Edinburgh, where the question arose, in consequence of a complete failure to dispense the communion for a whole year, Sydserf himself undertook to present a remonstrance, accompanied by the representation, that the contention about this matter was become intolerable, that atheism was thriving on the constant changes of public religion, that general hatred prevailed between ministers and people. and that Popery itself was beginning to peep out of its loop-holes of retreat under this supposed encouragement. It may be imagined how little regard was paid to such a *sifflication*, as Richie Monieplies would have called it. But a new stroke of ambition on the part of the bishops gave a momentum to the spirit of opposition, to this and some other advances to Episcopal conformity, that very soon precipitated the whole scheme of policy on the rugged spikes of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Many of the nobles, and some of the lairds, had fattened for a generation or two on the spoils of the church. These the bishops were now anxious to reclaim, that they might minister to the pomp and dignity of their still impoverished hierarchy. But though their views were favoured by the crown, such a commotion was raised in the higher ranks, whose interests were more immediately menaced by the claim —that nothing less than a conspiracy to murder, in the very Convention of Estates, the supporters of the royal Commissioner who was entrusted with the measure, by the hands of their own tithe-holding fellow peers, was determined as soon as they should have recorded their votes. The disaster was averted by a timely discovery, and prudent compromise. But from that time the nobility frowned ominously on every court measure that tended in aught to the exaltation of prelacy, and as some perhaps may be inclined to cry, began

"To lend the crowd their arm to shake the tree."

It was while these discontents were unsubsided, if not at their height, that the memorable service book was framed and attempted to be imposed. This was, in more respects than one, conceived to be a national insult and aggression. It was unlucky in having even sought to establish itself on an act of discourtesy to the bishops.

Laud would have them to accept a service-book, on the same terms on which his successor obliged them to receive ordination from England. This their pride now resisted. The King interposed his right of supremacy to adjust the dispute, got Laud and one or two coadjutors to advise with him on some alterations of the English liturgy, and with these changes, commanded the bishops in Scotland to frame a service-book on the general basis of the common prayer. Of course little, if anything, in this respect was added to the royal instruction. But canons were necessary in order to work the new ritual, and here some of the younger bishops who had begun to Arminianize more zealously than Laud himself, and who were deeply imbued with a leaven

of his superstition, contrived to introduce phraseology at least, the most odious to the general Scottish ear, that ever desperate imprudence could have hazarded. The paramount *necessity* of *good works*, a requisition to all ranks to come to the Lord's Supper, *and all other sacraments*, sacramental *confession* and *absolution*—such were some of the long unfamiliar names and things with which it was now ventured to stun the senses of canny Scotland.

With respect to the service-book, as there appears to have been little real intention on the part of the king or his advisers greatly to vary from the English model, the ideas which the canons boldly expressed were more darkly hinted, though in terms not quite unexceptionable, or exempt from the gravest suspicion of an approximation to Popery. And all this was to be received without scruple or question, explanation or exception. So the Canons ruled on pain of excomunication.

No brewage of the elements of a storm ever reached faster the point of consummation. Before men had time to read the books, or even the clergy to buy them, although they were required to provide themselves with copies within fifteen days of the charge which required their use on pain of rebellion—before a day was allowed, although almost all the ministers craved some respite, that means might be taken to accustom their astonished people to a manual which they could only connect with the idea of a missal, and with their old king's definition "of an ill-mumbled mass,"—in short, before the general ferment was allowed an instants cooling time, the famous experiment on the patience of "Jenny Geddes," and a numerous congregation, was made in the church of St Giles', with a result of which not a child in all Scotland that can read, and has reached the age of half a score years, is unaware to this hour.

But it was not the "rascal multitude" only, that was concerned in an opposition which led to the immediate suspension of the service-book, till his majesty's farther *pleasure should be known*. Long before that pleasure was announced,—for its present announcement was rendered somewhat unnecessary by an Act of Council which declared that *letters of horning* (a charge, viz., of confiscation and rebellion) relative to their service-book should extend no farther than to the *purchasing* of it—the king was in conflict with nineteen-twentiethe of his Scottish subjects, including the very foremost of his barons and nobility, on the question not alone of the service book, but of the church establishment in Scotland. It was easy, under the circumstances, to organize this movement, and even to bring it to a centre. For the nobles, burgesses, gentry, ministers, and deputies of popular assemblies, from all parts of Scotland, had a pretext for constant intercourse, in the temporizing policy of the Council, which delayed from time to time to carry out the letter of the king's instructions, till the fate of petition after petition, passing through their hands, should be ascertained. At length, the whole confederacy very coolly adopted the step of forming themselves into what they called *Tables*,—a sederunt, in short, of the entire number, in four divisions, according to their several

ranks and orders of nobles, burgesses, ministers, and commons,—at which a bond, formed on the basis of the old National Covenant, with a supplement suited to the times, was produced and subscribed. This Covenant had been originally prepared by Craig, king James's chaplain (anno 1581), in order to be subscribed by himself, his council, and his subjects, for the maintenance of the *true religion*, and was renewed, in a somewhat altered form, when the *true religion* had ripened into the Presbyterian constitution in 1590, when it was again signed by his majesty, and by a large representation of his people of all classes. This instrument was immediately and actively put into circulation, and was subscribed by the whole nobility, with a very fractional exception,—by deputies from all the burghs except three,—and by a vast number of the remaining ranks. All this had taken place between the first Sabbath of March and the end of April, in the same year. This entire unanimity is somewhat to be accounted for by the present agreement of the bond-subscribers to waive certain matters, as to the express condemnation of the Perth Articles, and a few of the later *novations*, till the judgment of an Assembly should be obtained. This having been obtained without difficulty, the Covenant was completed next year (1638–9), by the memorable addition—"The article of this Covenant which at the first subscription was referred to the determination of the General Assembly, being now determined; and thereby the five Articles of Perth, the government of the kirk by bishops, and the civil places and power of kirk-men, upon the reasons and grounds contained in the acts of the General Assembly, declared to be unlawfully within the kirk, we subscribe according to the determination aforesaid."

To add to the singularity of these proceedings, when the alarmed bishops proceeded, not until it was time, to cast their cause and themselves on the king's protection, they were answered by a reference to the crown lawyers, who reported it, as the judgment of their legal brethren, that there was nothing against express law in the conduct of his majesty's subjects, in their "entering into Covenant with God and each other," or in any of the steps that they had taken to complete the engagement.

It will be readily perceived that this was a temporizing policy—either intended to give the king time to take his own measures, before overt means of defence should be proceeded with by the covenanters—or, as is sometimes surmized, conceived by the wily wisdom of Sir Thomas Hope, the Lord Advocate, in favour of the Presbyterian party, to which he was secretly attached, and to which his influence had begun to incline very many of his legal brethren, the whole body of whose clients were moreover involved in the consequences of these proceedings.

After a short interval, in which the nobility were played against each other by the sovereign, some seeking to outvie each other for the continuance of his favour by various schemes of policy, by which it was proposed at once to outwit the protesting party by concession, and uphold the royal authority by dissimulation; and others more patriotically busy in answering an invitation to state the *lowest terms* on which they thought the religion and liberties of the nation could be settled. The

Marquis of Hamilton was sent down with powers, which, as might be expected, took every hue of the camelion, so long as there was the least chance of securing a simulated compliance with the present ecclesiastical model. The king even produced a *covenant of his own*—which he was willing that all men should take—the old covenant, that is to say, stripped naked of all its explanatory additions. Men had too lately, however, formed an acquaintance with this instrument, to be persuaded to adopt it, except with a public qualification or secret reserve. It was subscribed pretty freely in the northern parts; but there, and elsewhere, the bishops were far from being satisfied either with the form or conditions of aught that bore the detested name of Covenant. A more important concession was made to the wishes of the Presbyterian party,—the calling of a *free assembly*. After much wrangling about the place of meeting, the bishops, with Spottiswoode their chief at their head, strenuously and naturally contending for the northern latitude of Aberdeen; Glasgow, now to become celebrated as the *Augsburg* of Presbyterian profession, was fixed upon as the place of muster.

That the *freedom* of this Assembly might not, as had sometimes happened, be a mere name, care was taken that that freedom should be asserted by certain preliminary measures, which effectually prevented unwelcome intrusion on its proceedings. The bishops, instead of being invited to take their share in its deliberations, found themselves cited to its bar to answer to their several libels. The Commissioner craved the assistance of assessors, but the Assembly respectfully reminded him that it was too much their duty to recognise the representative of his Majesty, to admit any division of honour with so illustrious a personage. It was moreover hinted, that the personal presence of royalty's self by no means implied any right of interference with the discipline of the Church, within the limits of its own strictly ecclesiastical province. As a matter of course, these maxims issued in the rejection of the declinature of the bishops to be judged by an Assembly so constituted, and in the formal dissolution of the Assembly by the King's Commissioner.

And now commenced all that gives its picturesqueness, and much that gives its ever memorable importance to this renowned convocation. It had assembled on the 21st November. Seven days were consumed in discussing the constitution and power of the Court with the Commissioner, and now, on the 29th, commenced the serious business of the Assembly.

It is not necessary either to estimate the constitutional integrity, or to subject to the rules of a strict analysis, the constituent elements of a body like what the Assembly had become at this juncture. The establishment was already *dislocated*, and that with the connivance of the government. It does not appear that the bishops claimed a right to sit here in their episcopal character, or that they would have consented to deliberate under the presidency of a moderator elected by a numerical majority. But the election of a moderator was allowed to proceed, with a mere objection or formal protestation on the Commissioner's part, that the commissions of members should first be examined and ascertained. Yet he continued to sit and to lend the coun-

tenance of the sovereign to this convocation. Then, when commissions were sought to be superseded—in virtue of the holders having fallen under the frowns of Councils and High Commissions—a decision which would have struck off the roll the names of Blair, Livingston, Dickson, Rutherford, and even that of Henderson the Moderator, the flower and cream of the Assembly—still, though disappointed, frowning and protesting, still he sat. And when the crave of the bishops to be heard by counsel learned in the law was disallowed, he sat on. Not until the bishops' declinature was rejected, did he withdraw his countenance from the sittings. Either this was too *soon* or too late,—too soon, if mere inspection was his object,—too late, if the concession, or even discipline, according to the constitution of the court, which he had virtually allowed, was to be wholly withdrawn. To us it seems oppressive that counsel should have been refused to the bishops, even to maintain their remonstrance and protestation. But even yet, an appearance at the bar is made, or assumed to be made by parties, whether for protestation or defence. The *judgment* of the bishops, who were neither present to defend themselves, nor allowed to be represented by counsel, was one of those oppressions which, in every kind of court, in those evil times was too generally practised. The abolition of the Episcopal order was *ultra vires* of the Assembly, except in so far as it might seem to be implied,—which, according to one, and a very general construction, it really was, even in the covenant sanctioned by the king, and which was the object of suspicion and distrust to the bishops on that very account. But with regard to the power of discipline, even at their expense, if it had been exercised more regularly in point of form, it would seem to have been not so wholly without the province of this Assembly. What were they *called* for but to promote order and exercise discipline? They were actually required by authority to purge *their own* roll for disciplinary reasons,—and now they must suffer an order of men, which a *covenant of older date* than the ordination from England which gave those men any rank above that of presbyters—a covenant lately restored had placed on the same pastoral level with themselves these men, on the single plea of their *superior order*, they were to allow to walk lawless through the land, to do what they pleased, and to teach what they would, to set the worst example, and to publish Arminian doctrine, without subjection to any authority, or if any, to what but *their own*, or that of a legal Assembly of their brethren?

The declinature of the bishops, amounted—as it was shaped—to a declinature of *any vested authority* under heaven, at least in reference to the particular crimes with which they were charged, and to its punishment by corrective discipline.

As to the illegality of an Assembly, in virtue not of its prohibition, but of its *dissolution* by the sovereign or his representative—this is still left, by the prudence of all parties, an open question—and by mutual understanding, not we suppose to be a *shut one*, until the collision between the two powers shall have become far more unmistakeable than that of the Glasgow Assembly even with the State can be proved to be. The unhappy bishops appear to have been little able to afford the searching enquiry that was now made into their life and doc-

trine. Eight of their number were excommunicated for crimes which, if truly charged, left not a corner of reserve for forbearance or sympathy. And, heated as man's minds were, distinction enough was observed between their several cases and those of their fellows,—some of whom were far more offensive on mere political grounds,—to assure us that the moral evidence of their misconduct at least, was in no-wise deficient, as how could it be where Henderson presided, and just and holy men like Blair, Livingston, Dickson, and Douglas, were of the judges, and so influential with the rest, that even Baillie, still hesitating between his loyalty and his party, could not find one word to object to the proven delinquency of these infamous men.

Episcopacy, indeed, fell—along with these unworthy votaries—with a hand which many deem to have been incompetent. But even upon this point there may be a fair difference of opinion. The astute Argyle—who too had wavered, and it would seem on this occasion at least not dishonestly, since reluctantly, between his duty to the commands of the king and the discipline of the church—took occasion to suggest that, as the National Covenant had been taken in three different senses, it was full time to ascertain its meaning. For this purpose, acts of Assembly were ransacked, and it was made clear enough, that about the time of its preparation, *i.e.* 1581-9, Prelacy was considered as a branch of the Romish hierarchy, abjured in the National Covenant, and therefore ought to be removed out of the church. So that, in point of fact, Episcopacy fell at this juncture by a weapon which the king himself had put into the hands of its enemies; and the Assembly could be said to do little. if anything, more than to declare the sense of an *instrument* which all men were welcome to subscribe, and surely bound to understand.

And now came the *first* conflict, of *ten years*, viz., 1639-49. Such are the parallels of history, for here we remark its *exact parallel likeness* proceeds, till it culminates in the triumph of one party, and sleeps awhile in the humiliation of another. We shall not relate over again the tale of the civil wars. But as we have an instructive object in view, we must connect distinctly the fortunes of Prelacy, with those of the Covenant—and those of the *first Covenant* with those of the *second.*

What is best known by its title of the Solemn League and Covenant falls now, therefore, to be traced to its nature and consequences.

It was the child of the first, doubtless, a reproduction of its *image* and of its *name;* but it assumed a *character* from change of *person,* and of *circumstances.* We make bold to crave a little attention to this difference. Most of our Presbyterian friends know, we believe, but of one Covenant,—and in a book of prime authority with our Episcopalian neighbours we find the *Solemn League* (the only Covenant popularly known) identified with the Westminster Confession! Crave we then a few moments audience of the friends who wish to *know* what they speak of.

Although the doings of the Glasgow Assembly seem to have been so far justified by the *Covenant* on which King Charles had em-

powered them to act, it was not at all likely that so great, but at the same so awkward, a politician should find it in his haughty spirit but to show the greatest resentment that he ever allowed himself to betray, on that occasion. *All the pulpits in England* were laid under orders by public proclamation, to declare the *Covenanters*, the subscribers of the King's own Covenant, traitors and rebels.

The Covenanters were nothing daunted. Although the King summoned every man at his disposal from the loyal north to Popish Antrim, he could make nothing of his Presbyterian subjects. It were long to tell of the *treaty* by which their quiet loyalty, or neutrality, was secured for the moment, for England was now playing the wasp about the ears of the luckless sovereign, and of the Assemblies and Parliaments which harmonised in the recognition of all that had been so lately discovered as irregular and seditious. The poor Covenant was, as a last shift, appealed to as an engagement to loyalty as well as religion, and the Scottish subjects of King Charles were required, in virtue of their own oath, to assist him against his English subjects.

So far, the dodge was successful. The renowned Montrose, and some others, pleaded their engagement under the Covenant, and supplementary *Bond* into which they had entered thereafter, as a reason for taking that side of the public question which was so doubtfully determined by the Battle of Edgehill.

The valour of Rupert and his cavalry left grave reasons to suspect that, if Scotland should become the next scene of action, the cause of the Covenant might be in some danger. This opened the way for making common cause with the English Parliament, an alliance partly natural from its Puritanic character, but, except in one memorable result (of which hereafter), all the fruits were for England; the disasters, and in some degree the shame, all for Scotland.

The Parliament could no longer help itself; and had recourse to auxiliaries. Here occurred an opportunity which the Covenanters must have vehemently coveted—for uniformity was then all the rage—of engaging both kingdoms in *league;* and it seems no league, not even a political one, could in those days be consummated without the solemn tie of religion.

The *Solemn League and Covenant*, after having gone through the *rudiments* of its preparation and adoption, as a revival and improvement of the *National*, was transmitted to the English Parliament, on the basis of a treaty between the *Parliament* and the Scots. This instrument provided for the *extirpation* of Prelacy; and, at the suggestion of Sir Henry Vane, one of the English Presbyterian Commissioners, for the establishment of religion after the pattern of the best *Reformed Churches.*

Of course, the last qualification left the Covenant liable to be driven through by a coach and six, and was triumphantly quoted by the Independents afterwards as an excellent reason why *their* policy should be allowed to rank on an equal footing *at least* with the Presbyterian, or *any other reformed regimen.*

Unquestionably the Scots intended that their uniformity should pre-

vail throughout the kingdom. But this was quite impossible. The only material out of which a public body of qualified religious instructors could be extracted, consisted of a somewhat non-descript species, embracing avowed Presbyterians, Puritan *Episcopalians*, and professed Independents. The Covenant was so framed as to admit them all.

It happens, somewhat remarkably, that the document by which the Covenant was virtually superseded, the "Westminster Confession and Directory," left the priests of the Church of England in full possession of their orders, as being for *substance valid;* although a special provision was made for their being qualified in other respects to exercise their holy calling. Here we pause to point out an element of the most conservative value amidst all this confusion. We say of the most conservative value—for without it, where is there conservation for Christianity itself? An inquisition into the character of *orders* may be carried so far as virtually to *annihilate Christianity*. What would have become of English orders, had the papal source from whence they have sprung been permitted to interpose *its* authoritative *veto* and extinction on them? Yet this origin is their boast. If the framers of the Directory had adopted the general maxim of Bancroft and Laud, and declared every human soul *schismatic* that was nurtured under *Prelatic government*, what would have become of religion, while the fate of the nation hung in the balance between the Republic and the Restoration? As the case was, the universities prospered—religion flourished—and the very Church of England was most advantageously stocked, furnished with by far her wisest and best, out of these so called dregs of Presbyterian ascendancy, but in truth, very Catholic elements of Christian wisdom held in solution of Christian love.

It was a singular but rather unappreciated character of the Solemn League and Covenant, indeed of both covenants, to embrace the two elements of inflexible loyalty, and the most reformed spirituality. The *Restoration* was the child of the Covenant. The Scots could not forgive the death of their king; the English Puritans were not consenting to it, but, with the most fractional exception, left the butchery work, and the "damned deed," to the Republicans and Independents. The Covenant, in both forms, was ever understood to be an engagement by which sovereign and people were alike indissolubly bound to the same holy responsibilities.

A covenanted *king* was as much a necessity of the state as a covenanted *people*. This *may* savour of Judaism; and may, to modern ears, have a sound of fanaticism. But let prelatists and liberals join as they please in the same cry on the subject, without the Covenant there would have been no Restoration, and without the Restoration there would have been no *Revolution*—at least no revolution with the element of monarchy in it. The Covenant was taken by the *English Parliament*—by the *Episcopalian Puritans*—and by the mass of the Scottish nation. And not a man who took the Covenant believed or could believe that he had a right to lay sacrilegious hands upon his king. True, the Covenant was so generally imposed, and Vane's de-

vice had so far reconciled the reluctant Independents to its mere letter, that the names of regicides and of their approvers may be found undersigning it. They are, however, very few; and their conduct was not consistent with it.

The resurrection of the covenanting long parliament, and the unanimous voice of covenanting Scotland, led to the re-establishment of the monarchy, on a bright May morning, without the drawing of a sword.

And now for the recompence of the Covenant.

There is not such another tale of shame to tell in all history, as that which relates the conduct of Charles the Second to his loyal Scots, on the sole account of their religion. Most unquestionably the Covenant had given himself, and one predecessor at least, vexation enough. It put one to the intolerable and unforgiven shame of being the dupe of his own policy. His grandfather's conceit and pedantry had led him into the snare of running a parallel with the Jewish monarch, by being associated with his people in a loyal and religious *covenant.* And when Charles I. found that this instrument was to be turned into a weapon against his own bosom, first an imbecile resistance, and next a hypocritical acquiescence, supplied a pretext for new-edging the weapon which he had allowed. The second Charles—hypocrite all over—took, for state reasons, the new Covenant, to be shamed for his ways by the very instrument of his own adoption, and the very discipline to which he so ceremoniously and solemnly subjected himself. And be it that such bonds are of little use or expediency—were they so unusual in an age when conformity was religion, or so oppressive when, after all, their imposition was nothing like a tyranny over life,—that when to have taken them was an argument for ever why they should be detested—and to have broken them, an argument for ever why honester men should be persecuted, and that unto torture and death for their sake? Who was it that said that Scottish Prelacy was attempted to be set up and propped by means "which would scarce have warranted the plantation of Christianity itself!"*

Let us now follow, a little farther on, the footsteps of the excellent Dr M'Crie on the subject of this painful chapter. The ruffian policy of the Second Charles's admirers in Scotland has, so far as we remember, not one serious defender or apologist. His character, so far as one note of favour has been appended to it, has fallen into the hands of novelists and poets. Whether it was worth Dr M'Crie's while to deal in earnest with the splendid fiction of Sir Walter Scott we shall not pronounce. Perhaps our opinion may be indicated by our refusal to intermeddle with the *historic* poetry of Professor Aytoun. Poetry be it allowed to be—and if good after its kind it be called—we shall be the last to say nay. But M'Crie, let it be in season or out of season, is an honest chronicler and a just apologist.

The conditions on which the king was restored, in so far as they are historical, admit of all the latitude of interpretation which is claimed for them by the defenders of Charles's administration. But the enor-

* Leighton.

mous moral perjury by which these conditions were made to speak one language to the ear and another to the sense, is fully admitted by every recorder. On the one hand, there is a jubilant cry over the successful policy that cheated the poor Covenanters out of all their joyous expectations. On the other, there is an outcry of "stouthreiff, rape, and murder," three cardinal pleas of the crown on the part of the aggrieved. The *merits* may be reduced to the shortest issue. In the affair the king was a mere gambler. He was continuing his last game at cards, or, as the age called it, *Hazard*. National affairs were at the critical moment discussed between Wilmot, Sedley, and the king. "I will jockey the Covenanters," said the sovereign. "Done and done," said some of the court parasites. Villiers looked grave,—"take care, my liege, they don't *do you!*" We do not say that *doing* had then become current English, but the effect remains. Hyde (Clarendon) appears. "My liege, all's prepared. The Scots are particularly forward; and here is a Scotch parson, to lay their claims, and, as I believe, their liberties too, at your majesty's feet." Enter the reverend James Sharpe—one of those sheep-faced ministers, in whose countenance no one can read any thing but *universal irresolution*. (The *disruption*, we believe, has *discovered* a few such faces.) Was James Sharpe speaker to the sense of all Scotland,—truly, as to the universal wish for restoration,—slyly, but still with quite a distinct utterance, as to their wish for the establishment of Presbytery. Upon which (the future) Clarendon steps forward, with Sheldon at his side, and says: "Please your majesty, it appears that the Scots are willing to *receive you*, and that the English are willing to *receive you on any terms*. Pray, what right has this reverend gentleman to name his *particular* terms?" Mr James Sharpe was all submission; he protested, &c., loyalty of the Scots, &c., their crowned and covenanted king, &c., &c.; did not doubt at all, &c., it was impossible, &c., &c.; and so, and so, Mr James Sharpe had it conveyed to his ears in the distinctest terms, that under the new Establishment, Bishop he was sure to be, Archbishop not improbably.

The scene of all this was Breda; and every word true, though Gurney was not there. Every part, if not every word, is the universal property of history, and not of hearsay.

After the private settlement at Breda, the affairs of the Covenant began to pass out of the regions of *astrology* and prognostication, and came to the period at which we are entitled, and we hope able, to deal with the remaining fortunes of "the Covenant."

After an interval—during which it was decided that the Covenant never *was* the law, *ought* to be the law, or *would* be the law—the Covenant became the highest treason; we say the highest—for murder was often—rape not seldom—and every kind of violence and injustice almost uniformly pardoned; this new treason never. The Commons of England are accused by historians of having discovered a new treason when they founded the indictment of King Charles I. on an accusation of treason against the people. In what sense was the Covenant treasonable?

It bound the king and all his people to good morals—to an eternal hatred of Popery—and, if you will, to the extirpation of Prelacy. What then? Did it make even Prelacy an indictable crime? Prelacy was to be dealt with as a *weed*, but not as a culprit. No man was to lose life or lands for the sake thereof.

Well, "the Covenant" was now to become a state—*a capital—crime.* "Man, do you renounce the Covenant,—Woman, do you renounce the Covenant,—Child, do you renounce the Covenant?" This, during many years, was the Christian catechism,—the only one licensed for the behoof and benefit of all Scotland.

We must, if possible, be serious. We say if possible, because we are sitting in an easy chair, and addressing ourselves to readers who are quite as much at their ease as we. But we must be serious, because we are dealing with life and death. *Madeleine Smith* had her chance of escape, and did escape. Not one *accused of the Covenant*—without instantly abjuring it—was permitted to escape hanging, pistolling, or (if a woman) *drowning!*

There perhaps never was a scheme devised of more infernal policy than that which *reflectively* charged all Scotland, with scarcely one exception, with the guilt of treason; and *prospectively*, might be expected to place the necks of half his Scottish subjects at the king's mercy, together with their substance. Their past treason could only be absolved, it seems, by *perjury;* that is, by renouncing *both the Covenants* which they had sworn. Very convenient for the king no doubt, who had lifted up his right hand to heaven, and vowed that he accepted the Covenant with the full consent of heart, and soul, and conscience, to have it enacted as law, that "the National Covenant, as explained in 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant were unlawful oaths, *no way binding on such as had sworn them.* As an easement of the royal conscience, such device of royal absolution might possibly pass, since it pleased the party to be content with it. But the monstrous addition, that it should be *treason* to make, or renew leagues and bonds without the king's consent for ever, not only entangled consciences that could not upon any moral consideration whatever denude themselves of the obligation of vows which they had heartily sworn and durst not forswear, but actually turned the loyalty of nine-tenths of Scotland into a living hypocrisy; in danger every moment of unmasking itself by an incautious word, or a momentary movement, indicative of a residuary tenderness for the Covenant,—an utterance or a movement as sure to bring the party to death as once the utterance of the name of Jesus, or a movement in the cause of his Cross. Other treasons, the inventive genius of Charles's Scottish Council, soon contrived to supplement the capital treason of the Covenant withal, of an effect so diffused and far-reaching, as if they were intended literally to verify the adage—"Kings have long hands;" since they gave the power of clutching the value of half the property of his subjects, as "escheat and to be inbrought for his majesty's use." The *new* oath of allegiance provided for the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy *in all causes*, over all persons. The act against conven-

ticles, made it rebellion for men and women to go forth to the fields in companies, though without any arms except their Bibles, or voices except for psalms, or lifting up of the hands except in prayer. And then comes out the newest and most portable treason of all, involved in the answer to the famous question—"Was the killing of the Archbishop murder?" Add to these, certain little fillings in of the crevices at which it might be suspected that some few would be enabled to creep out of the parchment of these enactments, well filled as the margin might seem to be—as *intercommuning*, the crime, that is to say, of giving five minutes harbourage, or a bed in the barn, or a morsel of food, or a draught of water, to a preacher, or a field-worshipper; with some few more laws directed against crimes at least as terrible. Prayers in *private* were suspicious; in the field, though there was not a listener by, a frequent signal *to fire*. There was scarcely any sure defence against putative treason and disaffection, except drinking of healths, (the king's particularly), swearing (not, be sure, of covenants, but) of curses, trowling of dice, and begetting of illegitimate offspring. It would require very lengthy proof to over-rule such strong presumptions of perfect well-affectedness to the government of church and state.

And what kind of foundations were these to lean the security of religion or even public statute upon? Seas of blood overflowed these foundations,—hell from beneath was moved at them. If the Prelacy is worth a blush, it cannot read its own history, or a page of Scottish chronicle, nor in a glance of a nation's indignant eyes, without crimsoning deeper than its own richest purple altar-cloth. Yes, men will be tracking *their* orders and *their* rights through such a common sewer of filth and blood; and founding grievances on their extinct titles, and claims to national confidence, if not claims to national establishment! Could Scottish Prelacy first bury her dead, her chance would be better. But this she will not deign to do. She must be picking up the wreck of her foulest tatters, and exhuming the remains of her most rotten bones. Let her put on her beautiful garments, if she have them, and let them be her own. In vain may she seek to remember her saints,—and for her martyrs, they have, praise to the better genius of the Covenant, not one to shew. Sharpe died by the hands of ruffians and madmen—he was no martyr. Montrose died by such justice as he would have measured out to others if he had had the power—and he was no martyr. President Spottiswoode fell in a conflict for mastery in the tug of ambition—and he was no martyr. Waiving the few cases in which Presbyterian sufferers may run in the same parallel line with these, Prelacy is chargeable with a myriad of murders, and has her hands embrued in the blood of thousands of the just, and all on the theatre of her own kindly native soil.

She may glory in her resurrection-work of Spottiswoode Tracts, and Spalding Club trashery, in new Lives of Montrose, and new readings of history, and controversies about the fate of the Christian carrier, and the like expedients for restoring Scottish Prelacy to credit.

We know that the worthies there employed have hearts no harder than other men. But we cannot approve their work, and we must

rebuke their presumption. For they lodge not their appeal with the Scottish people. This they know they dare not do. But they dare to strike in between the Scottish people and the Scottish gentry, as if it were seemly that their sympathies should be engaged on different sides, or as if it were desirable that new conflicts should be bodied forth in the distance, such as turned the swords of their heady fathers upon the bosoms of their own peasantry, and watered the soil of their own estates with some of the purest and holiest blood in the land, from the veins of those friendless sufferers whom it was most their duty to have protected.

SCRATCHINGS WITH A BAD PEN.

MANY authors have told romantic stories about their works. They have detailed the occasions and earliest germs of their compositions: and we have enjoyed the narrative because it led us behind the scenes and gave us a private view of the first hours and thoughts of works which have perhaps commanded the attention of the world. We have insatiable curiosity about the everyday life and history of anything notable. We make pilgrimages to see the very chamber where a poet mused, or a philosopher meditated, or a traitor conspired. We even insist on knowing the minutest details of a great man's birth and childhood, and all his experience of careless nurses, hooping-cough, and gypsies. On this account authors are always prone to supply the gossip which prurient curiosity may one day desire. Poets have condescended, in plain prose, to note the time and place of their rapsodies, and prepare an invoice of all the little items which suggested their rhymes. We have heard much and often of the scene, the season, and the hour. We have been made familiar as a parish constable with the birth-place of epics and the common haunt of odes and sonnets. We have been homeopathically treated with suggested alterations, and amendments on second thought. Have we not been driven into an angry silence by the ceaseless repetition of the influence of a rural church-yard, or a lonely, dingy, low-roofed, smoky room in a country inn, or a tapestried chamber in a Baron's castle, or an unfrequented water-fall, or a long neglected picture, or a rainy day, or a way-side grave, or a sunset among mountains, or a harvest field, or a dead bird? But I have never met with any author who confessed, directly or indirectly, the influence of his PEN. One might imagine that our popular writers never conversed with pen and ink—never knew the trials of oozy, or soft, or greasy paper—never endured the persecution of a ticket-of-leave pen—but developed their thoughts and sentences in clear type, without the intervention of those perplexing materials which ruin the equanimity of ordinary men. I do not by any means call in question the other influences from without. Who, for example, has not felt and owned the modifying and controlling power of a sunny or a cloudy day, of a clear hill and valley horizon, or a thick fog? Every man

who has written two pages has been aware of all those external influences, and many more, upon the spirit and form of his composition. More than this, I have been conscious of the influence on my thoughts of an ugly, bold, gin-shop-like paper on the wall of a room, and of ill-assorted and topsy-turvy books in the shelves of my library. I even flatter myself that I accomplished a sensible improvement in the preaching of my clergyman by persuading him to select another room for study, where nothing distracted his attention, and where all the objects that met his eye were orderly and pleasing. My highland friend, Mr Glencoe M'Ildowie, studies in a dimly lighted room, whose only window looks out upon a dead wall about six feet distant; and I am free to confess that every sermon which I have heard him preach has borne traces of his study, and of the view from it. My bucolic neighbour, Mr Peter M'Robin, has the advantage of living beside a stream, and studying to the music of a powerful saw-mill with a chorus from a well-stocked poultry-yard, and I would wrong the worthy man if I did not admit that he also has profited by these external influences. But be all this as it may, I am certain that the influence of the pen in my hand, is, in the gross and scope of my work, a thousand times greater than surrounding objects or remote associations. I might indeed compose a sermon, or a speech, or a poem, as Robert Hall is said to have composed his discourses, and Robert Burns is alleged to have created Tam o' Shanter, without any application to paper. But I don't. This may be because I cannot; but at all events I *shall not*, for diverse good and weighty reasons me hereunto specially moving. I must see my sentences, as well as secretely revolve them: and I find that some propositions which comport themselves with vast dignity and self-complacence in the shadowy chamber of my thoughts, cannot bear the sun-light, but receive instant sentence of banishment when on my scroll they obtain a local habitation and a name. You may laugh at this method of incarcerating and testing an intellectual process. But before you laugh again, will you be so good as prosecute to its conclusion a question of average difficulty in Simple Proportion, or a long and mixed sum in Addition, without the aid of slate or cyphers? Adam Smith was in the habit of walking back and forwards in his library when he composed, and of dictating his already formed sentences to an amanuensis. But, shortly before his death and after his large experience as a public teacher and an author, he complained that he composed as slowly and with as much difficulty as at the first. On the contrary, David Hume, who never employed a secretary, acquired such a facility of composing correctly, that the last volume of his history was printed from the first scrol with a few marginal corrections. I could mention other illustrations of the advantage of being the *writer* as well as the *composer* of a work. A melody untried and a speech unspoken may appear to be very excellent: but the judgment which eventually passes on them may receive the opinion founded on theory, so that the melody may prove unmusical and the speech uneloquent. In a somewhat similar way, a composition which has only been dictated, and which in its formation has not been developed under the eye and

by the hand of the author, has not some advantages of review, consideration, and adjustment, which the actual writing of it would have secured. And I suspect that the author who merely dictates to a secretary is in serious danger of acquiring a monotonous style and a stereotyped form of expression. Many common-places and tricks of phrase will abound in his works: and he will only escape the danger by varied and painful preparation, and by the most sensitive watchfulness and jealousy. On these accounts I rarely compose a sentence without a fair sheet of paper on my desk, and a carefully selected pen, in my hand And I am now to acknowledge, that this pen affects my temper, interferes with the flow of my thought, alters my purpose, hinders my progress, interposes new and alien associations, and brings down the gloom of an angry and troubled countenance over the lines which pretend to express the sweetest day-dream of present happiness.

Let any man take up one of those needle-pointed, hard, spurty, dangerous weapons, which are often represented as metallic pens, and let him write with it a letter to an old schoolfellow. As he inscribes the first line, the writer is subjected to the agonies of suspense and vexation in getting the pen after a while to let down any ink at all. He has traced "My dear Tom" at least a dozen times before he has coaxed the pen to leave its mark, and then he has to paint and retouch three-fourths of the other letters to give them any chance of being legible. Do you suppose that all this annoyance has had no effect on his thoughts, or on the subsequent spirit of the letter? Look at his face during the tardy and difficult development of that first line. A pleasant humorous smile suffuses his countenance as he begins. He nods and winks to the lamp—he gazes at the roof for a moment as if he saw there a thousand laughing faces—he looks into the fire, and then sets himself with all his heart and soul to write. He is calling to mind some old story full of innocent fun and drollery, and he means to stir up Tom with it. The twinkle of his eye and the moving line of his lips are eloquent. The pen itself seems to catch the inspiration, and enjoy prodigiously the few preparatory gyrations in which he indulges after he has just dipt it in the ink. It would have you believe that it is fretting at the delay—that it is eager for the race along the sheet—and that it will enter point and barrel into every jest. But when it is seized with an instantaneous fit of obstinacy, and refuses to let the ink stain the paper, he first looks surprised and incredulous. He says, there was certainly no ink in it—so he carefully dips the pen again in the ink-glass, and looks at it steadfastly before he recommences. There can be no mistake now, for he has shaken off a huge superabundant drop, and the pen is still full. He tries again to write, and with the same success. He cannot realize such inconsistency. His brow begins to knit—his mouth pouts—his hand holds the pen surgically—his lips are then compressed—and his whole being, corporal and spiritual, is irritated and angry. The bright thoughts and crowding associations with which he had taken pen in hand are fled, and the first words which he contrives to write are done as mechanically and vilely as if he had scratched them on an old brick wall with a rusty

fork. Has not Tom, all unconsciously and innocently, lost much by this misfortune. The kindly spirit, laden with the loving memories of a long friendship, which was sighing for utterance, is dissipated. The brow of the writer is heavy and clouded; and the only ideas which now rise in his mind are constrained and crabbed. The heartiness of the friendship may be impaled on that stiletto.

But suppose him safely past the first two lines, he is by no means out of danger, and is almost sure to meet new trials. Either the whole ink in the pen is of a sudden possessed with a raging fever, and rushes in a flood upon the sheet, or the point fastens itself fiercely in the paper, and sparks a sable spray over half the page. I shall suppose that our friend Sam is a meek man—that he makes use of no strong expressions at the pen and paper, and everything else—that he sends them to no place in particular—and that he only elevates his eyebrows at the catastrophe and blesses himself. But even supposing him to be meek as Moses, can he remain quite unruffled under such irritating experience; perhaps he had been on the verge of referring to some old jest which had never been mentioned without convulsions of laughter, or some old playfellow who had never been named without the most grotesque associations—would not those graphical torments drive all the merry thoughts out of his mind, so that if he persisted in recording the jest, he would do it like an undertaker on the lid of a coffin, and if he referred to the playmate, he would name him with gouty and laconic bitterness? Talk lightly, or talk nothing, about a pen. That very letter to Tom may create a coldness inexplainable between the two friends. The doctor may insist, when he hears of the letter, that Sam has been very bilious—the clergyman may allege that something doctrinal has been perplexing him—and the lawyer may suspect that he has been threatened with an action for damages, or for breach of promise, or has been unfortunate in the share market. Yet neither scrip nor summons, neither election nor liver, had anything whatever to do with it. The sole cause of the evil, ladies and gentlemen, was a PEN.

Perhaps the letter might not be sent at all. Sam might look at it gravely and shake his head, and protest that he could not in decency send such a blotted, blurred, dirty, illegible scrawl to any body. Well, you ask me, do you really mean to impute blame here, or ascribe any evil consequences to the poor abused pen when the letter was not sent? Yes, I do. For Tom receives no letter, though he had been looking for one. Every man knows, too, that the missing a day in correspondence is like the breaking out of water and expands like a cloud, so that weeks and months pass afterwards unnoted. So Tom believes that Sam has forgotten him, or is sulky; and by and by he becomes angry, unforgiving and obstinate. Or, if you insist upon it, I will make Sam send the letter, and we shall see how it ends. Tom suspects at once that his old friend is getting into bad habits—that his letter must have been written in a trevise of a low tavern—that the pen which he used must have been the common good of old-clothes-men, dissipated actors, disreputable cabmen, detectives, and bank-directors—and that Sam is

not even civil in his horrid scribbling. In this way that one bad pen may have checked the intimacy of friends, cast a blight on old affection, and hindered a marriage which would have been brought about in six months between Sam and Tom's sweet sister Jemima.

To pass from the possible influence of a bad pen in a private correspondence—from the misunderstandings and porcupine conditions which are never explained—from the reserve which wounds and sows secretly the seeds of estrangement—and all which might be traceable to a vile pen—we may ramble for a few moments along the margin of general literature. Can we account for many abrupt transitions of thought, for many unequal passages, for many noble aims falling suddenly short of their object in the works of our most accomplished authors? Who knows but that the famous "Quos ego———" in the first Æneid may have been no happy, intentional stroke of art, but merely a pause originally compelled by a sparking pen, or an abominable blot, and suffered to remain for revision, and subsequently adopted? Goldsmith made some shrewd criticisms on that most insane soliloquy which Shakespeare has given to Hamlet—

> "To be or not to be, that is the question;
> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
> And, by opposing, end them?"

The critic says truly, that "no figure can be more ridiculously absurd than that of a man taking arms against a sea." I cannot impune the criticism, though I have many a time listened admiringly to the passage, and never in this respect questioned its propriety. But in this soliloquy there are so many alien and antagonistic metaphors and inconsistent phrases, that I am almost certain that an untoward influence from without must have entangled the great dramatist's composition. Might it not be a pen worn to a stump leaving maps of seas and oceans on the paper, tracing thick serpentine lines adown the page, and exhibiting all the vestiges of a fearful battle rendered you in ink?

There are some compositions which vividly suggest even the kind of pen with which they were written. This tends, no doubt, to the theory that individual character is indicated by the handwriting. And why should we refuse assent to this? Do we not naturally form opinions as to personal qualities and dispositions from similar manifestations, and are we not generally correct in our decisions? We pass in secret a judgment on every man we meet, founded on the tone of his voice, of his gestures, and on the general expression of his features. Are we not equally warranted to found upon his penmanship? If he be angry, will he not handle his pen differently from his usual placid method? If his nervous system be relaxed, will this not be detected in every action he performs, and specially in the minute and fine action of tracing letters? Is it not therefore reasonable to expect that the prevailing features of character will betray themselves in handwriting, and to trust as much to penmanship in estimating character as to the

tone of voice? If a man be very irritable, it is scarcely possible to conceive that his handwriting will conceal it; and if he be stern and obstinate of mood, it would be something miraculous were the letters formed by his hand to look disjointed and feeble. We all acknowledge this truth: we are surprised and incredulous when a specimen of writing uncouth, straggling, uneven, inelegant, is presented to us as the autograph of any lady of ordinary accomplishment. We do not believe it. We require as much evidence to satisfy us of the truth of the allegation as we would demand for a verdict of guilty in a trial for murder. This arises from the rule which experience and observation have established, that there is a relation or correspondence between accomplished refinement and certain qualities of handwriting. As surely as we single out in a promiscuous company, by the mere conduct of the hand, the man or woman of true gentleness, so we are convinced that the same hand, when wielding a quill, will distinguish itself from others by attributes equally peculiar and indicative of nobler civilisation. But may it not be objected, that a style of handwriting prevails throughout a family where there may be great difference of character and disposition? True. Yet with the greatest difference of character and disposition among the members of the same family, is there not a pervading family likeness, a unity, which a stranger at once detects, and which is in no respect better illustrated than in the usual resemblance of writings? In spite of this resemblance, too, the members of the same family do not all prefer the same kind of pen, but make a selection, which is eminently significant of diversity of character. Mary cannot write a line with the pen which Isabella declares to be a perfect darling, and which she therefore retains for her own special use; and Ben is ready to asseverate that he might as well attempt to write with a hat-brush as use the pen which Ned delights in. Some people, no doubt, assert that they never write twice in the same style. This may or may not be. If it be so, the variations ought to be instructive and significant. They may indicate versatility of talent or instability of purpose. The writing of the first Napoleon, and more particularly his signatures, are very characteristic, but they are very different from each other. With all their diversity they are, every one of them, eloquent with the will to do and the soul to dare. They are essentially different from the autographs of Wellington. Napoleon apparently cared nothing about the pen which he employed. Sometimes he projected eccentric lines over half the sheet, and ended his half written name with a wild dash about a quarter of an inch thick, which no common pen could survive. Sometimes he plodded through his signature with all the perseverance of a schoolboy. And thus his varied penmanship seemed to indicate very much that is known of his genius. Wellington never suffered himself to be in haste or apparently impatient. He was careful in selecting his pen. No blots appear in his writing—his long strokes are singularly straight—the whole penmanship shows a determined purpose on his part to write legibly—and his signature is extremely severe and totally awanting in the "swagger" which generally characterises the autographs of his great rival. The handwriting of Talleyrand is a

hieroglyphic portrait of his history. A note in his hand is now before me. Those twisted enigmatical letters, sometimes isolated, sometimes cunningly joined—those lines, seemingly traced with the most careless hand, and marked by the most abrupt halts of his pen, yet always carrying on their aim, and astonishing the minute examiner by their regular inconsistency, are wonderfully suggestive. With a pre-formed idea of his character, his handwriting is curiously responsive. On the same sheet, and within the compass of a few lines, one can fancy that he distinctly decerns traces of the training at St Sulpice, of the hypocritical and avaricious policy of the foreign minister of the directory—of the shameless inconsistency of the supporter of the first consulate, the empire, the recal of the king, the dethronement of the emperor—and of the cunning and heartless diplomacy that made cause with all parties, and was anything or everything as it might help his own fortune. There is a noticeable similarity between the writing of Talleyrand and of George Monck, Duke of Albemarle. Making the necessary allowance for the different period and the different nation, the resemblance is remarkable. I have also before me a note of Monck's, dated Dalkeith, Jan. 19, 1674, and it strikes me as singularly like the writing of the Frenchman; and the resemblance has been acknowledged by every one to whom I have shown them. Both writers had a similar career. We have just adverted to the history of the one; it is only necessary that we remember that the other was a royalist, a covenanter, a republican, a royalist once more, and unboundedly selfish always.

I do not pretend to have faith in those persons who profess in every case to decypher the peculiarities of character from any specimen of writing. I greatly prefer to have first an accurate knowledge of the history of the writer, and then ascertain what correspondence there is between the handwork and the handwriting. This is a most interesting study, and a most instructive one. It leads to a habit of useful discrimination, and keeps historical personages in a separate category from the heroes of fiction. But I cannot deny that I have witnessed some unquestionable interpretations of character from autographs whose writers were altogether unknown to the interpreter. About a year ago I was present when part of a letter, which, so far as words were concerned, could reveal nothing as to the position or gifts of the writer, was put before a gentleman, with a request that he would favour us with the character which it indicated. He looked at it aslant—he turned it upside down—he gazed at it as if he expected something to spring out of the words—he laid it on the floor, and slowly and quietly walked round it—he sat down, leaned his chin on his hand, and his elbow on his knee, and in this position looked apparently along the lines. He then gave us a minute description of the peculiar and somewhat remarkable character of the writer, who was well known to several persons in the room, who were perfectly amazed at its definiteness and fidelity. I have seen him do the same thing repeatedly among intimate friends, and explain the reason for each of his conclusions in such a way that we all perceived the several features of cha-

racter clearly indicated by the letters, or words, or peculiarities to which be called our attention. There must be something in it; for, as I have already hinted, every one has a predilection for a particular kind of pen, and every one's handwriting and signature can be distinguished from another's. Let half a dozen different kinds of pens be laid upon an inkstand—quills of varied sorts and sizes, metallic pens, soft, hard, broad, and finely pointed, flexible as a hair pencil, and unyielding as an iron skewer. Bring into the room half a dozen persons, selected for their diversified genius and qualities, and ask them to subscribe their names. You will be highly amused at the choice which each man will make of his pen, and at the true indication of character which the choice will indicate.

But while pleading the influence of the pen on a composition, I do not forget that their are some passages which, above all others, seem to have been first composed and perfected, and then only recorded. Milton's descriptions of the meeting of Satan and Death, and of evening in Eden, are *visions*. They bear no trace of hindrance, or of the trouble and delay of being written—they rise above the very terms which describe them, and seem almost to occupy the senses and fill the ear and eye. Such are also some of Byron's descriptions. Such are also the speeches of Portia in the Merchant of Venice, and of Wolsey in Henry VIII. But, to take a different example, the hexameters of Pope bear marks of the pen, a nicely trimmed and neatly nibbed pen, which would be sought for in vain in Dryden's Ode. The poet of The Seasons has given us nothing, beautiful and elevated as his verses are, which does not indicate slow and manual composition. The poems of Samuel Rogers not only impress us with their being written and put into approved form on paper, but give us a very definite idea of the kind of pen which the author employed. It must have been a delicate transparent quill, selected with sensitive consideration, and cut with the most exquisite care, or a choice metallic weapon in a costly holder. A blotted letter, or anything that spoiled the trimness of his manuscript, would interdict his song. We cannot think of a single blot or spark or erasure in the corrected copy. We have no doubt whatever that every *i* was dotted with scrupulous exactness, and in the right line, that every *t* was stroked, and that every letter was developed with the minuteness and care of an engraver. There is doubtless an ease in the lines of Rogers, but it is the ease of one who moves gracefully in chains. There is no free flight of thought—no composition that in its ardour would forget the seemliness of the manuscript and care only for being perpetuated, no matter how rudely. There is not a line in the Pleasures of Memory, or in his Italy, in which the author would not pause for five minutes to trim his pen. The flight of his muse is thus no exploring career along the heavens, but a mathematical curve of a known equation.

To a less extent, the same characteristic may be ascribed to Tom Campbell. His pen also was choice and dainty, but he used it with a freer hand, and sometimes in a fine phrensy forgot that he held it.

The handwriting of Walter Scott was peculiar. It retained the

form which it had acquired in his father's office, though it was much more close and compressed than is usual in any specimens of penmanship which issue from such a sanctum. I do not recollect that any one has ever remarked the influence which Scott's apprenticeship in a writer's office had upon the form and structure of his works. I do not refer to his introduction of legal technicalities or professional jests, customs, or characters, in his prose compositions. But it appears to me that, even in his poetical works, he often betrays the method of a lawyer, and loves to linger on a description of localities in a manner which was probably influenced by his experience of Deeds of Entail and Feudal Charters. Kirke White admitted that his own poetry derived some advantages from his conscientious study of Blackstone's Commentaries. Some passages in Marmion may have owed their power and effect to Scott's unpoetic labours as his father's apprentice. His pen seemed always ready, always fine, flexible and enduring. It needed very few prunings, and moved on with an evenly progress.

Byron's was not a good pen for any other person. It was spurty —it caught hairs in the paper—it scratched and occasionally blotted the sheet, but it was equally fitted to draw the finest line or develope the boldest stroke. He played with it, too, for even when writing on subjects which he wished to treat most seriously, he added grotesque tendrils and excrescences to some letters, and spent much unnecessary and useless labour in these flourishes. There is a specimen of his handwriting well known, as a *fac simile* of it is published with most editions of his poems. It is from a letter to Mr Murray from Missalonghi, dated Feb. 25, 1824. It repudiates in very strong terms the authorship of a satire upon Mr Gifford, which Mr Douglas Kinnaird had stated was ascribed to Lord B. If any one will look at the fac simile, he will be astonished at the superfluous and eccentric flourishes which Lord Byron has imposed on the name "Douglas Kinnaird." Yet the handwriting of Byron never suggests the idea of "swagger," which such adornments usually do. These tendrils seem made of iron, and though they suggest the wildest discursiveness, they also indicate *power* and *will* in a remarkable degree. What do we owe to the accidents of Byron's pen? How many episodes—how many startling associations—how many precipitous transitions may have been wholly suggested by the progress and adventures of the quill Upon an author so mercurial and impressible as Lord Byron, such an influence would be peculiarly powerful and generally happy. And it is by no means improbable that many of his most beautiful and sublime excursions of thought may have been brought about by the incidents of his penmanship. An imagination so fertile, and a poetic eloquence so rich and varied would ignore the wide world of sense, or invest it with charms, suited to the experience of the moment. The delay in dipping the pen in the ink-glass—the annoyance of a blotted word which must be rewritten—the turning of a leaf—the trouble of clearly defining the arrangement of an interlined and amended passage—the vexation of a hair lurking in the slit of the pen—the unsuccessful attempt to make the quill fit for pleasant use—the necessity of rising

to go in quest of another pen—would all tell mightily on the composition of such a man as Lord Byron. And I therefore say it in sober earnest, that the pen with which Lord Byron wrote would have a material and important effect on his poetry. He could not have written The Giaour or The Bride of Abydos, or The Prisoner of Chillon, or Mazeppa, with a metallic pen. He could not have written "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold," with any kind of pen which annoyed him in writing.

I had some other people's pens to mention; among others, that commonly used one which will not spell correctly; but, on second thoughts, I shall say nothing about them, except that some of our modern authors seem to write with a peacock's feather, others with a sparrow's pinion, others with a trophy from the tail of a turkey-cock, others with a stiletto, and far too few with an honest goose quill.

THE EXILE'S FAREWELL.

HAIL, Scotia! Freedom's true domain,
My own beloved home.
Oh! must I leave thee, Fatherland!
On foreign shores to roam!

Home!—ah! there's music in the name,
Though faint it sound to me;
Once well I knew its magic spell,
Though long ago it be.

Aye, time hath dimmed, with cloudy wing,
The gay, gay hours of joy
That, rainbow-like, bedecked the days
E'er life had known alloy;

E'er age had steeled this now chill heart,
Or tears had dewed my cheek;
E'er crime—but oh, Oblivion! come—
Of *that* I dare not speak.

I dare not mar the gleam of home,
With loved ones weeping there;
'Tis sad to know their grief I caused,
And my disgrace they bear.

Oft, though I strive to banish thought,
'Twill ever upmost rise;
When least desired, Mem'ry brings
Dark visions o'er my eyes.

It may not be,—but yet could I
Recall years passed away,
Far worthier would their record be
Than haunts my mind this day.

Roll on, thou deep, 'gainst thee alone,
  Throughout creation's range,—
While all things pass, alas! and fade;—
  Hoar time records no change.

Stay, stay, ye winds, nor haste my bark
  Too quickly o'er the main;
But bid me, lingering, gaze on shores
  I ne'er may see again.

When tossed on ocean's heaving breast,
  I hear the surges dash;
Or, wandering on a foreign strand,
  Pause at the thunder's crash,

E'en then, I'll think of home and friends,
  And Scotia's heather-bell,
Badge of a country ne'er subdued;—
  Home of the brave, farewell!

Long, Scotia! may thy noble sons
  Defend their native land,
From haughty tyrant's grasping sway,
  And despot's iron hand.

Land of my fathers,—fare thee well!—
  I'll ever love *thee* best;—
Land of my youth,—a long farewell!—
  And blessings on thee rest.

R. H.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Protestant Controversial Catechism, or Romanism Refuted, and Protestantism Established; being a refutation of many of the Leading Doctrines of Romanism, as maintained by Keenan in his "Controversial Catechism," and by other Romish Authors. By the Rev. WILLIAM MITCHELL. Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 139 Princes Street. 1857.

DURING the last few years the British Public have been thoroughly roused to the dangers of the spread of Popery. For long, little attention was paid to the workings of this false system of religion. Owing to division and schism among themselves the friends of Protestantism had their attention averted from the common enemy and he was allowed to pursue his proselytizing attempts with impunity. These in many cases proved signally successful; chapels rose in various parts of the country, where all the mummeries of Papal error were witnessed by multitudes of deluded proselytes, and colleges were founded for the training of ecclesiastics to supply the urgent wants of the community. But zeal sometimes outdoes discretion. So it proved in this case. Elated with success the emissaries of the Pope were not content with the silent but effective organization established. The mask was thrown off. Aggressive measures of a more

palpable and formidable nature were adopted. With bold effrontery the Pope's legate appeared in the metropolis of the empire, setting forth his claims to a spiritual jurisdiction over the kingdom, and portioning it out into territorial divisions. This at once attracted the attention, and roused the dormant jealousy of the friends of Protestant truth. The claims of Dr Wiseman were canvassed, and indignantly rejected. The insidious disgust of papists were thoroughly exposed. Their proselytizing attempts were checked. The simple-minded and credulous were put on their guard against the Jesuitical practices which they adopted to gain converts. The whole system of Popery was sifted to its foundation. Its erroneous and soul-destroying tenets were thoroughly exposed, and a deadly blow was given to the Romish Church in England, from which it is not likely that it will speedily recover. It is well that events should have been so over-ruled by providence as to lead to this pleasing result. We do not profess to belong to that large and increasing class of Protestants who apprehend no danger from Popery. Such individuals tell us that we have much to fear from the progress of Infidelity, from the influence which sceptical writers, such as Strauss and Theodore Parker, exercise upon the thinking mind, but that Popery need not alarm us. The people have arrived at a high state of civilization and enlightenment. They are highly educated and intelligent, and to saddle Popery upon them, would be as impossible as to clothe the full grown man in the swaddling clothes of the child. Plausible as this opinion is, we have no hesitation in regarding it as false and erroneous. Were Popery to appeal merely to the reason of man, we would have little to fear from it. If brought to the bar of sound reason and thoroughly sifted, it would at once be condemned and repudiated. But Popery does not depend for its continued existence and propagation on its claims to truthfulness. It knows very well that it cannot stand the searching scrutiny of unbiassed reason, and hence, like other systems of error, it appeals not to the judgment and conscience, but to the ignorance and credulity, the passions and prejudices of mankind. Its doctrines and rites are nothing else but skilful adaptations to deprave human nature; and, so long as men are not enlightened and sanctified by divine grace, much danger is to be apprehended from the seductive influence of Popery. Besides, the opinions to which we have adverted is opposed to the experience of former ages. Twelve hundred years ago, Scotland was nearly as thoroughly Protestant as at the present day. From the time that Columba came over from Ireland, in a wicker boat with his followers, and landed on the bleak shores of Iona, the light of religion shone with all its apostolic radiance and purity in our land. The faithful missionaries of the Culdees preached the simple truths of the gospel with the greatest fidelity and zeal, and for many centuries the churches of Britain, like the churches of the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, presented an unflinching front to the usurping power of Rome. But Popery prevailed at last. Its corruptions were introduced into the British churches, and this was done chiefly through the instrumentality of the monks and bishops of England, the successors of Augustine. Some of the Culdee Evangelists were gained over by bribery. Others proved to be Papists who had entered the Scottish Church with the view of proselytizing the people. Largesses were freely distributed among the more influential inhabitants, and by these means, Popery, with all its abominations, was established, and in the 14th century became the dominant religion of the country. And if Protestant Caledonia could be Romanized in the 14th century, what is to prevent the recurrence of the same thing now? It was once

said by a great statesman of a former age, that "when England shall loose her hostility to Popery, neither her liberties nor greatness can long survive;" and if ever Rome shall succeed in bringing this country under her ghostly dominion, we believe that this dire consummation will be owing entirely to our stoical apathy. Divided, as we are unhappily, into so many opposing sects, we are too apt to expend our strength and energies on petty differences, and when one regiment in the same army begins to quarrel with another the enemy gains a great advantage. So far then from condemning, we feel rather disposed to commend and appreciate, the labours of those who endeavour, through the press and otherwise, to enlighten the public as to the errors of Popery. Numberless treatises have been published upon the subject, good, bad, and indifferent; all directed against this many-headed hydra. It would be a waste of labour, therefore, to write a new book on the subject, as it has been thoroughly exhausted. Nevertheless, when any treatise is issued on the other side of the question, which elicits the high commendation of the advocates of Popery, and obtains a wide circulation, it is highly desirable that a specific antidote should be administered to the poison which it disseminates. The "Controversial Catechism," by the Rev. Stephen Keenan, (formerly noticed in this Magazine) has been before the public for several years. It has now acquired a circulation of 21,000 copies, and it bears the imprimatur of two Catholic Bishops, who "recommend it to the faithful." The plausibility and acuteness which it displays, render it a dangerous engine in the hands of the adversaries of evangelical truth. The answer to this work, now under notice, we could have wished, had been placed in abler hands. Keenan is followed from point to point in his special pleadings. His misinterpretations, mendacious statements, historical inaccuracies and sophistical arguments, are made patent to the reader, and the truths of Protestantism are presented in an eloquent and forcible style. The Catechism is divided into 31 chapters, in which all the leading dogmas of Popery are handled. The 15th chapter consists of an exposure of six false miracles of the Romish Church, which are shown to be nothing else but "lying wonders." The appendix enhances the value of the book. It contains a fearful account of the purgatorial societies in Ireland, and an important refutation of the ordinary of the mass.

Of the sincerity of Mr Mitchell we have no doubt whatever; but we do not consider that, in point of acuteness, or of a knowledge of biblical criticism, he is able to cope even with Father Keenan.

The Comet, and Cometic Electricity: an Inquiry into the Physical Laws of the Universe; the Grand Comet and Earth Catastrophies of the Past, and the Grander Events to Come; Comet Thunder-Clouds; Earthquakes; Volcanic Fires; Deluges; Subsidence of the Trap Hills; Upheaval of New Land; Reversal of Rivers; Burial of Cities; Afterwards. By Struve Ærnest. Edinburgh: H. Robinson, 11 Greenside. London: E. Farrington and G. Vickers. Manchester: Abel Heywood. Glasgow: W. Love, St Enoch Square. 1857.

This pamphlet, consisting of 32 octavo pages, is evidently called forth by the rumoured reappearance of one of the largest comets connected with our solar system. The author, in endeavouring to connect religion with the planetary system, including the influence of the comets that are constantly appearing and disappearing, advances the novel and extraordinary hypo-

thesis, that the function of comets is, by their electrical influence, to change the structure of the planets with which they come in contact, as well as to destroy all animal life in them, and afterwards, by the same influence, to reproduce animal life of a more elevated description in all its forms. It is even insinuated that the raising of the dead is a phenomenon quite in harmony with the laws of the universe. This we think is trespassing too daringly on the territory of religious supernaturalism. The following are the propositions which our author proposes to establish by his hypothetical theorem :—

"1. That to the universe, of which our sun, his planets, and their moons are in the aggregate but one member, the partial destruction of a planet in the solar system is of far less comparative magnitude than the upheaval or sinking of a volcanic island is compared to the whole planet earth.

"2. That geology demonstrates the earth to be a fragment of an older planetary system than the present—one which had been frequently, though at immeasurably long distances of time, disturbed through contact with comets, and latterly reduced to chaos, from which the Almighty retrieved it by redressing the balances and orbits of the planets with one another, and with the sun.

"3. That the physical laws of the universe, as demonstrated in organic and inorganic existences, impose decay and regeneration, destruction and reconstruction—the seasons of the earth, with their tropical hurricanes and winter storms, being analogous to the grander epochs of cometary contact and convulsions in the planetary systems of the universe.

"4. That the ordinary balances of the planets and the sun, with the seasons dependant on their continuance, can only be disturbed by a foreign body such as a comet, whose orbit is greater than the solar system, and possessing positive electric power of vaster quantity than the sun.

"5. That the body of a comet being of the seeming consistence of vapour does not justify the assumption that the earth might pass through one without any sensible effect, as has been assumed; nor, because it is seemingly of vapour, and not of a substance dense and hard, is there reason to assume that it cannot come in contact with the earth. On the contrary, the comet being of vapour, and charged with positive electricity, it will enfold the globe and cling to it until the sublime purpose of nature is effected; the result, a new order of beings springing from the 'dust,' as did all existing and preceding orders of animal and vegetable life; or, in other words, the Resurrection of the Dead."

Upon the whole, our author presents his readers at least with a vigorous outline of astronomy, and this being condensed into a space of astonishing brevity, renders his pamphlet extremely interesting and well worth perusal. His hypothesis, though unsupported by actual observation or experience, is strikingly original; and we have no doubt, from its character as a novelty, will become attractive and popular.

The Minister's Directory; or, Forms for the Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ordinances, according to the Church of Scotland. By the Rev. James Anderson, Minister of the Parish of Cults. Edinburgh: Moodie & Lothian. 1856.

This is really a useful work, being indispensable to parties either entering on the office of a clergyman, or even for students, preparatory thereto.

It is written with much clearness, and evinces a thorough acquaintance with the variety of matters embraced in the topics of which it treats. As formulae are necessary, even for minds of the highest class, in which to cast their thoughts, we would earnestly recommend these as possessing all the characteristics of soundness, sobriety of sentiment, and earnestness; and while no clergyman can be expected to be chained down to the *ipsissima verba* of any formula, yet the necessity of having one as a general guide must be palpable to every one accustomed to public speaking.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Induction at Glasgow.—The Rev. Dr M'Taggart of Aberdeen, was on the 20th instant, inducted by the Presbytery of Glasgow to the Parish of St James in that city; Dr Gillan of St John's conducted the services.

Ordination.—The Presbytery of Jedburgh met at Kirkton on the 14th instant, and ordained the Rev. George Hunter to the pastoral charge of that parish.

MACPHAIL'S

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THE MENTAL PHILOSOPHY OF KANT.*

PHILOSOPHY, in its strictest acceptation, may be stated to be conversant about two main subjects, the facts of consciousness, and the abstract nature of things. On the former turn the questions of Psychology or Mental Philosophy, on the latter those of Ontology or Metaphysics proper. As these are not only distinct, but different in kind, so ought to be the methods by which they are respectively investigated. In the former the chief weight falls on simple observation, in the latter on logical reflection. In either case results the most injurious to truth must follow from the neglect of this necessary rule. For example, it was the discussion of an abstract question in the spirit of observation, which led Bishop Berkeley to the denial of material substance, and so to the representation of material objects as mere conceptions of the mind. To prove that an aggregate of qualities is a thing he invoked common sense, not as a witness but as a judge, and with great show of reason, since men have no experience, and can form to themselves no representation of qualities except as already inhering in a substance. The attention being fixed on this concrete apprehension of quality, it was confounding to ask—Where is the substance which philosophers dream of, not as constituted by the sum of qualities, but as contradistinguished from them all? Yet the distinction so easily overlooked in the concrete, asserted its force in the abstract evolutions of thought, and drove its opponent to seek for his outer world of qualities a substantial support in the perceptive activity of the mind. How easy would it have been to reverse the process, to argue, that because every substance is a sort of thing, and every sort

*Article "Kant" in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

of thing an aggregate of qualities, therefore quality as opposed to substance has no existence, the phenomena of matter are pure substances, and the only attribute which in the philosophical sense can be called their quality, is that of being perceived. If this reasoning is less plausible than that of Berkeley, it is at all events equally just, and illustrates the absurdity of every system which implies as a principle that elements inseparable in experience do not admit of a true distinction in thought.

Mental philosophy as a science of observation is in danger from a contrary error. Too much has it been the practice to treat the faculties of the mind as if every unit of knowledge, though undivided in experience, and indivisible in conception, might yet be ascribed to as many different operations as logical analysis and classification could discover distinct species of notions derived from that source. There is a sense in which it is correct to say that Perception is Sensation, accompanied with a judgment referring it to an external object, and that Memory is the reproduction of a former state of consciousness together with a judgment of its having been present before. If, however, in either of these cases judgment is made to signify, not a certain intellectual phase or aspect of the specific knowledge conveyed, but a so called faculty co-operating with another to the production of that knowledge, then the writer cannot refrain from expressing his conviction that the testimony of consciousness is belied, and a predicament of knowledge assumed in words which, however it may square with the abstract expression of our experience, can never be construed by the empirical mind. The confusion of logical forms with the conditions of the phenomena which they are only the instrument of unfolding, is peculiarly the stumbling-block of mental science. It is apparently so natural for human thought to seek in all knowledge a conformity to its laws, that unless professedly dealing with abstract processes it perpetually tends to explain away those mental operations with which experience is familiar, and to substitute for them others with which it has no acquaintance.

Let it not be supposed, however, from what has been said, that the subtlety of logical analysis offers no advantage to the observer of mind. For a correct appreciation of the contents of our knowledge a minute process of abstraction is invaluable, and exhaustive researches into the phenomena produced must reflect important light on the conditions of production. For want of such investigation, faculties the most diverse may be confounded on the strength of a general resemblance in the knowledge which they furnish; since a power of knowing can no otherwise be apprehended than in relation to that which is known. Nor is this the only utility of such inquiries. They serve an important end in preparing the data of experience to become a groundwork for the speculations of the Metaphysician. It must never be forgotten that the theories of Knowing and of Being are as closely connected as they are essentially distinct. The philosopher who undertakes to construct a

system of the universe without due regard to the manner in which we are capable of knowing, and the whole amount of what we actually know, bids fair to provoke amazement by ingenious paradoxes, but can scarcely hope to earn gratitude by the discovery of truth. Pursuing an abstract method, he must take from observation the materials to which it is applied; otherwise he errs not less egregiously than those who would load the wings of reason with the fetters of sense; and his fall, like that of the mortal who presumed to drive the chariot of the sun, will be even more disastrous.

Particular attention has recently been called to this maxim by the boldness with which it has been violated. When Berkeley sought to discredit material substance, he summoned observation to a task beyond its capacity, and imposed on men in the name of common sense. When Hume attacked the reality of causation, and the substantiality of mind, he outraged common sense in its most sensitive points, and set observation at defiance. The belief of the principles assailed he did not deny to be universally found in the human mind, but contended that they are entitled to no higher credit than that of prejudices incident to the universal condition. To vindicate the native convictions of mankind from the unmeasured contempt which had thus been thrown on them; two philosophers arose, one in Scotland, another in Germany—the one Dr Reid, the other Immanuel Kant. The former sought for our original judgments an objective justification in the world of reality, the latter a subjective one in the laws of mind. The former was earnest in enforcing the obligation of philosophy to adopt, as the basis of all its speculations, those ultimate and necessary principles of belief which it is no less irrational to doubt than impossible to demonstrate. The latter, without claiming for them absolute truth, maintained that they arise by no illusion however natural, or accident however universal, and insisted on the necessity of conceding to them a relative authority as the regulative principles of all human knowledge, and in this function essential to its very constitution.

Hume, acknowledging experience as the only fountain of our knowledge, and discrediting every notion which could not logically be traced to that source, had maintained that the relation of Cause and Effect was derived from experience, without being contained in it, by pure inconsequence therefore, and inadvertence through the force of association and habit. On the opposite side, Kant undertook to show that the idea of Causation is only one of a number which, though contributed by the intellect from its own resources, are truly said to be contained in experience, since the subtraction of any one leaves objects unintelligible, and the senses, which the argument of Hume would lead us to infer are the only faculties of experience, have not in themselves the power to invest their impressions with the shadow of reality. In pursuing this demonstration he was led to institute a more rigorous analysis of our actual knowledge than had ever before been attempted, and in so doing performed a service as well as set an example for which philosophy will ever be grateful.

Had he stopped here, his immediate work had been done. Could he have laid aside as a Mental philosopher the habits of the Metaphysician, he would have accomplished for the objects of both something very different from what his works discover. Unfortunately, instead of returning from his enumeration of abstract notions to a simple observation of the various actual combinations in which their originals are concretely given, he proceeded in a spirit of generalisation to determine the faculties by which they ought to be furnished, and thence to infer the manner in which they must combine. Thus, instead of a physiology of mind, we are treated to a classification of the cogitable. But, deprived of that certificate of veracity which is inwoven in the constitution of the concrete powers, our notions, (and in Kant's hands our knowledge is truly nothing better,) cannot by any ingenuity of the framework in which they are inclosed offer more than a pretension to truth. Accordingly, the philosopher found himself reduced to require of them (with some partiality it must be confessed) a demonstration of their own objective validity. Finding them incompetent to the task, he proscribed to them all converse with the real world, and ordained that thenceforward they should remain content with the honourable title of intellectual legitimacy despoiled of the heritage of truth. Pursuing this result into the province of Metaphysics, Kant exerts himself to show, not only that all the positions of that science are in the nature of our faculties alike destitute of authenticity, but that some of its most favoured questions are involved in contradiction by the conflict of testimony between those faculties themselves. In these conclusions his philosophy appeared to himself to have reached its ultimate aim. As it was a metaphysical hypothesis which suggested his speculations, so the end which he proposed to them was a scientific determination of the limits within which a valid Metaphysic is possible. Betrayed by a false method into a construction of knowledge in every respect unreal, he purposed by his writings to call men away from the old and hopeless pursuit of the real in existence, to the new and promising study of the necessary in thought. As the Epicurean with his atomic hypothesis of Being dreamed of delivering men's minds from the bugbear of religion, so Kant concluded, by his atomic hypothesis of knowledge, to set them free from the phantoms of speculative reason. The conceptions were similar, the success was equal, the objects though different are yet not far disjoined. With a devout recognition of God, such as Lucretius would have scorned, this modern philosophy boasted as its practical result, that enlightened man might now without fear or restraint pursue the study of phenomenal nature and the practice of rational morality.

An able criticism of Kant's metaphysical positions will be found in the article cited at the head of these pages. The system of Ethics which he found means to reconcile with them, will also there be found succintly and judiciously characterised. On the other hand, his Psychological and Aesthetical systems are simply expounded as far as space would permit, with an occasional note of temperate and

merited censure. It is not the purpose of the present essay to notice in detail what has there or elsewhere been truly said of Kant, but to gather up some hints for Mental philosophy, which it is thought may conveniently be grafted on a review of his doctrines.

It is in fact with Mental philosophy, strictly so termed, that the critic of Kant's transcendental anatomy is chiefly called to deal. Feeling and Desire are contemplated by his system exclusively in their relations to knowledge. They are the sources of immediate internal experience, as Sensation is of external. These two classes of consciousness are the only elements of knowledge which come into the mind by way of direct impression from their objects, the former giving intimations of the living soul, the latter of its material circumstances. In consciousness, however, all experience has a subjective side as an empirical manifestation of the knowing mind. The various intellectual elements which combine with the impressions of immediate experience are furnished *a priori* by distinct intellectual faculties, consequently it must be held in the condition of abstracts; nor is it easy to see that the receptive experience itself is in any better predicament. Certainly a feeling apart from a soul which feels, or a sensible quality apart from a material substance, possesses on the principles of Kant's own system no intelligible reality. It is therefore greatly to be feared that our whole experience, internal as well as external, must prove in the end to be a pure creation of the mind. Indeed, in regard to the testimony of the Senses, our philosopher himself is at no pains to conceal a serious doubt. If any one at this point complains of a deficiency in the evidencing power of experience, he need not expect to find it afterwards supplied, since with equal consistency and ingenuousness it is confessed, that amongst the independent contributions of the intellect true objective authenticity is not to found. Two of them, however, stand in peculiarly close relation to the matter, which it is convenient to take for granted as furnished to the mind from without. These are Space, the necessary form of all Sensation; and Time, the common necessary form of Sensation and Consciousness. Except under these conditions the matter of experience cannot even be apprehended in its reality, much less understood in its relations. We now unaccountably lose sight of Feeling and Desire. From the Critique of Pure Reason they are absolutely and arbitrarily excluded. They reappear as factors in the matter of Practical Reason; and the former of them again in another relation, as partly depending on a certain Faculty of Judgment.

To proceed with the analysis of Pure or speculative Reason: the formal elements of Space and Time, with the matter which they modify in so far as that is Sensation, are comprehended, as to the conditions of their production, under the general name of the Sensibility. Yet the author of this nomenclature, viewing Space and Time as inferior even to Sensation, that is absolutely null in the evidence of their objective validity, can scarcely have considered all these data in their combination, as the threefold product of a simple operation. But, if

separately given, it is natural to ask by what process they can so be brought together as that two shall appear the necessary form of the third. On this subject the reader is left to conjecture, except in so far as the views of the author may be gathered from his explicit statements in regard to an analogous case.

All those elements of material knowledge which correspond to the categories of formal logic, Kant referred to a single faculty called the Understanding. From this source he derived, *a priori*, three varieties of Quantity—Totality, Plurality, and Unity; three of Quality—Reality, Negation, and Limitation; three of Relation—Substance with its correlate of Inherence, Causality with its correlate of Dependence, and Community or Reciprocity, that is Action and Re-action; lastly, three of Modality—Possibility, Existence, and Necessity, with their contraries of Impossibility, Non-existence, and Contingency. It is these which, by their application to the data of the Sensibility, introduce into our experience unity and order. Their co-operation is indispensable to impress upon objects an intelligible character. For this purpose each of the four main divisions supplies one or more of its specific modifications. The number is not stated, nor can it be the same in all. Whatever exists in the material world must indeed be conceived, as a substance with a quality, a phenomenon caused and causing, a member of a system and reacted upon by the object which it affects. On the other hand, no object can be conceived at the same moment as all, some, and one; real, unreal, and partly real; possible, actual, and necessary; impossible, nonexistent, and contingent. It follows that, while some of these notions are positively apprehended, the remaining alternatives are only involved by negation, and this with a difference in individual cases which demands to be explained.

Here it would be unprofitable to expound, if it were possible to conceive, the manner in which the above so called categories of Real Logic are prepared to function in our experience by a certain process of the Imagination, combining with them the element of Time. But the manner in which the categories, so modified, are actually applied to the matter furnished by the Senses, deserves the closest attention, as the key and test of this whole Psychological system. It is here that the author has explicitly declared himself as to the manner in which elements of knowledge, separately furnished, are so brought together as at least to seem inseparably one. This is effected by the logical process of Judgment, which, in order to see its fitness for the task, it is necessary to distinguish into two kinds—Analytic, when the predicate is already contained in the subject; and Synthetic, when the predicate is not so contained but is something new added to the subject. Thus, a triangle being defined as a three-sided figure, that it has three sides is an Analytic Judgment; a Synthetic Judgment immediately following is, that it has three angles. Of course it is only the latter species of judgment which satisfies the conditions of the problem to be solved.

One would think that Kant had well examined the temper of an

instrument which he chose to employ in work so delicate. Yet the whole treatment of this subject is characterized by a want of discrimination. It is given, as an example of Synthetic Judgment, that 7 and 5 make 12, "because the conception of the sum of 7 and 5 contains nothing farther than the union of both numbers in one, whereby it cannot at all be thought what this single number is which embraces the two." * Difficulty of thought is, however, no criterion of Synthetic Judgments. If the predicate does not depend upon experience, and is not already contained in the given subject, either it cannot be discovered at all, or it must come into the mind along with the subject when fully understood. The only delay which can occur is occasioned by the process of analysis necessary to find the element or aspect of the subject on which the predicate immediately depends. This impediment would equally have arisen if that element or aspect had been to seek as the predicate of an Analytic Judgment. Now, in order to obtain the sum of any two numbers, we have only to take the component units of each, and reckon them in succession. This surely is a process of analysis with just such a recomposition of the identical elements as places the old subject in a new aspect to furnish the predicate required. Nothing new is added to what was given. The judgment is therefore Analytic.

Again, we are led to suppose that the predicate of a Synthetic Judgment, is not only not contained in the subject as defined or described, but not even in the subject as conceived. This is a misrepresentation of the process of logical judgment, which, as an instrument not of knowledge but of thought, is simply and always an evolution in predicative form of some notion already apprehended as belonging to the subject. With reference to the conception of the mind all judgment is therefore Analytic. This process of representation is something very different from that principle of knowledge by which part of a notion when given is seen to involve the rest, and in consequence of which we are competent to an exercise of judgment affirming the part not given to belong to the whole. Virtually it is a power of intelligence, which Kant intends under the name of Synthetic Judgment; but when stripped of its delusive association with the forms of the Proposition, it is much less fitted than it appeared in his eyes to account for the combination of two separate and heterogeneous elements in the phenomena of experience. Let it be added, that even in this acceptation it affords no ground for the distinction of a formal and material logic. Whatever relations are involved in the pure nature of notions, apart from the matter of empirical knowledge, are properly attributed to the form of thought. The axiom, that terms which agree or disagree with the same term agree or disagree with each other, is the foundation of the Syllogism, a purely formal process, yet implies a true Synthetic Judgment in the sense of Kant. On the other hand, it cannot be conceded without proof that the matter of knowledge is obtained or obtainable by any power of the logical kind.

* Quoted without reference in the British Quarterly Review, No. XLI., p. 8.

Let us see then how this regulative instrument is applied to the construction of our actual experience. The law of Causation, for example, is thus explained. The impressions of change communicated through the Senses are united by the mind in a Synthetic Judgment to the *a priori* notion of Cause. Thus emerges the proposition, every change must have a cause, involving of course that the particular change before us is caused. To this hypothesis two objections may be taken. The process supposed is contrary to the analogy of our intellectual operations; and the result is deficient in the evidence necessary to produce the conviction which we actually feel. We are familiar with a process of judgment by which abstracts connected either in their own nature or by common relation to the same concrete fact, are viewed as it were separately or over against each other, for the purposes of thought; but we know and can know of no process of judgment by which notions, having no anterior connection, are made to run together. Again, the ground on which a number of abstracts are believed to be included in the notion of a single whole is, either that as notions they involve each other, or that their originals have previously been found together as aspects of the same concrete fact. In the present case, however, the convictions of experience are the very facts to be explained; the whole stress of evidence therefore necessarily falls on the nature of the notions combined. These, by Kant's own confession, have no inherent connection; their relation is of a kind which is constituted, not declared, by the act of the mind in which they are apprehended together. Quite consistently he believes that in the changing real world the law of cause and effect may have no operation, which, if the notions of change and cause had been necessary correlates, he could not have supposed without a logical contradiction. The fact is, that Kant, though bold enough as an inventor to invert the process of Judgment for the construction of experience, was much too good a reasoner to place any faith in propositions thus obtained. The true name for the only process known to us by which unconnected notions can be associated under logical forms, is certainly not Judgment but Supposition. So far, however, is this from constituting experience, so far must it ever remain from carrying to the mind the conviction of a single fact, that it becomes incumbent on the Kantian philosophy to show reason why suppositions, arbitrary in themselves, are uniformly made; and why, with that choice of alternatives which the categories offer, those of different minds invariably coincide. Fruitless as would be the task, there is no middle way between its acceptance and downright contradiction. Practically it is the latter which defeats every attempt to realise the hypothesis in question. As the subject of a Synthetic Judgment, the matter of experience must be conceived, in order that by the addition of the predicate it may become conceivable. Conceived indeed it is, but by no form of logical judgment, and believed, but under no guarantee of logical contradiction, explicit or involved. The feeble scaffolding of man's erection has fallen beneath its own weight; the building of the Al-

mighty Architect remains firmly fixed upon its deep foundation, and invites the inspection of those reflective powers whose imitation it defies.

In direct opposition, not only to the results, but to the spirit of the foregoing system, it is submitted, that the forms and processes of the abstract intelligence are throughout incommensurable with the products and operations of the concrete apprehension. It is therefore not sufficient to a correct representation of the latter, that the notions which they furnish should be diligently distinguished and classified. It is requisite faithfully to observe the connection in which the several particulars actually occur, the structure and relative completeness of the various groups, the precise degree of conviction attached to each, and the manner of their mutual dependence. With all this, special caution is necessary that the logical forms of our thought be in no case applied to the explanation of phenomena, which they express but can never replace. Attention has already been drawn to a use of the word Judgment, very common in modern philosophy, when an attempt is made at the decomposition or derivation of a simple original faculty. Here a distinction must be drawn between Judgment as the logical evolution of abstract notions into the form of propositions, and Judgment as the faculty of discerning in the concrete those relations which subsist between objects apprehended together. Relations of this kind lying between objects, resulting from the independent nature of each, and only discovered as a consequence from the knowledge of both, must never be confounded with those constituent relations which belong to the very nature of a single object, and enter as indispensable elements into the only conception of such an object which the mind can frame. Examples of the latter are the external object in perception, and the past consciousness in memory. These varying aspects of the sensuous form presented to the mind, or, as Kant would prefer to call them, these intellectual elements affecting the matter of the Sensibility, are not to be obtained by any comparison of one sensation or mental image with another. Concrete judgment is therefore inapplicable to account for their origin. Before it can be exercised they are present, and the most which it can do for either is to bring it into relief as the ground of a secondary relation. Meanwhile the philosopher, in reflecting on his experience, institutes what wears the appearance and the name of a comparison, between the abstract constituents of every notion, which admits of being resolved. This sensation, he says, proceeds from an external object; this image is the repetition of a past mental state. The concrete phenomena of consciousness are thus logically analysed; and the inference lies only too ready that they have been logically constructed. Such a supposition, it has already been argued, is no less contrary to analogy than unfounded in experience. As well might it be contended that logic is the bond of union between the substances and qualities of the real world, which, parallel with the elements of our concrete knowledge, are exhibited together in the forms of abstract judgment.

This criticism has an extensive application; for any faculty, by whatever name called, which is assumed to furnish in a distinct act one or more of the constituent relations of a single object, exclusively of the rest, places these relations substantially in the condition of abstracts. In this predicament, they are not only inapplicable to the purposes of empirical knowledge, but cannot even be construed in their own significance by any empirical power. This is more than saying that they cannot be experienced alone. Perception is never unaccompanied by the consciousness of self; but the two objects of knowledge are construed apart, and contrasted by the mind in the very act of knowing. We are warranted, therefore, in considering Perception and Self Consciousness as two distinct faculties, the one of which embraces and completes the information furnished by the other. On the other hand, what is called matter in the object of Perception cannot even in fancy be apprehended at all apart from some sensible quality. Material qualities are equally unintelligible apart from material substance. Yet it has been represented that these, under the name of Sensation, are first apprehended by the soul as states of its own, and only in the second instance referred to matter as their cause. This is surely to invert the testimony of consciousness, which declares a more immediate relation of sensible qualities to their supporting matter than to the perceiving mind, whilst no man, it may fairly be presumed, was ever in his natural convictions conscious of less than the knowledge of an external object. It would seem that the process of our faculties has been confounded with that of the scientific mind in speculating on the connection of body and soul. The series of physical phenomena is traced to the point where, in the ordinary language, an impression is made on the soul. Two assumptions are then made; that this impression comes within the consciousness, and that it is precisely the sensuous element in the object of Perception. This element, called Sensation, standing along as an impression on the mind, it naturally follows that in the first instance it must be so apprehended. But why should the effect of bodily conditions be presumed to fall immediately within the sphere of the consciousness? Why should it not be conceived to terminate beyond the consciousness, as a certain stimulus and determination of the perceptive activity? Why should the sensuous image which we behold be attributed to the dint of a material force, like the characters left by the mould upon the clay? It is surely more natural to hold that whatever we perceive is the product of a single simple faculty operating under certain bodily conditions, which with equal advantage to philosophy and physiology might assert a monopoly of the name Sensation.

In regard to Memory, it may well be admitted, that the forms of our past experience sometimes recur without being recognised. It might then seem not unreasonable to postulate a faculty of simple reproduction; but, for the reasons above stated, an unqualified protest must be entered against the supposition that what is wanting to

constitute a reminiscence, may be supplied by the operation of a simple faculty fulfilling other functions besides those of Memory. This is only to deceive ourselves with words. As the great merit of Kant's analytic system is to have shown the degree in which intellectual elements are necessary to constitute the simplest experience, so the great lesson to be derived from the failures of his Psychology is, that every concrete faculty has its characteristic combination of sensuous forms with certain particular and unchangeable supersensuous intuitions. This phenomenon, occurring under well defined conditions, is the only conception of the faculty which we can frame. Of its evidencing power we can give no account except that we feel it, and that in the nature of knowledge it is above question.

So little, however, is Kant responsible for the assumption lately condemned as the source of his philosophical errors; so largely, in fact, had it discoloured the best delineations of the mental constitution, that, even after his daring application of it had exposed its unseemliness to the light of day, critics of this part of his system had only to object that it had not been extended as far as it would go. In this connection, it is but just to say of the article nominally under consideration, that the true point of view for a refutation of his doctrines is indicated there in a manner which leads us to regret that it could not be developed. The following extract from a review already quoted,* exemplifies a style of animadversion which is felt to be no less defective than it is just. At the same time, it conveniently brings under notice that term in Kant's classification of the speculative powers which remains to be noticed under the vague appellation of the Reason.

"We have already shewn that the pure *a priori* elements, which are separately attributed to the Sensibility and the Understanding, ought to have been referred to some one general cognitive faculty. Now, when we come to pure reason with the view of eliminating thence fresh *a priori* factors, the matter ought not to be represented as though we were treating of an altogether different faculty. There presents itself here a higher manifestation of that same general cognitive faculty, which in the cases of the Sensibility and the Understanding, gives rise to the notions of time and space, and the twelve categories. The mind is throughout engaged in the same operation, viz.; tracing its cognitions to higher unities. And seeing that the operation is radically the same, and that there is merely a difference of degree, not of essence, we ought to refer the three *a priori* elements which Kant calls 'ideas' to the one general faculty; in the words of Sir W. Hamilton, 'In the Kantian philosophy both faculties (*i. e.* the Understanding and Reason) perform the same function, both seek the one in the many; the Idea (Idee) is only the Concept (Begriff) sublimated into the inconceivable, Reason only the Understanding which has overleaped itself.' And, as Cousin observes (we adopt Mr Morell's translation), 'The glory of Kant is that he sought to determine all the *a priori* elements of human knowledge; but in distinguishing, as he does, the pure forms of sensitivity, the conceptions of the understanding, and the ideas of reason, he wrongly separates things which ought to be united, and all referred to one and the same faculty; namely, the faculty of *knowing* in general (intellec-

* The Philosophy of Kant, British Quarterly Review, No. xli. p.

tion), that faculty which transcends experience, renders sensuous knowledge possible by supplying ideas of time and space, and later still renders all knowledge possible by the aid of the categories and ideas, which develop themselves successively in proportion as it develops itself."

The multiplication of faculties in respect of a single product, and the subsequent identification in different products of the complementary faculties thus created, have been dictated by the laudable desire to simplify the science of mind. Simplicity, however, is too dearly purchased at the cost of misconception. Nowhere, perhaps, has the spirit of scientific parsimony produced such an absolute poverty of results as in the philosophy of what is called Imagination. A whole class of mental phenomena of the highest importance to the active nature of man has been indiscriminately referred to this name. What indeed that bears the single character of a reconstruction out of elements previously furnished, has not been ascribed to this wonderful faculty? No systematic enquiry has been instituted into the different conditions, results, and purposes connected with this operation; as if Perception, Memory, and Judgment, should be confounded in a single faculty, because distinguished by the common character of furnishing knowledge *a posteriori*. What is the consequence? The wildest apparitions of terror, the finest ideals of art, the happiest inspirations of inventive genius are referred to a common origin. No adequate principle can be pointed out to rescue the latter from the reproach of fortuitous suggestion. Recourse, it is likely, will be had at first to the versatile and omnipresent Judgment. But, with all the extension of powers which could be supposed, this faculty could only recognise a fine conception when presented, not contribute to its formation. Few, however, will suppose that the fancy of the child, the imagination of the poet, and the ingenuity of the discoverer, are absolutely regulated by the same general law of fortuitous association. Few will admit that the literary fame of a Milton, or the military success of a Hannibal, was solely brought about by a favourable concurrence of indeterminate circumstances. A minute examination of this subject seems to evince several natural and original dispositions of the reconstructive energy, so as now to work in the direction of the ideally perfect, and now according to the order of cause and effect. As the products of these operations are combined with a clear consciousness of their distinctive nature, they present as much the character of distinct faculties as Memory in its tendency to reproduce and recognise the past. This mark of originality they also have, that, whilst frequently anticipating the hints of experience, they regularly outrun the conclusions of reason. A common term to embrace all the modes of reconstruction may therefore be good in a way of generalisation, but can scarcely be accepted as sufficient in a detailed enumeration of the simple activities of the human mind.

This is not the place to exhaust the defence of these positions, nor can the subject now be pushed to its utmost limits. If Instinct, for example, can be shown (as some may think it can not) to be an

intellectual though not a rational operation, the wonderful anticipations of this untaught guide must, in the spirit of false simplicity, be added to the trophies of Imagination. It is necessary, however, to dwell more at length on the all important faculty of Conscience. This, it has been loosely and fallaciously said is simply the judgment exercised on moral subjects, affirming or perceiving that actions are right or wrong. Here, judgment may either mean the abstract process employed in forming the proposition, or the concrete operation by which particular actions are compared with a given standard. Neither explanation penetrates to the true function of Conscience, in respect of which it claims to be a simple original faculty. That function is precisely the furnishing of the moral standard as a combination of the form of action proper to be observed with all those conditions necessary to be perceived before it can be recognised as a rule of duty. What these conditions are, and how they have come to be connected with a given form, are questions which, as might have been supposed, have elicited various answers from those who, either wantonly or in error, essay to put asunder what God has joined. The attempt to solve in the concrete what is soluble only in the abstract, too frequently leads, when baffled, to the omission of important elements from the abstract notion itself. Thus it has fared with the characteristic idea of Conscience. With some it is a creature of circumstance, a necessity of habit, a product of association, an arbitrary mould imposed on the individual by the social will. Others regard it as not merely a civil prejudice but a natural policy, the offspring of the collective understanding, and the means of the general weal. Others, with a truer perception, consider it as an ideal, the result of a native yearning after perfection, the type of the beautiful and sublime in human conduct. In the midst of all this, the honest inquirer after truth who feels that it is something more, remains under the influence of a false philosophical method destitute of the means for giving to his convictions a scientific value. But let it be maintained that the true and complete datum of Conscience is the ideal of human conduct as the law of our responsible action ; the elements of this notion, it will then be found, are intelligible only in relation to each other. Human freedom and responsibility suppose and are supposed by the moral law, with its closely involved and intensely personal idea of supreme authority. Again, this divine law, for such it truly is, appears as a mere abstraction, when not embodied in the nearest approach which we can make to a conception of the perfect in conduct. Lastly, the ideal of Conscience has this striking feature to announce its parentage, that its character is seriously modified, nay radically constituted, by the moral condition of the agent whom it respects, and that the moral perceptions of authority and responsibility incessantly stimulate its formation. There are elements, therefore, in the datum of conscience which cannot be found elsewhere, and the whole is so constructed that not one of its constituents can at all be apprehended without the rest. This is all the evidence that we need for declaring conscience to be a simple original faculty.

It will be seen that the moral system which it reveals includes the idea of God: and it ought to be maintained against every physical hypothesis of the origin of that idea, that the essential attribute of divine authority can neither be construed by the mind apart from its own responsibility, nor deduced together with it from any other attributes without the postulate of Conscience. Yet neglecting entirely this indispensable relation, as well as the direct conviction of reality with which it is apprehended, Kant explains the idea of God as the abstract notion of an All-perfect Being. In a similar spirit he interprets the idea of the Soul as if it were the term for an absolute substance, and that of the World as if it were the formula for a totality of causal conditions. These three ideas, as conceived by Kant, are distinguished by the common circumstance that they cannot, like the categories of the Understanding, appear in synthesis with the matter of experience. The soul in this connection must, therefore, not be confounded with the momentary datum of self-consciousness which accompanies each successive mental state. This is treated as a supernumerary to the categories, like them furnished by the Understanding for the purpose of conferring on our whole experience a still higher unity than they alone could afford. The name of an Idea is not applied to the soul unless in that relation of permanence in which it is affirmed to be the subject of personal identity and immortality.

The Soul, the World, and God, are the three ideas referred by Kant to the Reason, of which it is hard to say whether he meant it to be considered as a faculty or a process. Virtually the function which it fulfils is assumption masked under a distant show of reasoning from the data of the Understanding. The Categories furnish the conditions from which Reason develops its ideas, inconsequently enough, notwithstanding the abstract significance to which they are restricted. Already, however, it has been shewn that the knowledge of God has a concrete basis in the phenomena of Conscience. The simple conception of the soul, which accompanies all its states, is illustrated by an explicit judgment of personal identity on every comparison of the present consciousness with a former as reflected in memory. The idea of the World is also to be found in our judgments of the several objects of our knowledge as connected in the various relations of causality, a notion which, for aught that can be shewn to the contrary, is essentially involved in the simplest act of perception. Thus all the Kantian ideas have their origin and their place amongst the facts of experience. At the same time, each of them admits, and receives, a doctrinal extension beyond those limits by means of what seems to be a distinct faculty, and as such deserves more than any other the name of Reason. It is the faculty of Truth or Evidence. This, inasmuch as it supposes a question, and powers of abstract discussion, is a higher principle than that immediate conviction of reality which belongs to direct experience. Yet it differs materially from every function of the abstract intelligence, even from that which apprehends the necessary in thought,

by the invariable regard which it maintains to the facts of the actual world. It must, therefore, be regarded as a faculty unique in its kind, which accompanies and completes all the other apprehensions of the mind, appreciating the testimony of each, reconciling discrepancies, determining how far a single fact may be taken as the embodiment of a universal law, thus preparing the data of experience for the application of abstract processes, and again mediating between the abstract and concrete intelligence to make the results of the former available in practice as extensions of our empirical knowledge.

The distinction between an idea and a doctrine is obscured by Kant in the act of laying it down. An idea in its proper acceptation is some object of knowledge presented by a concrete faculty, and appreciated by reason as embodying a permanent truth. A doctrine in its perfection is the sum of what may be truly said about the idea as a subject, because either logically deduced from it as a condition, or traced to it with sufficient evidence. Much that on this view belongs exclusively to the doctrine is or may be according to Kant's representation already included in the fundamental idea. A removal of the old landmarks is indeed inevitable when the source of ideas is assumed to be an abstract process. A new criterion is accordingly set up. The creations of Reason are, it should seem, ideas when confined to their legitimate function of regulating and centralising our knowledge. The doctrine emerges when by a delusive presumption they are avouched as equivalent to real objects. Thus the rise of Metaphysics as an apparent science of the real is solely owing to a species of mental refraction by which the ideas of reason appear, whilst they are not projected beyond their sphere.

A just regard to the limits of our subject will not permit us to unmask the full front of the sweeping battery which Kant opens on the whole line of Metaphysical positions. The principal piece, however, in the whole, bears directly on the point of contact between Metaphysics and Psychology, where the interests at stake are common to both sciences. The mind is conscious of knowing substances, it therefore believes that they exist. To this Kant objects, that what the mind knows is only its own conception, and that the conditions of this conception, as an element of knowledge, are inapplicable to real existence. The conception of substance depends upon the qualities attached to it, as real substance cannot and does not make itself known through an impression as real objects do. Real Substance is, therefore, not known but supposed. This is the strongest construction which can be put upon the Paralogism, or fallacy of Pure Reason, in plain terms a begging of the question, which Kant alleges to lie at the foundation of the metaphysical doctrine of the Soul. Still, though his statements sometimes wear this look, it is not necessary to strain his views so far. What he elsewhere says, and all that he probably meant, amounts to this, that for a true representation of the nature of things, the notion of substance, not being an

impression, and having no independent foundation in experience, is not obtained in a legitimate way.

No controversy need he raised with Kant when he asserts that the idea of Self, which we have in consciousness, is not the very self of reality. No man can suppose without a logical contradiction that a knowledge, which by hypothesis is more than the knowledge of knowledge, may possibly be identical with the object known. Nay, it may fairly be presumed that all knowledge is necessarily, in its forms as well as in its laws, incommensurable with real existence. Let no one suppose that a concession is intended here. The question is not about the nature of knowledge, but whether we have a certain knowledge or not: and the stronger the contrast between knowledge and being in general, the weaker does the case for the negative become. It is objected to the soul's knowledge of itself that it is a conception, and not the soul itself. But if it were the soul itself it could not be knowledge. Thus the charge of inadvertency brought against the soul recoils upon the objector. The soul believes that it has a knowledge of itself, but not that that knowledge is itself. He, on the contrary, represents it as believing that a certain portion of its knowledge is itself; when all that it believes is, that it knows itself. The state of the matter in all such cases is, that we have what appears to be knowledge, what professes to be knowledge, nay, what carries within itself such evidence of being knowledge, as practically convinces even those who theoretically reject it. To weaken this conviction, or to detract from its scientific value, there is need of some better argument than the discovery of philosophers, that our knowledge is not that, which if it were, it would be knowledge no longer. Pardon is asked, if the question has been misrepresented: but the aspect in which it has been shewn, if not by Kant intended, is at least suggested by his language. As an ultimate issue involved in the tendencies of his system, it is also inevitable that it should be faced. It is naturally no disparagement to our knowledge of substance that this idea is not a sense impression, or that, apart from such impressions, it cannot be concretely apprehended. That it appears to be furnished abstractly from empirical qualities is purely the fault of the philosopher himself, and places these qualities themselves, to all ends of experience, in the same unintelligible not to say suspicious condition. Plainly, therefore, the argument of Kant, in so far as it has either consistency or force, bears equally against the existence and possibility of all knowledge whatever. A consequence so grave, and, in its most plausible form, attached so directly to the simple conception of the subject, it was not competent for him to assume in the face of a natural belief. Failing to prove it, he has begged the question; and exemplified the insufficiency of his mental system by a veritable paralogism of Pure Reason.

It is interesting to observe that the rigour of the Kantian scepticism is relaxed in favour of morals, and that much which, as an object of simple contemplation must have remained for ever doubt-

ful, is invested by this system with absolute truth, as soon as it becomes involved in the maxims of duty. Still, this redemption of vital interests is effected at the price of inconsistency; and the voluntary homage paid to conscience is a poor compensation for the denial of a testimony which substantially contains its declaration of rights. The peculiar revelations of this faculty are treated in a spirit of defective abstraction; and the exposition of its actual workings reminds one less of the operations of a living principle than of the opening chapter in a book of Ethics. Appropriately to this mode of conception, the moral faculty is comprehended under the name of Reason, but distinguished from the Pure Reason which simply feigns objects to be known, as the Practical Reason which dictates actions to be done. The ground on which the precepts of the latter are exempted from the searching criticism applied to the positions of the former, seems wholly to lie in the form of the Categorical Imperative, in which the deliverances of Practical Reason are conveniently assumed to be given. It should have been remembered, however, that even philology entertains a question as to the full amount of logical significance contained in the Imperative Mood. When it is queried whether or not it is a true proposition, opinions at most differ only about the extent to which the meaning ought to be considered as expressed or omitted by Ellipsis. Apart, however, from the technicalities of grammar, it would task the ingenuity of an abler analyst than Kant to shew that a categorical imperative materially differs from a categorical affirmation. Plainly, every such form of speech contains a declaration, that a specified action on the part of the person addressed is the object of the speaker's will, authoritative or not as circumstances may suggest. Accordingly, the Imperative of Practical Reason includes the idea of an authoritative will, distinct from that of the agent whom it instructs. This, as an element of knowledge not furnished by experience, remains in a state of abstraction till united to experience by just such a Synthetical Judgment as, on Kant's own principles, is either impossible or worthless

Whatever it would here be convenient to lay down in opposition to Kant's hypothesis of our moral convictions, has been anticipated in the remarks already made on the faculty of conscience. On the other hand, a fit opportunity of expanding certain views, rather indicated than unfolded under the head of imagination, presents itself in the criticism of what he has designated the Judging Faculty. This is not to be confounded with the process of judgment, by which, as formerly explained, the categories of the Understanding are applied to the data of the Sensibility for the constitution of a really intelligible experience. The particular appellation of this process, it is now convenient to merge in the general title of the pure reason, applied to the whole system of mental operations, with which it is immediately connected. Whilst Pure Reason offers objects as known, and Practical Reason binds on us actions to be done, the Judging Faculty mediates between them to effect those mental views which regulate emotion. For this purpose, it takes from Practical

Reason the notion of Free agency, involved in that of duty, and applying it to the objects revealed by experience in the necessary relation of cause and effect, exhibits them as an extensive system of means constructed to accomplish the ends of a free being. This reconciliation of moral and physical principles is vitiated by the same illicit process which has elsewhere been the subject of animadversion. The Judging Faculty does not find the two terms in union, it unites them by an act of its own ; and this unwarranted juxtaposition of abstracts, is presumed to lie at the root of our contemplative emotions.

The dissatisfaction of the mind with the insufficency of this hypothesis, is increased by the confusion introduced in the distinction of Aesthetical and Teleological Judgments. The former give the perceptions of the beautiful and sublime, the latter those of utility and final causes. The latter arise when the notion of design is applied to the relations of objects amongst themselves; the former, when the end to which they are considered as adapted, is the gratification of an internal sense for harmony and greatness. Virtually this distinction is given up in the attempt to vindicate an absolute beauty against the diversity of individual tastes. Here the beautiful assumes a Teleological aspect as the intrinsic, and often deep-lying harmony, which pervades the works of God. Indeed, if beauty is more than the sheen of goodness, there is need of an explanation to shew what it is; so preposterous is it to suppose that Aesthetic pleasure can arise from the judgment of an adaptation in objects to produce it, when manifestly the discovery of such adaptation presupposes the pleasure as felt. For an ideal standard of beauty held in the mind, the system of Kant does not seem to make provision. It were more in accordance with the tenor of his speculations, but would offer no rule for the criticism of individual tastes, that an abstract *a priore* notion of designed pleasure should be arbitrarily combined with particular objects to furnish the ground of the actual gratification. In some such unintelligible way it is, that the notion of the infinite, suggested by the struggle of imagination to grasp an object of surpassing greatness, tempers the pain at first arising from the sense of insufficiency, into a mingled but principally pleasurable impression of the sublime. On the whole, the exposition of the Judging Faculty must be pronounced not only inadequate, but obscure.

The decisions of Taste are, however, actually obtained by an exercise of concrete judgment on particular objects, as compared, not with an abstract notion, but with an ideal. The constitution and origin of this ideal, are the real questions of aesthetical philosophy. To say that it arises by a process of association, is nearly as satisfactory as to say that the world was made by chance. It is submitted, that no product of the artistic Imagination is unattended with the idea of a certain perfection, relative to the nature of the object delineated. This conception of something beyond imagination, beyond even the real, yet possible in imagination, and involved in the

real, appears to be inseparable from the mental act by which the objects of experience are reconstructed in a spirit of free imitation. The idea must not be confounded with the imagined form, which is properly called the ideal; but as no such form is an ideal out of relation to it, so, except as apprehended together with some form of imagination, it is itself a mere abstraction. On the other hand, as thus concretely apprehended, it is seen to have an actual objective import, as the unrealised consummation to which real objects point, and to which their cultivation ought to tend. Seldom, however, is Imagination satisfied with the embodiment of this idea which it has attained; rarely, if ever, does it cease to strive after a yet unimagined excellence of typical form. Now, a mental phenomenon which is thus essentially penetrated, governed, and stimulated by the idea of perfection, must surely be conceived under different conditions of production from the irregular combinations of fancy. It is the capability of such ideal products, which in the strict use of language is denoted by Imagination, and which it is thought should also be recognised as furnishing, in the character of a simple original faculty, the true source of our aesthetical emotions.

Again, teleological judgments can only be explained by an original determination of the reconstructive energy, through which every condition of existence apprehended by the mind is accompanied by a spontaneous conception of its probable causes and effects. When the actual effects are found on comparsion to agree with those which have or might have been anticipated, the cause of this agreement is again supplied in the conception of Design, relatively to which the effects appear as ends contemplated by a powerful Intelligence, which for the sake of them applied the cause. Conversely, when an end has been conceived together with the probable causes through which it may be effected, the agreement of these causes with the actual condition of things, fixes upon the latter, relatively to the end, the character and designation of means. The mental operation now in question is familiar to every student of the English language under the name of Understanding. If it has not been recognised as a distinct faculty, it is because it has been confounded with the subsequent operation of Judgment, which compares its result with its antecedent condition in the consciousness, and explicitly declares the phase of the causal relation involved as existing between them. No attention has been paid to the conditions required for the production of that which is compared. All, besides the immediate phenomenon on which it is built, is attributed to the law of association. It is forgotten that, if this were so, Judgment could only declare that the one was suggested by the other, whereas the activity in question is always attended with a clear consciousness of the practical value of its results. This, on the principles of Common Sense, implies conditions in the nature of the faculty itself which determine its products to a correspondence with the actual world. Perhaps the main reason why this faculty has been overlooked, is, that it is so indispensable and so common. A ready example of its exercise is found

in the intercourse of language. Something more than memory, and deeper than judgment, is implied in the prompt apprehension of the thought intended, and unhesitating recognition of it *as* intended by a given form of words. The same holds good in a still greater degree of the so called instinctive precision, with which we interpret the natural signs of feeling, and in general of all those cases in which the consciousness of another is understood with the ease and certainty of intuition. It is not too much to affirm, that on the teaching of this faculty depends our conviction of the uniformity of nature; although we may fancy, it is impossible that we should believe in a different order of things from that which is, so long as the permanence of the present order is attested by a power which, with a native force of evidence, at once anticipates the future and restores the past. Nor is it improbable, that the fearful looking for of Judgment, with which it follows up the violation of moral laws, affords after all the most convincing proof that the God of conscience and the author of nature are the same.

We now take leave of the mental philosophy of Kant. Though justice may not have been done to all his speculations, no diffidence is felt in the general conclusion, that the solution of concrete results by abstract conditions is a pervading vice in his system. Nor has he altogether escaped the opposite error, in denying to Pure Reason all knowledge of the nature of things, since one phase of his objection to the truth of our abstract notions is, precisely that they are not concrete facts of experience, that they cannot be observed. With a just conception of the relation of Psychology and Metaphysics, he has confounded the methods appropriate to each in his actual treatment of both, more grievously however, and fatally in the former, which, as well for its own sake, as for its bearings on the latter, it seemed not improper to select as the subject of review. His influence on the philosophical mind of Germany it is impossible to deny. It was seen in those gigantic systems of Idealism, by which it was sought to impose on real existence the laws and the nature of thought. It is equally seen in the present very general reaction towards a realistic doctrine, and particularly in the postulate of a single generic substance, as sustaining in reality the phenomena contrasted in consciousness as those of matter and of spirit. It might seem a question of indifference which of these names should be used to denote an essence which admits into its description the positive attributes of both, and the limitations of neither. Differences of opinion, however, on collateral subjects will determine a predilection for one or the other term. Thus it has happened that on the common ground of a narrow realism, materialist and spiritualist within our time have waged fierce controversy. Metaphysical one-sidedness will doubtless continue to foster similar divisions till Mental philosophy has been reconstructed on sounder principles, which shall unite to the most searching analysis of whatever can be analysed the most faithful observation of all that can only be observed.

DE BURGH ON THE APOCALYPSE.*

THE treatment which the Book of Revelation has for a long time generally received has been very remarkable. It has been either approached in a spirit of presumption, and its interpretation attempted in a rash and confident manner by men who dare to enter where angels would fear to tread; or its perusal has been, on the other hand, generally neglected by the great bulk of Christian readers. When good people seek for edification and comfort in the pages of Holy Scripture, they no longer think of the apocalypse for that purpose. They have become so bewildered by the daring, contradictory, and absurd interpretations freely and recklessly hazarded of its contents, that they are fain to leave it to the spiritual gladiators who thereon, as on an arena, fight their battles. If the book were utterly unintelligible, and if its perusal had been prohibited, these results might not be so much marvelled at. But its very title is, a "Revelation," and the very purpose if it, as given by God, is declared to be this—"*to show* to his servants things which must shortly come to pass." Moreover, a remarkable invitation is given to the diligent study of this book, and an especial commendation bestowed on all who carefully peruse it;—"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein."

There have been three great theories of interpretation adopted with respect to this book, under one or other of which all the different systems may be classified and reduced. There is, first, the theory of those who suppose that the Millennium is already past, and that the chief part of the prophecies contained in the apocalypse have already received their fulfilment, in the destruction of Jerusalem, the overthrow of Paganism, and the establishment of Christianity. This opinion is maintained by some very eminent biblical scholars. The second theory supposes it to be a continuous prophetical history of the church from the time when it was first given, onward to the end of the world. This theory, under a great variety of modifications, and embracing in it numerous different systems of interpretation, is by far the most common. The third and last theory is that which supposes that the whole of the events shadowed forth by the mysterious symbols employed in it are yet future, that no part of it is fulfilled, and that its fulfilment is to be looked for at the coming of a certain great CRISIS, to which the world is tending, and to which this book seems distinctly to point.

In judging of the comparative merits of these different theories, it has been supposed necessary, as a preliminary point, to institute an inquiry into the date of this book. The advocates of the first theory insist on a much earlier date then the commonly received one. It is generally supposed to have been written about the year 95. But if so, then it would be absurd to suppose that any prophecies which it con-

* An Exposition of the Book of Revelation, by William De Burgh, D.D. Dublin; Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1857.

tains, could by possibility refer to the destruction of the Jewish State and the holy city, an event which took place about the year 70, or 25 years previously.

As this is a very curious question, and worth examination on its own account, let us examine into the evidence adduced on the subject. In his appendix, the author gives an excellent digest of the arguments for the earlier date. And it may be observed, that this opinion was held by such eminent critics as Sir Isaac Newton, Grotius, Michaelis, Bishop Newton. Instead of thinking that it was written under the reign of Domitian, A.D. 95 or 96, they, and many others with them, agree in ascribing it to the reign of Claudius, A.D. 42 to 54, or of Nero, A.D. 54 to 68. Epiphanius twice names the reign of Claudius as the time when John was at Patmos and the apocalypse written. Arethas applies the sixth seal to the destruction of Jerusalem, and adds, that this event had not taken place when the apocalypse was given. The title of the Syriac version is, "*The Revelation which was made to John the Evangelist by God, in the Island of Patmos, into which he was banished by Nero the Cæsar.*" The City of Laodicea was overthrown by an earthquake A.D. 60, and a persecution of the Christains there was begun by Nero A.D. 64. Now, in the Epistle to the Church at Laodicea, it is addressed as being rich and increased with goods, which was not likely to have been the case with them *after* a destructive earthquake and a bloody persecution.

The inference therefore is, that the epistle to the Laodiceans was written before these events took place. And as the epistle to that church is contained in the apocalypse, therefore the apocalypse, as a whole, was written before the year 60. There were many false and spurious apocalypses written in the early ages. They were ascribed to and fathered upon Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen, &c. Cerinthus wrote a revelation in imitation of John's, wherein he pretends to visions shown him by angels, and asserts a millennium of carnal pleasures after the resurrection. He lived so early that he resisted the apostles at Jerusalem about the year 42. All the false apocalypses were written in imitation of the true one. Cerinthus borrows, alters, and corrupts passages from the genuine one. And yet he died long before John. It is impossible, then, that John's apocalypse could have been written so late as the time of the persecution by Domitian. It must have been written earlier, otherwise the existence of those spurious Revelations is unaccountable. They could not have been written first, and John's, the genuine one, afterwards. People do not make counterfeit coin first, and afterwards that which is genuine. The good coin comes first, and the base counterfeit succeeds it. Besides, Peter, James, Thomas, &c., to whom these false apocalypses were ascribed, all died before John. He was the last survivor of the twelve. If we suppose that the apocalypse was written A.D. 96, then John must have been about 100 years old by that time. The rest of the apostles were all long since dead. And yet, according to this date, it is necessary to suppose that the authors of those spurious apocalypses which were written after the true one, were so stupid as to ascribe

them to dead men, and to father them on apostles who had been long in their graves. Last of all, the Epistles contained in the New Testament, were all confessedly written at an early date, and yet they contain some remarkable allusions to the apocalypse and to its mysterious contents, showing that it was written before them. "The sound of a trump," "the last trumpet," and "the trump of God," are expressions in the epistles which have an evident allusion to the sounding of the last of the Seven Trumpets in the Revelation. The "sharp-two edged sword," and many other expressions in the epistles are clearly and originally apocalyptical expressions. The only argument of any weight on the opposite side is, that Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who had been the disciple of John, gives the later date, under the reign of Domitian. All the authorities on this side merely repeat Irenæus's testimony. But it is alleged that he postponed the dates of some other books, and that he might easily, therefore, have been mistaken as to the date of this also. Besides, the name of Nero was once Domitius, which Irenæus might by mistake have taken for Domitianus.

Having then established this point, the advocates of the first theory now find no difficulties in their way in the exposition of these prophecies. They think they can now apply and interpret the seals and trumpets to these early events, which preceded the establishment of Christianity, such as the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of pagan Rome. Now, then, the curiosity of the reader is excited to know how the author will set to work in the application of all that has gone before, for although the preceding demonstration is contained in his appendix, it relates to points noticed in the earlier part of the work before us. The reader naturally expects to be now introduced into a complete acquaintance with this first theory, and that the author, having laid down these principles, will proceed to make converts of his readers to the views which they naturally seem to support. What, however, is our astonishment to find that the author actually sets himself to demolish this theory, aye, and all other systems that ever have been made under the second theory too, more especially the fantastical systems of all our modern seers, false prophets, and wonder-mongers. He actually makes no use of the important truth which he has brought out on the subject of the date of the book. We cannot but admire his candour in giving so full a demonstration, even though in an appendix, of a truth which his adversaries might have used against him. But truth is a sacred thing, and he candidly admits it. All that is truth about this book is important; therefore let it all be stated. On other grounds he proceeds to overthrow the theories of those who look for the fulfilment of these signs and portents in the past. His theory is the third one which we have mentioned, namely, that the prophecies in this book are all yet unfulfilled.

Against such a theory as this, every one will be disposed to exclaim. It is monstrous and impossible, it will be said, to suppose that we can all be in the wrong in our previous interpretations and suppositions respecting the book of New Testament prophecy. Well, our author

retorts upon us, can you all be in the right? Do any two among you agree? It is just as monstrous and impossible to suppose that you can all be in the right. Some must be in the wrong. Just as likely that you are all in the wrong together.

Let us look first at the Seven Seals. One writer says that the first four are identical with Daniel's four monarchies. A number of other writers tell us that the first four or five seals were fulfilled in the early ages of the church. The sixth seal, according to some, was fulfilled by the overthrow of Paganism, and its results in the time of Constantine. Another writer begins here where others end, and tells us that the opening of the first seal represents the reign of Constantine and the establishment of Christianity under him; while the succeeding seals represent the irruption of the Goths and Vandals, the destruction of the Roman Empire, and the rise of the Papacy. A number of other writers go on an entirely different track, taking the seals as representing spiritual or ecclesiastical rather than political events; the first seal, the progress of the Gospel in early times; the second, the rise of the Arian heresy; the third, the dark ages of Popery; the fifth, the Reformation; and the sixth, the state of Christendom from the French Revolution onwards. Another writer says, the first seal signifies the promulgation of Christianity; the second, Mahometanism; the third Infidelity; the fifth, Persecution to follow, &c. Another recent author,* now before us, tells us that the first seal means Christ assuming the Headship of the church after the Fall; the second seal, Cain and his descendents corrupting the church; the third seal, Justice on Cain; the fourth seal, the Dispersion; the fifth seal, the martyrdom of Socrates and other heathens for the truth; the sixth seal, the destruction of the Jews for the rejection of Christ, &c. On the Seven Trumpets, similar conflicting interpretations have been put, some seeing in them Huns and Vandals, Saracens and Turks; others nothing but Arianism, Donatism, Mahometanism, and Popery. Again, the seven vials have been treated in much the same way. The first vial, according to some, represents the Waldenses and the Albigenses in their resistance to the Papacy; the second, the Reformation; and so on. Others make out the first vial to be the French Revolution; the second and third to be the conquests of Napoleon Bonaparte the fourth, Napoleon as Emperor; and the fifth predicts his fall. Many good people actually believe that where it is said, "the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea, and it became as the blood of a dead man, and every living soul died in the sea," that this means the carnage that took place in the naval engagements between Great Britain and France. All this is melancholy. What had the striving of these two potsherds of the earth to do with Christ's Kingdom? It was not thus that the rivers and fountains of Egypt were turned into blood. If the one was a true and complete turning into blood why should not the other be so too? Has anything like this ever yet

* Human nature considered in its covenanted relationship to God, or Christ and His Church as Bride and Bridegroom. By a Member of the Church of Scotland. Glasgow; Thomas Murray and Son. 1856.

happened? Can it be said that this, or indeed that any of these, fearful prophecies have yet been fulfilled?

But to go on. The innumerable, fantastic, and contradictory interpretations given of the "Two Witnesses" are a reproach to commentators. Some represent them as meaning Protestants in general, and their death as yet future; while others consider them as meaning the Waldenses and Albigenses, and their death as accomplished in the triumph of the Papacy over them. Some interpret them as meaning the Old and New Testaments; and others, as the Law and the Gospel; while the death of the Witnesses on this hypothesis gives them, as might be expected, no little trouble. Others, again, make them out to be Jerome of Prague and John Huss. According to some they still live, while others say they are dead, risen, and ascended. Some say their death is figurative, others that it is literal. Is not all this sheer trifling? And would it not be far better to say we know nothing about it?

We have heard of two solitary ministers with their congregations, the sole survivors of some queer old protesting and testifying body in this country, whose name and designation we have really not been able to remember, actually regarding themselves as the Two Witnesses; and when they at last quarrelled, and the one proceeded to excommunicate the other, the proceeding was dolefully bewailed by a devout member of the protesting body, to the effect, that he had read many "*commentawtors*" on the Two Witnesses, but among all the "*commentawtors*" he had ever read, not one of them ever said that the Two Witnesses were to slay "*ane anither*." Good man! he must have read many as wild guesses before, and this one need not have startled him. Again, the locusts under the fifth trumpet are, according to some, heretics; according to Romanists, they are Protestants; according to Protestants, they are the Pope, monks, and the Inquisition of Rome; according to some, Vandals; and according to others, the followers of Mahomet. Then, there is to be war in heaven between "Michael and his angels," and "the Dragon and his angels." Most people are disposed to think that that is all over, and that "Michael and his angels" mean nothing more than the Reformers; and "the Dragon and his angels" the apostate priesthood of the Romish church. A city is mentioned in this book, under the names of "Sodom" and "Egypt," and to point it out more particularly, it is added, "where also our Lord was crucified." Now Jerusalem is called by the name of Sodom in the Old Testament prophets. One would think at all events, that "the place where our Lord was crucified" was Jerusalem. No, say our apocalyptic wiseacres, it means Rome. A hundred forty and four thousand of all the tribes of Israel are introduced, with the names of the tribes particularly mentioned; and after that another great multitude of all nations. One would think that the Jews have some interest in the first group here introduced. No, we are told they have nothing to do with it, it means Gentiles. "Trees," we are told, do not in this book mean trees, but clergy; while the "grass means the laity; the "sea" means the people; the "sun, moon, and stars," mean the

king and nobility of a country; and the awful and tremendous conflict of Armageddon has been declared to mean nothing more than the siege of Sebastopol. Is it possible to believe in such interpretations, and yet to preserve our character as sane men? If some can find any peace or satisfaction in accepting and relying on such expositions, we solemnly declare we never could. The only single thing of which commentators on this book have succeeded in convincing us is, that they know nothing about it.

Let us enquire if we can find any sense, truth, and consistency in the theory advocated in the work now before us. The writer, as we have said, regards the whole as being yet unfulfilled. So far is he from regarding the apocalypse as a continuous prophetical history of the church, from the days of the apostles to the consummation of all things, a notion which indeed originated so late as the sixteenth century, that he regards it in the light in which the ancient church regarded it, as the prophecy of a certain *great* CRISIS yet to come. It is the book of Christ's second advent. It is given to "make known what shall be in the latter days."

The vision opens with a glorious scene showing Christ's investiture and inauguration into his kingdom. He takes the Book of the Seals and opens it, and in so doing "he takes to himself his great power to reign." He proceeds to vindicate his inheritance in the infliction of judgments on his enemies, and in the accomplishment of triumph for his people. These judgments have not yet been inflicted. The world has not yet been visited by the fearful portents and tremendous wonders which this book foreshadows and discloses. The seals have not yet been opened, the trumpets have not yet sounded, the vials have not yet been poured out. The "*Dies Irae, dies illa*" has not yet come. But, "the time is at hand."

Such is the general principle upon which this book proceeds. Some may be startled by it, but it is deserving at least of a candid examination. Without pretending to be able to expound all the symbols, and to show what they mean, for this would be to fall into the very error we have already condemned in others, the author contents himself with pressing into his service all the other parts of the word of God bearing at all on the subject. We will now give an illustrative extract from the work itself.

"Let us now see whether the opening of these seals corresponds with this the assigned import of the sealed book. 'And I saw when the Lamb opened one (the first) of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four living creatures saying, Come and see. And I saw, and behold, a white horse, and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering and to conquer.' Who shall we say is represented by this expressive and striking emblem? I answer, the Lord Jesus Christ himself going forth, not in the character of his first advent, as some expositors have thought, but in the character of the second; going forth to redeem his inheritance, to rescue it from the hand of the enemy, and assert his claim to his possession. There had just been

an acknowledgment in the court of Heaven of his title to the possession; and accordingly the first seal which he opens exhibits him on 'a white horse,' an emblem of victory; and 'a bow' in his hand—A CROWN, moreover 'being GIVEN unto him'—'going forth conquering and to conquer.' This does not rest upon my suggestion, for, in chap. xix. of this book, verse 11, we find this same emblem used, where we are expressly told that the Lord Jesus Christ is intended:—'And I saw heaven opened, and behold, A WHITE HORSE, and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and MAKE WAR;' and verse 12, 'on his head were many CROWNS,' where we have the three same features as in the seal before us—a *warrior, crowned*, and on *a white horse*. We can have no doubt that the person here represented is the Lord Jesus Christ,—'The Word of God,' as he is named, and we should surely have good reason for asserting that the same emblem in the same book has two different meanings. What is, then, the difference between the two visions? It is this:—that in the first seal, Christ is only represented as *going forth* to his work of conquest, which we shall see embraces a series of facts; but in chap. 19, we have his appearing to strike the last blow, the last act of his judgment; and so we read, that at that time 'on his head are *many crowns*,' verse 12, the crowns of this world's kingdoms, taken (as it were) from the confederate 'kings of the earth gathered to make war against him.'"

The Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, are probably the things represented by the three next seals, the red horse, the black horse, and the pale horse, fearful judgments with which Christ's enemies in the earth are yet to be visited. We refer the reader to the work itself for the parallel passages in the word of God, by which he supports these interpretations, see Ezek. xiv. The sixth seal is a very terrible one, and how any one can imagine it to be already fulfilled, or even in course of fulfilment is inconceivable.

"'And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; and the stars of heaven fell upon the earth, even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind: And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free-man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?' This seal so obviously refers to the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, containing as it does the very signs of his coming, specified by himself in his prophecy of it (compare Matt. xxiv. 29, 30), that I must say there is no room for difference of opinion; and that it should ever been otherwise explained, and by such events as have been instanced, is a melancholy example of the way in which Scripture may be wrested by prejudice to support favourite theories; since, if this be not a prophecy of that event, there is not an

undoubted prophecy of it or of the day of judgment in all Scripture.* Not then until the Lord Jesus Christ has exhausted all his weapons, all his ordinary judgments—not until he has sent them severally, sent them altogether, and finds his enemies still impenitent, still arrayed in hostility against him—not until after these fearful omens does 'the terrible day of the Lord' itself come. So says this prophecy of the seals, taken in its plain and obvious meaning, and according to a system of interpretation easy and natural, and at the same time consistent. If, however, further confirmation be desired of the exposition here given, we have it in the prophecy of our Lord just mentioned in a passage which, as a parallel to this, is most remarkable. There (Matt. xxiv.), at verse 3, we read that 'as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him and said, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the signs of thy COMING?' (*First Seal*), 'and of the END OF THE WORLD (or 'of the age')? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying I am Christ; and shall deceive many.' Now mark what follows; 'And ye shall hear of WARS, and rumours of WARS:' (*Second Seal*)—'See that ye be not troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be FAMINES,' (*Third Seal*)—'and PESTILENCE' (*Fourth Seal*, the two preceding ones still continuing). 'Then,' verse 9, 'shall they deliver you to be afflicted, and shall KILL you;'—compare this *Fifth Seal*, 'And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the *souls of them that were slain for the word of God.*' And then, after the trials and persecutions to which his disciples shall be exposed for his sake have been more particularly detailed, as well as the abounding iniquity in the world, follow the signs of his actual coming, the same by which it is announced in the *sixth seal*:—'And immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven; and then shall the tribes of earth mourn,' &c. The two prophecies thus presenting a most perfect parallelism, not only in the events, but also in the order of their occurrence." †

The seventh seal discloses the *results* of Christ's coming, and introduces the seven trumpets. The first sounded, brings hail and fire mingled with blood cast upon the earth; the second, the burning mountain cast into the sea, the third part of which becomes blood; the third, the star Wormwood, which falls on the rivers and fountains, owing to the bitterness of which many men die; and in the fourth, a third part of the sun, of the moon, and of the stars are smitten with darkness. The author insists that these, like the preceding terrible

*A striking instance of the way in which Scripture will be understood by an unbiassed mind, has been lately afforded in the splendid picture by Danby, entitled 'The Sixth Seal,' one of the finest of that artist's conceptions; where, with the Bible open before him, he has simply yielded his imagination to its guidance. How unconscious that he had such a host of learned divines arrayed against him!

†As was to be expected (though I was not aware of it when these Lectures were given) this correspondence between the judgments predicted by the Seals and the Signs of His coming, in our Lord's prophecy was noticed before; and, among others, by a commentator on this Book so ancient as A. D. 290, namely Victorinus—quoted by Dr Adams on the Sealed Book.

things under the seals, have never yet taken place. He contends, moreover, that these four trumpets are to be taken literally, just meaning what they say:—

"If it be asked, what warrant have we for interpreting literally as judgments such effects wrought on creation? I answer, we have a warrant which we have not for their figurative interpretation; we have a precedent in Scripture. We have the precedent of the plagues of Egypt; and very remarkable it is, that every one event here prophesied did actually and literally occur in Egypt; the plagues of '*hail* and fire mingled with the hail' there (Ex. ix. 24), corresponding to the 'hail and fire mingled with blood' of the first trumpet here; the turning the waters into blood there (Ex. vii. 19), to the same result of the second trumpet here; and embittering of waters by the third; and the darkness over all the land of Egypt (Ex. x. 21), to the darkening of the sun, moon, and stars by the fourth trumpet. And with this precedent, whether, I ask, is it more rational to say that these things shall literally be done again, or that persons are represented figuratively by 'grass,' 'trees,' 'rivers,' 'stars,' &c."

Many will object to all this, and the chief objection will probably be that it is far too simple. All this, it will be said, lies on the very surface, no one could miss it or fail to see and understand it, and hence nobody will believe it. It is far too simple, far too natural, far too true to the meaning of the terms employed; and, above all, it has Scriptural warrant for its truth. It will be most distasteful to our wise commentators who will not look on the surface, and who are determined to see further into a millstone than their neighbours. Why, a fool might have discovered all that, it will be said; precisely so, "the way-faring man, though a fool, shall not err therein." We would just ask, if God had intended to convey this simple meaning, and to say that these things should happen just as they are written here, how else or otherwise would he have worded them? But since he has worded them so, wise men come after him and tell us—'these things do not mean what they say, or appear to mean—besides, they are all past and already fulfilled;' and when asked to point out when and where, they give us the vaguest and absurdest answers. And was all Heaven summoned to enact the drama, the Son of God himself opening the scene, to show unto John and to the church at large, the British and the French fighting the battles of Trafalgar and Aboukir, or Attila and his Huns harrying the robbers of the old world, the Romans? If half a dozen of the guessers could agree together on a reasonable scheme, we might look at it, but they are all wrangling among themselves—a pretty spectacle they are making of themselves, especially to the infidel. Was it thus that the sublime prophecies in the Old Testament were fulfilled? Was not the fulfilment there literal—word for word. Are we not now disentombing from Nineveh and Egypt, and gathering from Palestine and Petra, Tyre and Sidon, marvellous proofs of the literal accomplishment of the terrible judgments predicted on them. And a most powerful argument it forms against the sceptic. But what kind of argument could be furnished to him from the confident, yet vague and absurd and contradictory, fulfilments that have been hazarded of the solemn and tremendous pro-

phecies contained in this book, which there is very much reason to believe have not yet been fulfilled at all?

Into the author's remarks on the three woe-trumpets remaining, and on the seven vials, together with his highly sensible and apparently Scriptural observations on the Two Witnesses, we cannot now enter. The principle that runs through his work is, that the whole book of Revelation seems to dwell on a crisis, and the time to be employed in the action of the drama is probably very short, "time (delay) shall be no longer."

We have thus given a candid account of the general scope and contents of this book. Without pronouncing an opinion on his theory of interpretation, we think it is at least deserving of earnest attention. It is not to be supposed that he contents himself with merely showing the untenableness of the common theories on the subject. He has shown himself to be possessed of a good constructive faculty in the apparently solid and Scriptural interpretation which he has given throughout in support of his own view. This is especially the case in his interpretation of the Two Witnesses.* We cannot help admiring also the beautiful Christian spirit displayed throughout the whole book.

* The following outline of the author's argument and illustration on the subject of the Two Witnesses, may prove interesting to the reader, and may induce him to seek a further acquaintance with the book:—First, they are two persons. They are called "the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks standing," &c. In Zechariah two persons are indicated by the same symbolic terms, namely, Zerubbabel and Joshua, "the two anointed ones that stand by the Lord of the whole earth;" See Zech. iv. Secondly, the actions ascribed to these two persons may help us to discover who they are. "And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies." This is very like what was done by Elijah. Further, "these have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy." This also seems to point to Elijah for one. Further, "and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will." This, again, seems to point to Moses. Moses and Elijah are the only two persons who were ever invested with any such powers. What if these should be the persons whom God here speaks of as "My Two Witnesses." But what have Moses and Elijah to do with Christ in His Second coming, more than any of the other saints and patriarchs, prophets, and apostles? To this, it is answered, they have already had to do with His first coming. On the Mount of Transfiguration, Moses and Elijah were by his side. There is something peculiar respecting the end of these two holy men. Elijah did not die, and respecting the body of Moses, "Michael the archangel contended with the devil" about it. Besides, what means this in Malachi—"Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the GREAT and TERRIBLE day of the Lord?" Has this ever happened? Is not a higher fulfilment awaiting this prophecy? And let those who say that these words received the whole of their fulfilment in John the Baptist, consider that remarkable scene in the life of our Lord, where the disciples, after descending from the Mount of Transfiguration, where they had seen Elijah for the first time, put the natural question to Christ, "Why say the Scribes that Elias must first come?" as though they had said, "you have come first, and Elijah has only now appeared." And what was Christ's answer?—"Elias truly *shall first come* and restore all things," intimating that Elijah would again come, and before himself, whilst at the same time he informs them that Elijah had come already in a certain sense,—"But I say unto you, that Elias is come already,"—that is in the person of John the Baptist, for so they understood it, Matt. 17, 13. Both sayings are then true. Elias *has* first come, and *shall* first come—in spirit then, in person hereafter.

It may be safely predicted that such a simple and harmonious view of the Apocalypse will not be generally accepted. It will be regarded as incredible, that all our learned men and biblical scholars should be utterly astray on the subject, and that the interpretation which a plain unlettered Christian would naturally, and on first reading this book, put upon it should be the true one. That all the learning and ingenuity displayed on it should come to nought, would be indeed truly mortifying to the pride of man. But such a thing has happened before, and may easily happen again. "For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and I will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" For our own part, we have often longed for light and satisfaction on the subjects here brought before us, and we are free to confess that in all former systems we have never found any peace or comfort. We regard it as a positive relief to get rid of all the perplexing guesses and doubtful, and often doubtfully given, interpretations which have been hazarded. We believe this book gave comfort to the ancient church, as it was intended it should. Why is it that it does not do so now? Is it not rather, in the hands of our interpreters, made a source of torment to us, obliging us to swallow all their conjectures, to solve their difficulties, to reconcile their contradictions, and to arrange a system of Providence for ourselves for the last 18 centuries of the world's history, out of obscure and mysterious symbols which, it is strongly suspected, were never intended to teach us anything of the kind. In regarding its prophecies as yet unfulfilled, we return back to the old faith of the Church, and the Book which keeps alive our faith becomes more and more endeared to us. It is no longer repulsive, but becomes a subject of pleasant meditation and comfort. Thus, too, the old and fearful interest and charm with which we pored over its pages in the days of our childhood comes back to us again, and we feel how true are its words,—"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy."

THE RESUMÉ OF AN OLD STORY—QUEEN MARY AND HOLYROOD.*

The character of Mary Stuart—the beauteous, unfortunate, and widowed Queen—presents one of the vexed questions of history. Stores of volumes, and floods of "articles," have been written on the subject. By one class of writers her character has been invested with the hues of romance. By another, she has been represented as little else than a comely insinuating fiend. Aversion at her creed has led the latter class of writers to view with jaundiced eye almost every event in her career, and we have been bidden to contemplate her in the odious light of a powerless yet would-be persecutor—as not merely scheming the overthrow of the reformed faith, as ready to bid the scaf-

* Miss Stricklands Lives of the Queens of Scotland. Blackwood.

fold be reared and the faggots piled—but as the shameless intriguer, the party to a husband's murder—as first the paramour, and next the wife of the chief actor in that deed. We have certainly no wish to represent Mary as faultless, but we must take into account, as fitted to mitigate the severity of judgment, the training of her youth, and the peculiar character of those stormy times in which her lot was cast. It does not necessarily follow, whatever zealots may say, that a Roman Catholic must also be a monster—forsworn before God and man; and while there is reason to rejoice that we have been freed from the trammels of superstition, while we know that Romanism interposes a filmy medium between the sinner and the Saviour, yet we must observe in it the recognition of much that is, in its proper sense, Catholic truth.

Let us set the piece then—let the actors appear—Lords and ladies, minstrels and pages—hounds and hawks ministering to their out-door sports. We may observe the steel-armed trooper mounted on his steed—the iron clad man at arms—Highland chiefs and their retainers "plaided and plumed." Come forward, Murray, good Regent, as thou wert styled, by whom the grey head of Knox was committed to the dust—Darnley, gilded coxcomb of an hour, fluttering, vain, inconstant, licentious—Bothwell, man of iron hand and will—come, fair Queen, with the natural gaiety of youth, thy brow still unwrinkled, thy sweet smile and gracious dignity charming those around thee, too early obliged to struggle, and tremble, and weep. The drama opens amidst Scotland's hills and plains, then comparatively bleak. The scene changes to the chateaux and smiling fields of sunny France. Anon, there is a bark upon the waters, not unmenaced, bearing a doomed one to her scene of trial. Next the burgesses and seamen of Leith behold their youthful sovereign; broad bonnets are cast upon the ground; bailies and deacons prostrate themselves, attired in robes of office. High tenements are thronged by expectant faces, warlike music is floating on the air. Yet once more, and the scene is laid amidst the courts, cloisters, and gardens of Holyrood; but soon the joy-bell changes to the tocsin, for smiles there are scowls and groans; while in the end, closing a protracted and degrading captivity, we see a scaffold rise and a headsman stand, his axe gleaming in the light, and after that the care-worn face is laid upon the block; the last prayer has been said, the bitter struggle is about to end in this world for ever!

Before proceeding to speak of Mary's early training, we may say a few words regarding her parents. James V. was an accomplished monarch, handsome, fond of military exercises, and animated by a chivalrous spirit; like his ancestor James I., a poet and a musician; with an odd contradiction of character, at once somewhat parsimonious, yet loving ostentation and display. Like his father, James IV., this monarch—who died of a broken heart, at his palace of Falkland, when only thirty-one years of age—was fond of roaming about the country in disguise, with a view, possibly, to ascertain the prevailing popular sentiment; and also, and more particularly, to join *incognito* in sports and amusements which might be held to be derogatory from the royal

dignity. His name on these occasions, known only to his chief nobility and dependents, was that of the "*Goodman of Ballengeich*"—a steep pass leading down from Stirling castle. We may here quote an anecdote in reference to this, less known than that regarding the encounter with the gypsies near Cramond Brig, where John Howison's flail and sturdy arm stood the king in good stead when hardly pressed. The court was at Stirling, and James commanded some venison to be brought him from the neighbouring hills. Horns sounded, hounds tracked, and soon the deer were brought to bay, secured and packed on horse's backs, to be brought for the use of the royal cooks. Unluckily, says Sir Walter Scott, the train had to pass the gates of Arnpryor castle, belonging to a chief of the Buchanans, with whom a considerable number of guests happened to be staying. It was late, the company were rather short of provender, though perhaps they had not been so of liquor. Acting on Rob Roy's principle—that "They should take who have the power, and they should keep who can," the venison was seized upon; and Arnpryor, in reply to the consequent expostulations, answered, that if James was King of Scotland, he was King of Kippen. On intelligence being carried to Stirling, King James forthwith called for his steed, and rode to Arnpryor, where he found the gate guarded by a strong fierce looking Highlander, standing sentinel at the door, with an axe upon his shoulder, who refused admittance to the monarch, saying that the laird was at dinner, and did not choose to be disturbed. "Go in to the company," quoth James, "and say that the Goodman of Ballengeich is come to feast with the King of Kippen." It was now the laird's turn to tremble, and he hastened to the gate, humbly asking pardon for the unwarrantable liberty he had taken; on which James forgave him freely, joined the party, and made merry with them.

We quote this story, less on its own account than as illustrative of the rough manners of the period, and the unsettled condition of society. James, though at one time supposed to be favourable to the reformed tenets, if we may judge by his patronage of the poems of Sir David Lindsay, and of George Buchanan, in which severe strictures occur upon Romish practice, yet stood proof against all the remonstrances and representations of Henry VIII. of England, who urged him to follow the steps which that devout and continent monarch had taken for the humbling of the Popish hierarchy and the confiscation of ecclesiastical foundations. In this determination James was strengthened by his second consort, afterwards Queen Regent, a daughter of the house of Guise, and an implacable enemy to the reformers, whose employment of French mercenary troops in Scotland caused deep and just indignation on the part of her nobles; while James, on the other hand, naturally dreading the power of England, disliked the violent and boisterous temper of Henry, and found, morever, his most useful ministers of state among the Scottish ecclesiastics, whose comparative polish and refinement favourably contrasted with the ignorance of his nobles, who were besides, for the most part, fierce, arrogant, and ambitious.

The family of Guise were not only proud and ambitious, but tho-

roughly wedded to the Catholic cause; yet many of James's subjects, high and low, were favourably disposed, through the labours of good and zealous men, to the reformed faith. The nobles on *their* part, looked with jealous eye on the many favours granted by the king to ecclesiastics, while the measures which these last adopted to crush what they deemed the nascent spirit of heresy, in addition to the dissolute lives of many of them, and the vast amount of temporalities held by churchmen, contributed to add fuel to the gathering discontent. To relate the events that immediately followed, the war with England and the disastrous battle of Solway Moss, would lead us from our present subject. Suffice it to remark that, on the death of James V., Mary Stuart, born 7th December 1542, became in a few days thereafter "by her father's death, the infant Queen of a distracted country;" her mother assuming the reins of power as regent, having for her chief adviser Cardinal David Beaton—some portion of the ruins of whose palace at St Andrews still remain,—and who expired, soon after Wishart's martyrdom, by the sword thrusts of Norman Leslie and his band,—a deed which is said by a recent historian to have been encouraged, if not originated, by some of the tools and advisers of Henry of England.

In connection with this, we may mention, as helping to account for some of the toils and turmoils by which Mary was afterwards surrounded, that not only were the emissaries of Elizabeth, Henry's daughter, continually about the Scottish court, fomenting dissensions among the leading men; but that—(anticipating for the sake of mentioning the fact the course of events), passing over the happy childhood of Mary, with her attendant elfin companions, her four Marys—Beaton, Seaton, Livingston and Fleming, at Inchmahome, where gaily fluttered the birds among the trees that girded round the ancient priory (a fragment only of whose ruins now remains on a sequestered islet rising from the bosom of the lake of Monteith)—passing over her departure to France when six years of age, at which time she sailed from Dumbarton and landed at Brest—her education under the auspices of Henry II. in one of the most renowned monasteries of France—her espousal to the Dauphin Francis, which took place in 1558, when Mary was but sixteen years of age and her husband only a very little more advanced in years—passing over this period, without enlarging, as more important transactions are to come before us, we may remark that much ill feeling was caused by the circumstance that the Catholic party, alike in England and France, assuming, in consequence of Henry Eighth's divorce, that Elizabeth of England, as the daughter of Ann Boleyn, was illegitimate and had no proper title to the throne,—acting upon this, Mary and her husband took the title, and laid claim to the sovereignty of England as well as Scotland; money being coined and plate wrought on which the armorial bearings and devices of both countries were stamped. Elizabeth, on her side, with a spirit of wisdom which was seldom absent from her councils, became in consequence the more emboldened at once to foster the reformed religion throughout her dominions, and to make friends among the Protestants of Scotland. These naturally turned to her as a protector, and could not fail to cherish respect and even af-

fection for one who, with her many faults, was masculine enough to rule with firm hand the England of her time; and whom Providence had apparently pointed out as a champion of free thought as opposed to Romish tyranny; whose memory, despite her swearing, drinking, unwomanly deportment, and we fear it must be added her relentless spirit, is yet associated with much that is glorious and inspiriting. We think of her still—not as the sentencer of Essex, or the plotter against Mary's comfort, or at last consigning her rival to the scaffold—but as riding along the ranks at Tilbury, the lion-hearted daughter of a sturdy sire, fire beaming from her eyes, the banner of England floating above her head, her nobility catching fresh spirit from her amazonian deportment, while the Spaniard's armament was on the wave, and a foreign foe in the cause of superstition was threatening to land upon the chalky shores; the beacons meanwhile ready to flash from height to height, and cast their ruddy glare upon encircling seas,—calling for the muster of hosts to battle;—Lincoln bowmen, stout halberdiers, knights, and yeomen;—Drake, too, ready to hoist his signal of defiance, and the best of England's blood willing to be poured out like water.

Mary's position was, from the state of parties in Scotland, difficult and peculiar. In the fervour of welcome wherewith she was greeted, she was too apt to forget that she had been called upon to reign over a nation of "royalist republicans," and that machinations were at work to weaken her influence. The haughty nobles were striving for supremacy. The Catholics hoped to bask in the sunshine of favour; but if we except the regions of the north and north-west, where in some cases there prevailed a blending of Romanism with almost Pagan observance, the cause of the Reformation had made much progress, and the power at its command was sure on any overt act of aggression to make itself felt.

Mary left France about the middle of August 1561, and it is told of her that she quitted with deep regret the country where she had been educated, and that, her mind oppressed by anxiety, she remained gazing on the shores of France from the deck of her galley until they were entirely lost to view, exclaiming "Farewell, happy France, I shall never see thee again." She was motionless the while, as a statue, and instead of retiring to repose as night came on, in the cabin prepared for her, she rested under a screen on deck, requesting the pilot to wake her at earliest dawn if the shores of France were still visible. As if to favour her desire, the breeze died away soon after she had wept herself to sleep; the weary rowers slumbered on their oars, and when dawn dispelled the brief darkness of the summer night, the galley was still within sight of the coast. Subsequent events were such as to justify these emotions of regret. There seems to be ground for thinking that Mary viewed the recent proceedings in Scotland in the light of rebellion against her lawful authority, and that her mind was far from being untinctured with prejudice as regarded the reformed faith and its supporters. On *their* side, the leading reformers feared an attempt at the subversion of recently acquired

religious freedom; and, amidst the plaudits that greeted the Scottish Queen's arrival, it is not wonderful that they deemed it a point of duty to advise Mary of the deep seated affection they bore to what was in truth dearer to them than life itself, believing this to be called for by fidelity to a higher cause, and more momentous interests than those of any earthly sovereign. It is not needful for us to become apologists of Knox, though undistinguishing partisan writers have used many a harsh term in speaking of his conduct. The times demanded plain dealing, and his was certainly no honied tongue, while recent incidents upon the Continent showed that *his* fears and those of his coadjutors might turn out to be no idle chimera. It has long since passed into a maxim of sound politics, that no man's conscience should be coerced; at the same time, in the murmurs, fears, remonstrances, and animadversions of the Reformers, we see but an indication of the spirit which afterwards in England cost James II. his throne, and drove the Stuart race from power. They were unhappy—the whole race of those Stuart Princes,—untaught to govern, unwilling to obey. Nor was Mary an exception. We cannot blame her for desiring the undisturbed exercise of her religion. As little can we be blind to the fact that many in the nation were lukewarm in the cause of the Reformation, that the zeal of others had abated since the arrival of the sovereign, and that there was danger lest the favours of the court and the blandishments of an accomplished Queen should make proselytes of a few, and lull many into security, while designs were matured inimical to the religion and liberty of the nation. An indication of the existing state of feeling was given when Mary desired that mass should be celebrated in her Chapel at Holyrood the first Sunday after her arrival; the attendants were threatened with rough treatment by some of the populace; the priest, in fact, was in danger of being torn from the altar, but for the interference of Mary's natural brother, the Prior of St Andrews. Strong in zeal—but a zeal we can hardly think tempered in this instance by prudence—Knox and others severely, and in public, commented on Mary's conduct, denouncing the observance of the mass as idolatrous, forgetting that this was the likeliest way of affording a handle to the enemies of the reformed faith, and of confirming the mind of Mary against the doctrines defended by its advocates. Certain it is, that many, of the nobility in particular, no sooner came into the presence of Mary than their religious zeal began to cool. An old historian says, "Every man as he came up to court, accused those who went before him; but after they remained a certain space, they came out as quiet as the former." Seeing this, Campbell of Kilneancleugh, a zealous Reformer, said to Lord Ochiltree, whom he passed one day on going to court, "My lord, now ye are come last of all, and I perceive that the fire-edge is not off you, but I fear that after the holie water of the court be sprinkled on you, ye shall become as temperate as the rest. For I have been here now five days, and at first nothing was heard but down with the mass, hang the priest: but after they had been twice or thrice at the Abbey, all that fervency passed. I think there be some enchantment, whereby men are bewitched."

Knox was otherwise minded. In that slender frame beat a courageous heart. Neither the blandishments of the court nor the remonstrances of friends could make him hesitate or quail. Hearing that preparations were on foot for the more public and pompous celebration of Romish worship, he declared in a sermon, "One mass is more fearful to me than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm on purpose to suppress the true religion." On hearing of this, Mary sent for Knox to Holyrood, and held with him a conference (the first of several) which lasted for two hours, in course of which the Queen asked, "Think you that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?" "If princes exceed their bounds, madam," was the Reformer's reply, "no doubt they may be resisted, even by power. For no greater honour is to be given to kings than God has commanded to be given to father and mother." He puts the case of a father being seized with frenzy, in which event it were the duty of his own children, to restrain him from deeds of violence. "Even so, madam," he boldly said; "it is with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject to them." For a quarter of an hour, Mary remained silent and amazed, then said, "Weill I perceive that my subjects shall obey you rather than me." "God forbid," rejoined Knox; "but my travaill is, that both princes and subjects obey God. And think not, madam, that wrong is done to you when you are willed to be subject to God; for He it is that subjects the people under princes: yea, God craves of kings that they be, as it were, foster-fathers to his kirk, and commands queens to be nurses unto his people." "Yea," quoth she; "but ye are not the kirk I will nourish, I will defend the kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the true kirk of God." In reply, Knox offered to prove the degeneracy of that church; and in answer to the Queen's assertion, that "her conscience" deemed it not so, replied, that to the right guidance of conscience, knowledge was essential; expressed at a further stage his readiness to meet the most learned Romanist to be found in Europe, and with him to argue the whole matter before her. At the close, Knox expressed this loyal and dutiful wish; "I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel.

We can but allude to two subsequent interviews. On one of these, Knox having uttered in public some well founded remarks, Mary again sent for the Reformer, to whom he offered to repeat what he had said from the pulpit, and was permitted. When the Reformer had concluded, Mary said (it were unfair perhaps to allege, as some historians have done, for the purpose of withholding Knox from taking public notice of her conduct), that she made him welcome to come to her privately, and admonish her regarding errors in conduct, committed by her. On this Knox said, when about to retire, "Albeit at your grace's command I am here now, yet can I not tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this time of day am absent from my buke, and waiting upon the court." "Ye will not always be at your buke;" said Mary, frowning, and turning her back upon him. Knox

left the room, we are told, "with a reasonable merry countenance;" and as he did so, overheard one of the Queen's Romish attendants say, "He is not afraid!" "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me," he replied; "I have luiked in the face of *mony angry men*, and yet have not been affrayed above measure." At a subsequent occasion, the Queen burst into tears, on Knox saying that he was commanded by his Master to speak plainly and "flatter no flesh on the face of the earth." Her courtiers strove to appease her, Knox continuing silent, with unaltered countenance, though her weeping had been preceded by the passionate exclamation, "I cannot get quit of you. I vow to God I will one day be revenged." Knox's defence, that he had spoken only at the call of duty, was ineffectual to calm her perturbed spirit. Her womanly pride was offended on finding that her blandishments were vain. In the person of the Reformer was one whose moral force she dreaded more than she trusted in the mass of her supporters; the stern advocate of doctrines she hated—the reprover of amusements to which she was attached. Knox was commanded instantly to leave the royal presence, and await her pleasure in the adjoining room. He stood, no friend venturing to shew him countenance. While he was in the room—one of those still exhibited in the only ancient part of Holyrood, the tower of James V.—turning to some of the ladies of the court, and looking to their rich attire, he said, "O fair ladies, how pleasing were this life of yours if it should always abyde, and then, in the end, that we might pass to heaven, with all this gay gear. But fye upon that knave, Death, that will come whidder we will or not." It is hardly necessary to remark, that then, and long afterwards, the preacher had peculiar facilities for influencing the popular mind. The chief questions of the age were religious questions, and the ministrations of the sanctuary had, from the circumstance that no other channels for public information existed, a wider scope and more influential bearing on secular matters than they have now, or than is in itself desirable and expedient.

For the raising up of an heir to the throne, and to secure as a partner one who could share in the difficulties and elevation of her lot, it was on all hands held to be desirable that Mary should re-enter on the marriage state. Generous and confiding, she was at that period of life when "dreams of youth and truth and love" frequently occur to the susceptible heart. Various suitors among foreign princes aspired to the honour of her hand. But she was aware that marriage with a foreign prince would be unacceptable to her subjects, and would impair her chance of succeeding to the crown of England. At length her views turned to Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, a choice which, it was inferred, would not be unacceptable to Elizabeth, who might conceive that, in consequence of Darnley and his father deriving their chief means of support from England, they would not be unobedient to her wishes. The "Maiden Queen," however, secretly desired that Mary should remain unmarried, and was filled with jealous feeling towards the Queen of Scots. On

the 20th of July 1564, Darnley was created Duke of Albany, with corresponding property and privileges.

Whatever the attractions of Darnley's person, and the apparent policy of the match, its issue proved to be as unfortunate as the object of Mary's affection was unworthy. He was but nineteen years of age, while Mary was twenty-three, but there was no correspondence between the qualities of his person and his mind; for Darnley was weak, obstinate, and wayward, and a prey to designing individuals who flattered his vanity. He was addicted to sensuality, and unworthy of the warm affection with which Mary regarded the subject whom she had honoured with her hand.

Great were the public rejoicings consequent on their espousal; but Murray, foreseeing that his influence would be weakened, in concert with others of the nobility, aimed at seizing on the Queen's person as she was travelling between Perth and Edinburgh. Soon after he broke out in open rebellion, and was compelled,—on the advance of Mary's forces,—herself riding at their head only seventeen days after she was married at the head of 5000 men, attired in a suit of light armour, and with pistols at her saddle-bow,—to seek a refuge on the southern side of the border, where, with other nobles, he still continued his machinations, endeavouring with his adherents to secure by plot and contrivance what they had failed to gain by force. They found co-operator in the Earl of Morton, who had hitherto taken no active part in these treasonable measures, and had been up to this time among the few councillors on whom Mary placed reliance. Working on Darnley's vanity and weakness, Morton prevailed on him to join in a conspiracy, the object of which was the restoration of the banished lords, and the placing of the Queen's authority under such restraints as might be thought expedient. Tempted by the promise of undivided sway, (hitherto Darnley had been but King-consort), that individual gave his concurrence; and, forgetting the kindness and honours which Mary had conferred on him, engaged in a plot against her interest, dignity, and happiness; while by this time his assumption and airs had irritated many of the nobility, and his conduct was cooling towards him the heart of Mary. There was, however, an obstacle in the way of this design, and at any price the removal of that obstacle was resolved upon.

This was David Rizzio, a Piedmontese of humble origin; who from being a menial of the court had been promoted to the confidential and responsible office of French secretary. His musical talents contributed to ingratiate Rizzio with Mary. His abilities had given him considerable influence over her mind, while, with burning gratitude and in loyal dutifulness, he seems to have been warmly devoted to her interests. It is not to be concealed that, confident in the royal favour, some of his expressions were unguarded; the proud barons swelled with indignation when they looked upon one, whom they not unnaturally considered as an upstart, trusted and esteemed among Mary's adherents. It is well known that Darnley had sought the good offices of this Italian previous to his obtaining the hand of Mary; now he che-

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...um. Meanwhile the table was violently thrown ...—perhaps she had been trampled under foot ...ry, but for Darnley's interference as already ..." traitors and villains," she commanded ...ve out that gallant," was the cry of ...n," exclaimed Darnley. "Save my ... dear sake!" shrieked Rizzio with ...dded he, when the Queen said ...ld be investigated in due form. ... with his dagger over Mary's ... garments, and the dagger ...ved, Ker of Faudenside ... reatening with a fierce ..., "if you respect not ...n was turned aside, ...lared that "she ...t Ker had ac- ... fire." Another ...t thrust, which her ... striking aside the ra- ...g to light the music scene ... others had that evening been ...d, worn out and faint, "Ah, poor ...ervant! may the Lord have mercy on ... the murdered man's feet together with the ...nad proposed to hang him, and dragged the ...ow staircase to the king's lobby, where the corpse ...the decorations Rizzio had worn, more particularly ...eat value, perhaps the diamond sent him by Moray from ...o secure his interest with Mary for a pardon. Mary wept ...ce. Darnley looked at her with no enviable feelings. News ..., brought that Rizzio's last breath was drawn. Ruthven and his followers re-entered in a tumultuous manner; the latter, saying he was "sore felled by his sickness," eagerly drained a goblet of wine for which he called, and which was handed to him by a page. No wonder she said to Darnley before she fell into a swoon, from which she had just recovered before Ruthven's second entrance along with the others, their hands and clothes blood besmeared, "Ah, traitor, and son of a traitor! is this the recompense thou givest to her who hath covered thee with benefits and raised thee to such great honour?"

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rished towards him violent antipathy, stimulated by the fact that Rizzio, aware of Darnley's faults, had counselled Mary not to part with too much of her authority to her husband.

His removal was resolved upon, and it was carried into effect in a savage and barbarous manner. The apartments occupied by Mary at Holyrood are still visited by crowds of strangers, and the narrow staircase is shown by which Morton, Ruthven, Darnley, and others found their way to the Queen's apartment. Rizzio, it is said, had been warned of coming danger. Darnley had been heard to say that he should like to stab him with his own hand. There is a small cabinet off the queen's bed-chamber, in which Mary, her natural sister, Rizzio, and three others, were partaking of supper. Perhaps the unhappy favourite had been previously charming the Queen and her attendants with song and lute. Mary's brow was cleared of the cares of sovereignty; perhaps she talked of "La belle France," or reverted with a sigh to childhood's days. It was but seven in the evening, in March. The setting sun, therefore, cast its beams upon the portal which gave entrance to ancient Holyrood; they might linger lovingly on the garden alleys where Mary had so often enjoyed the sport of archery. But with the cloud of night came the deed of violence. Morton occupied with a guard of 200 men the palace gates, while the murderers, headed by the Queen's husband, uplifted the arras and entered the apartment. Darnley first approached the cabinet, and stood for a moment in silence watching his victim, followed by Ruthven, clad in complete armour, pale and ghastly from long sickness, brandishing a naked rapier in his hand, and having a steel casque over the night-cap in which his livid head was muffled; others followed, and, on Mary demanding the reason of this intrusion, Rizzio, instinctively concluding that his life was to be the sacrifice, started up and seizing hold of her dress implored her protection. It was in vain. Mary expressed no surprise at Darnley's presence, on the contrary she met him with a kind look. Darnley seized on Mary, then seven months advanced in pregnancy. She had previously enquired of Ruthven, after expressing sympathy for his illness, on what account he came in this guise? He flung himself into a chair and said, "I have been ill, but I find myself well enough to come here for your good." Observing his look and manner, "What good can you do me? you come not in the fashion of one that meaneth well." "There is no harm intended to your Grace," said Ruthven; "but only to yonder poltroon, David." "What hath he done?" said Mary. "Ask the King, your husband, madam;" was Ruthven's reply. This was followed by Ruthven making a thrust at Rizzio. That thrust the Queen intercepted, attempting to shield him as he remained in the recess of the window, holding in his hand the dagger he had drawn, but which was all unavailing against the mass of assailants. In vain did Mary appeal to her husband's better feelings—he was in the hands of those who would not suffer him to draw back. The cry, "A Douglas! a Douglas!" now echoed through the palace—Morton, with 80 men at his heels, was pressing forward; and the Queen's chamber

resembled a pandemonium. Meanwhile the table was violently thrown down, and Mary injured—perhaps she had been trampled under foot by the assassins in their fury, but for Darnley's interference as already mentioned. Calling them "traitors and villains," she commanded them to begone. "We will have out that gallant," was the cry of Ruthven. "Let him go, madam," exclaimed Darnley. "Save my life, madam, save my life, for God's dear sake!" shrieked Rizzio with blanched lips. "Justitia, justitia!" added he, when the Queen said that if any had matter of charge it should be investigated in due form. In vain. George Douglas struck Rizzio with his dagger over Mary's shoulder, the blood being sprinkled over her garments, and the dagger left sticking in his side. Other strokes followed, Ker of Faudenside even presenting a cocked pistol at Mary, and threatening with a fierce oath to shoot her if she resisted. "Fire," said she, "if you respect not the royal infant in my womb." Luckily, the weapon was turned aside, and by Darnley's hand; though Mary afterwards declared that "she felt the coldness of the iron through her dress, and that Ker had actually pulled the trigger, though the pistol hung fire." Another is said to have aimed at her bosom a regicidal thrust, which her English page, Anthony Staden, parried, striking aside the rapier with the torch he had been using to light the music scene which the Queen and Rizzio with others had that evening been singing in parts. At last she said, worn out and faint, "Ah, poor David, my good and faithful servant! may the Lord have mercy on your soul!" They bound the murdered man's feet together with the cord wherewith some had proposed to hang him, and dragged the body down the narrow staircase to the king's lobby, where the corpse was stripped of the decorations Rizzio had worn, more particularly a jewel of great value, perhaps the diamond sent him by Moray from England to secure his interest with Mary for a pardon. Mary wept in silence. Darnley looked at her with no enviable feelings. News was brought that Rizzio's last breath was drawn. Ruthven and his followers re-entered in a tumultuous manner; the latter, saying he was "sore felled by his sickness," eagerly drained a goblet of wine for which he called, and which was handed to him by a page. No wonder she said to Darnley before she fell into a swoon, from which she had just recovered before Ruthven's second entrance along with the others, their hands and clothes blood besmeared, "Ah, traitor, and son of a traitor! is this the recompense thou givest to her who hath covered thee with benefits and raised thee to such great honour?"

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and a tool in the hands of designing men, is placed beyond doubt. It was an ill-starred union. Murray and Morton had believed that they would secure the supreme power in the state, while Darnley wielded the nominal supremacy. But Darnley was timorous as well as cruel; so that Mary, who had been kept in a state of strict *surveillance*, almost approaching to confinement—and for whose deprivation from authority plans had already been formed—succeeded in persuading Darnley to make common cause with her. The issue was that they proceeded together in haste to Dunbar, whence Mary issued a proclamation calling on her faithful subjects to rally round her banner.

In spite, however, of apparent reconciliation, Mary and Darnley were far from being on amicable terms. She seems to have been a person of strong mind, yet impetuous feelings—her bosom warmly susceptible, while her husband had absolutely nothing but the graces of his person to recommend him. Those who have known how unworthily love has sometimes been repaid—who have felt sickness of heart—have borne and endured much—can enter into Mary's feelings. On the 19th of June 1856, she was delivered of a son, afterwards James VI. When the intelligence reached London, Queen Elizabeth was engaged with her court, in executing a stately measure; but on hearing the news she desisted, and sat down, leaning her head upon her hand, and saying, "Hear ye not how the Queen of Scots is the mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock." Next morning she had so far recovered as to assume the appearance of civility, receiving the Scottish ambassador with the semblance of cordiality, and accepting the office of godmother to the young prince; whose birth took place, not at Holyrood, but in the Castle of Edinburgh. At that time Mary's heart relented towards Darnley; but his capricious and unworthy conduct soon caused that feeling again to cool. Mary, soon after her recovery, accompanied by the Officers of State and the Court, left Holyrood on the 8th of October for Jedburgh, the same day on which the Earl of Bothwell had been severely wounded in the hand in an encounter with Eliot of Park, a Border leader, near Bothwell's own Castle of Hermitage. Darnley was then residing at Glasgow with his father, the Earl of Lennox. Bothwell, by this time, though a man of fierce and licentious character, had been rising in favour with the Queen. His boldness stood contrasted with Darnley's weakness; and it was believed that, on occasion of Rizzio's murder, he had exposed himself to personal danger, desirous of preventing that insult to her person and authority. By way of relief to these prosaic, and we fear dry details, we may here quote a short passage from a recent rhythmical production by our townsman, Professor Aytoun, who has given not long since to the world what is rather a pleading than a poem, and yet has managed in that work to furnish a not unfeasible idea of some incidents in Mary's life. Professor Aytoun has well-nigh deified Claverhouse,—and in his love for taking up desperate cases, he has also endeavoured to white-wash Bothwell. The Border Baron soliloquises:—

"O that day when first I rose
A cripple from my lair—

Threw wide the casement, breathed my fill
  Of fresh and wholesome air,—
Drank in new life, and felt once more
  The pulses' stirring play—
O madly in my heart is writ
  The record of that day!
I thought to hear the gorcock crow
  Or owzel whistle shrill,
When lo! a gallant company
  Came riding up the hill.
No banner was displayed on high,
  No sign of war was seen,
No armed band, with spear and brand
  Encompassed Scotland's queen.
She came on gentle errand bound,
  The bounteous and the free,—
She came to cheer her wounded knight,—
  She came to smile on me.

"I never thought that woman's voice
  Could thrill my being so,
As when she thanked me for my zeal,
  In accents soft and low.
I saw the tear within her eye,
  When, bending down to me,
She placed her lily hand on mine,
  And bade me quit the knee."

The visit to Hermitage stirred the feeling of ambition and passionate desire in Bothwell's breast. Murray appears, having ridden after Mary's steed:—

"—— he paused, and looking round
Upon the royal train,
  Began to falter forth excuse,
Like one who spoke in pain,
Why Darnley came not with the Queen,
  How could the fool be there?
Had he not left his Sovereign's Court,
  Despite her tears and prayer?—
Left her, with base unmanly threat,
  Alone to weep and pine.

Bright was the morn, and fresh the wind,
  And clear the trumpet's call,
As, strong once more in heart and limb,
  I issued from my hall.
A hundred troopers armed in mail
  Were mounted on the sward;
Men who would ride through steel and flame
  At signal of their lord.
The knaves! I knew they loved me well;
  And what a wild acclaim
Rang through the valley, up the glen
  To greet me as I came!
Their spears were raised, and swords were swung,
  And banners tossed on high—

The blood was warm within me then,
  And proudly did it bound,
As clad again in knightly garb,
  I wheeled my charger round;
O'er moss and moor, o'er hill and heath,
  Right gallantly we sped,
Until we paused, and drew the rein
  Hard by the river's head.
Backward on Castle Hermitage
  One longing look I cast;
I saw it in its strength and pride—
  That look it was the last."

We must now go forward in our story to the night of the 10th of February 1567. Bothwell's ambition had been acted upon. His rude, simple, yet ruthless nature, was at the service of those who had determined on the removal of Darnley. Taken ill of small-pox at Glasgow,—thither had the Queen followed her husband; at Glasgow Darnley expressed contrition for his error. They left for Edinburgh together, moving by easy stages, it being intended that Darnley, now convalescent, should, to avoid the risk of contagion to the royal child, spend some period at Craigmillar, the Queen's apartments there being fitted up for his reception—a spot sheltered from the east-wind, calm, and secluded, yet near the capital—unlike Holyrood, lying in the bosom of a valley, and where the bustle unavoidably attendant on a court was likely to disturb the invalid. Instead of Craigmillar, however, to which as a place of retreat Darnley was averse, and Edinburgh Castle being too exposed and cold,—the Provost's house, near St Mary's Kirk of Field—(it now appears at the suggestion, not of Mary, but of those inimical to Darnley)—in the southern suburb of the city, was recommended as a suitable place for his temporary abode, together with that of his attendants, until he should have undergone the course of purification judged to be necessary by the physicians of that time in consequence of his disorder. There ample provision was made for his comfort. Mary's visits were frequent; arrangements, indeed, were made whereby she could pass the night there if she deemed proper, in an apartment of the lower storey of the edifice, the grounds of which constitute the site of the College and its vicinity. There were then few houses near the locality. The foundations of the edifice were undermined, gunpowder being lodged in large quantities. From Bothwell's apartments, moreover, at Holyrood, having previously been conveyed from his castle at Dunbar, fresh powder was brought. That Bothwell was a leading agent in though not an original contriver of the deed, there is no doubt. Morton was originally and more deeply implicated, and Bothwell was a secondary kind of tool. Balfour and Douglas, who were also in the hands of Lethington, supplied additional means of explosion. On the fatal night, Mary's stay with her husband was protracted till near eleven o'clock, when it was time for her to attend a masquerade ball, which was to be given at the palace, on occasion of the wedding of Sebastian Paiges, one of her valued attendants, and Margaret Carwood. Mary had previously been present at the wedding dinner, and

had promised, according to the custom of the period, to return that she might "put the bride to bed." To the Kirk of Field she was attended by a party of her nobles, brought to her husband's chamber to present their congratulations on his recovery. Meanwhile, Bothwell slipped away unperceived, and, disguising himself by putting on a common dress, slunk down to the neighbourhood to hold counsel with the accomplices,—anxiously watching till Mary and her train had left. It was two o'clock in the morning when the whole city was shaken by a violent explosion. The house of Kirk of Field was a pile of ruins, literally not "one stone being left on another,"—the body of Darnley, who was attired simply in his night-dress, being found in the orchard at a considerable distance, unscathed by fire, beside him that of a faithful attendant—those of others being found scorched, mutilated, or buried beneath the ruins—leading to the supposition that the ill-fated consort of Mary had fled from the house on a sudden intimation of alarm, and had been strangled by some of the conspirators' agents,—an allegation distinctly made in a letter from the Pope's Nuncio at Paris to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, detailing information which he had got from Moretta, the Savoyard Ambassador to the Court of Mary, who was then at Edinburgh, and whose assertion seems by no means unlikely to be correct.

We cannot now pursue further the history of Mary—Scotland's beauteous but unhappy queen The subject is by no means free from difficulty. A cloud of obscurity rests on various particulars. But equally confident are we that Mary was no consenting party to Darnley's murder,—that her grief was genuine—that she remembered with regret the husband of her youth—faulty as he was—hurried away by an end so dismal. The breath of scandal has, without reason, dimmed the memory as it has embittered thel ives, of those who have filled a far less conspicuous position. That Mary's fondness for Bothwell led her into irretrievable error, is not less plain,—lending countenance as it did to the many injurious and odious surmises raised against her. We look upon her, however, as a captive,—as ensnared, misused.—conducted to ruin by the rough ambitious chieftian to whom she had become attached. We see Bothwell leading her away from the path of interest and duty—prevailing on her by alternate threats and cajolery—by the document, the authenticity of which is not questioned, stating the conviction of its subscribers that he had no share in Darnley's murder, and that Mary should—as a frail female needing protection—again enter on the married state. After a period of inward struggle—no true-hearted counsellor near—driven almost to distraction—she was prevailed upon to take his blood-stained hand. We dwell not on what afterwards occurred, nor allude to Fotheringay, where at last the discrowned head rolled upon the scaffold. But let the most charitable view be taken which circumstances admit of. Let us be thankful that we live in calmer times—when the rights and duties of subjects and sovereigns are so much better understood. Better our sober state, than the bustle and glare of Chivalry. Happier often have been the huts and dwellings where "poor men lie,"—than those more elevated stations which, like the

towering pinnacles, are likeliest to draw down the levin-bolt. Better, assuredly, that our lot is cast not in the days of Queen Mary, with rude barons, jostling schemers, and a down-trodden people—Scotland comparatively a wilderness,—but in the days of Queen Victoria, the royal matron, against whose character scandal itself has never ventured to whisper censure.

"CITY POEMS," BY ALEXANDER SMITH.

A master thinker has said, that when the poet of the age arises, Labour will be its epic; and perhaps the signs of the times did not deceive him when he gave utterance to this prophecy. But if his idea be ever destined to be more than a most pregnant symbol, it must be grasped by a mind equally subtle and gigantic, and worked out with a refinement of strength which will have to be realized before it can be defined. Its capacities indeed are infinite; but their evolution was unattempted even by the inspired sage, who, casting his eye over the mighty subject, showed his perception of its immensity by condensing it in his sententious way,—"All things are full of labour." It is truly earth's wonderful birthright and inalienable inheritance, enfolding everything in its substance, covering all things with its shadow. Labour is but the generic term for all that indicates progression, gathering into its own fulness the duties and dignities of humanity. It is the essence of worship and poetry; both life and love send up their voices in its strong and patient cry; death and eternity alone can give it rest. Its problem is old and inscrutable as that of Time itself; they are twin mysteries, ordained to run out their miraculous course together, and to solve themselves as they simultaneously expire.

But in the almost daring effort to reduce this living poem into language, anything short of absolute success must be total failure. The poetry which shrouds it is not the poetry of speech; still, as of old, "man cannot utter it;" the midnight silences may whisper it,—the morning stars chaunt it in the clear hush of dawn,—but the lips of the children of men must be contented to touch the border of its solemn vesture, till that day when, in the smile of the eternal Sabbath, "the tongue of the dumb shall sing."

It is labour spiritualized that is so beautiful; and spiritualization is the special prerogative of poetry. Life must, indeed, be a hard and sorrowful thing to those who have no consciousness of that deeper existence,—no cravings after that "higher knowledge" which dignifies its rugged simplicity, and lends a beauty to its common ways. But there are things which cannot be sublimed; and the mistake consists in creating the paradox of a utilitarian poetry,—casting a vapour of mistaken sentiment over what is inevitably and emphatically the prose of life,—and mingling in perverse incognruity the essentially heavenly and the essentially earthly, without a perception that the glory of the

celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial another. The very essence of poetry is its supernal attraction; and a misguided attempt to draw it downwards not only offends its serene purity, but places practical life and practical duty, with all their excellent and expedient associations, in a position as false as it is unmeaning. Commonplace should never invade the sacred precincts; it can have no common ground with poetry; such a vain ambition will have no result but to impair its proper usefulness, cramp its real energies, and insult its actual efficiency by weakening its moral power. The error of endeavouring to sign such an impossible compromise, will be readily exemplified by a reference to the recent volume of "City Poems," throughout which there drifts a certain tendency to effect the fusion of these antagonistic principles.

No candid reader will deny to these poems the possession of excellencies which entitle them to a fair and patient consideration; but it is only the most determined champion of the "spasmodic school," who will ask for indiscriminating eulogy, or contend for unqualified approval. The application of the epithet "spasmodic," in the present instance, arises from the peculiar difficulty of classifying poems which are neither purely dramatic, narrative, or descriptive. No other term so graphically illustrates the discursive, unmethodical style, and the sometimes whimsical abruptness of the diction. They possess sufficient originality to make it a matter of regret that they have not more; and so much possible power as to awaken disappointment by their actual weakness. They abound in indications of brilliant fancy, glowing imagery, fervid and pathetic thought;—the studies from nature are almost photographs, and the mental speculations ingenious and penetrating, as far as they go. But these features do not constitute the only requirements, or even the essentials, of poetry which aspires to the first rank. Depth of purpose and consistency of design are even more indispensable than mastery of language and versatile taste; the most sparkling imagination will not atone for internal debility or defective moral structure. The slightness observable here, is rendered yet more prominent by the loose and broken character of the work in detail; nor can the beauties scattered through the larger and more sustained poems redeem them in the aggregate from this radical error. Where there is no obscurity there is a want of substance,—the circumstances are constrained, and the deductions unsatisfactory. There is a massive incompetence in the plan, a brilliant uncertainty in the execution, which excites the faculties to a fruitless expectation, and while holding them in a weary and continuous suspense, relaxes instead of bracing the intellectual system. Much rich though careless tracery has been lavished on the exterior, but the workmanship is uncertain, andthe foundation insecure. The redundancy of ornament covers no intrinsic solidity that can repay a closer investigation. Yet this is evidently rather a waste of power than the want of it,—a neglect of capabilities which only require direction, government, and concentration to attest their own reality. The taste is more unruly than the intellect is defective,—the passions are stronger than the judgment or

the will. The talent for mental analysis is evidently indigenous, but for want of training and culture it runs almost wild. Acute moral perception is a dangerous endowment, unless guarded by spiritual discernment and chastened sympathies, and armed with courage ready to face evil, fortitude patient to endure it, and determination resolute to overcome it. In the melancholy anatomy of these pages, there is no healthy action disclosed, no result achieved which is either beneficial or conclusive. A helpless and mystical misery struggles reluctantly into being, without the power either to avert or to conquer its doom. A proud and bitter sorrow, unconscious of the element of submission, passes from a forced and sullen acquiescence to the fatal refuge of despair. Such gloomy phases of the human mind, however true to nature, afford no salutary instruction, unless viewed in the light of a higher morality. They distress without healing,—they sadden the heart, but do not make it better. The consideration of a being of parts and genius, so fatally mistaking the true end of affliction, as to plunge recklessly and irretrievably into sensuous indulgence to deaden the anguish of suffering, and dying at last with no music in his ears but the echo of his own "wild jest," is far too saddening to elicit any feeling but the deepest disappointment, the most intense and mournful pity. Such a life exhibits neither dignity nor heroism; it merely evades the problem of existence, quenches the lamp of the present with the tears of the past, and eludes, in the blindness of an impatient frenzy, the incalculable possibilities of the unknown future. To make either the goodness or the happiness of man hinge upon the working of his moral and intellectual system, is to misunderstand his deepest interests, and to misinterpret the economy under which he lives. The theory that the immediate presence of great suffering neutralizes, or even suspends his eternal responsibilities, is both fallacious and unwarrantable. It is only a disguised selfishness that succumbs hopelessly under the pressure of personal trial. Sorrow has no dispensing power,—she relaxes no previous obligation; yet if she darkens the path of duty at first, she fills it afterwards with a strange, solemn light of her own; clear-sighted charity would scarcely number her recreant children in the "noble army of martyrs."

The studied obscurity which is such a favourite attribute of the school to which these poems belong, often renders it difficult to discover their real scope, and even precludes at times a distinct apprehension of their literal meaning. Such ambiguity cannot fail to be disadvantageous when attaching itself to questions of primary importance.—questions which should be treated with clearness, precision, and sincerity, or not at all. And to minds of an impulsive and imagniative cast, more ready to acquiesce than to reason, the creations and deductions of a favourite author present themselves with an attraction which is seldom questioned, but which exercises a grave, though scarcely conscious influence over their character, giving a bias to the indolent judgment, and moulding the inert and plastic will. Nothing, for instance, can be more injurious than a false standard of heroism, the misplaced sentiment which substitutes sympathy for pity, the morbid feeling

which obliterates the distinction between the sinner and the sin. The argument which would shelter error behind the inherent brilliancy of great natural gifts, inverts the ratio of scriptural compensation; its palliative philosophy, however welcome to human nature in the weakness of its pride, runs directly counter to the sterner teaching of a lowly and more reverent wisdom. Such studies can never be intrinsically edifying; but they have a worse tendency than negative good, if they create a void which they are unable to fill, leave behind them only an emotion of sadness and dissatisfaction, and confirm the intuitive perception that the physician has neither touched the root of the disease nor applied the remedy. "Purifying sorrow" consoles even while it saddens; but if it be regarded as a curse, and accepted only because it cannot be refused, life will be indeed a forlorn hope; and alas for the sufferer when his pale dream is broken by the thunder of that war from which there is no discharge!

It is worth while to inquire seriously whether poetry, which evokes so incessantly and perseveringly a gloomy and spectral grief, really fulfils its mission,—if it be not a misdirection of powers intended to strengthen the tone of the mind, to silence the clamour of the passions, to sanctify the affections, to hush the deep sighing of the soul, and with a kind of sacramental music to whisper to the weary and heavy-laden the secrets of eternal repose. To analyze the ills of life may be its earthly duty, but it is not its heavenly gift. It is a dangerous and fatal refinement of sorrow that dwells only upon its sad and jangled strings, and clings so passionately to those wild and broken chords, that it leaves no entrance for the soft wind of heaven, which would sweep all its trouble into harmony. There is a deeper life than self-conscious happiness,—faith is a more abiding strength than joy. The light of immortality cannot be quenched even by sorrow's stormy tears; and to teach men how they may walk in peace amid the discipline of the sternest suffering, and the weariness of desperate contradiction, building up within themselves an ever-growing patience of trial, is a higher achievement than the fostering of a useless self-indulgence, which sheds for ever bitter, hopeless tears, and exhausts its plaintive energies in the miserable luxury of remorse.

The same partial and defective morality is reproduced, more or less, in all the principal poems, where the old theme of disappointed affection or frustrated hope is pursued into new variations of despondency, leaving upon the mind a vague sense of weariness and depression. Nor are they entirely free from minor blemishes, which detract from their general symmetry, and weaken the effect of their several beauties. Want of finish is observable both in structure and detail. The absence of sequence and transparency is sometimes almost irritating, and the choice of language is occasionally infelicitous, not to say reckless. The bold and instantaneous touches are often very graphic and original, but such strokes should not be thrown out at random. The confusion of things better kept apart has already been alluded to; if cotton-spinning have an antipodes, it must surely be blank verse; and though its young votaries might be forgiven for expressing themselves theatrically, and

even for talking heroics, dinner had better not be announced in that awful rhythm, unless the farcical element be the real one, and the latent tragedy the humour of the piece.

First in the order of merit, undoubtedly, ranks the little ode which would appear to have prompted the title of the book; for "Glasgow" is the only genuine "City Poem" which it contains. It is, however, quite worthy to take such precedence of its companions, and shows what the author can effect when he places a proper reliance on his own powers, and can persuade himself to be original. It has a clear ring of its own, distinct from the echo of Tennyson, and is more worthy to take its place among the gems of the laureate, than any of those productions which betray an emulous pursuit that can only be satisfied with imitation. Welling up fresh from the heart, it sheds dewy tears on a most hard and barren soil, and wins new laurels for poetry. The poet is too much in earnest to be mystical; all peculiarities of style are merged in a quaint, sweet melancholy, which never degenerates into mannerism. The language is choice, the diction pure, the measure dreamy and musical. The idea is both striking and suggestive, the treatment apt and felicitous. Nothing could more happily illustrate the fallacy of attempting to subvert the true order of things, by denying to poetry her lawful aristocracy. Allowed to lead, instead of being tortured and trampled into servitude, she unhesitatingly assumes her proper place, and asserts her royalty with a tender dignity that commands both admiration and obedience. The little poem is so beautiful that we would gladly particularize; but detached stanzas would convey no adequate notion of its effect as a whole, and would ruin the "linked sweetness" which is its peculiar fascination. It has the distinguished honour of shadowing one of the most hardfeatured and worldly of cities with a dream of beauty, that hangs over it like a distant sunset cloud, tinging its sullen walls with soft, reflected glory, and bringing its toiling sons into a sacred brotherhood with those whose lines are cast in more pleasant places, and who, perhaps, forget in the half-unconscious enjoyment of their lovelier lot, the harder fate of those who see through a glass so darkly the watch-lights of the City of God.

Although we had rather not bestow such unqualified praise on the remaining contents of this volume, we are by no means blind to their merits; but it were vain to deny that these merits are obscured by much that is unpleasing. The consciousness of innate power is doubtless a strong temptation to make an unlimited use of it, and abuse is generally the result. The tendency to mysticism, (a dangerous weapon even in careful hands,) is not less natural than the love of power, from which perhaps it springs. But a writer who allows himself to be systematically conquered by its fascination will degenerate instead of improve, and will assuredly mislead others if he does not mislead himself. In conveying impressions from one mind to another, the danger of entangling the connecting ideas should be avoided with particular precaution. Intentional mysticism is essentially liable to this danger, and may be traced either to intellectual indolence, the possible foible of a great mind,—silly self consequence, the inevitable token of a little one,

—or wilful insincerity, the refuge of the weak and the wicked. The mind of a candid author should be reflected in his writings, and if he occasionally yields to the positive pleasure of concealment, the key to his ideal treasury should never be thrown away. If he has jewels to hide, the seekers will not be wanting, and perhaps they will thank him for the quest. But if he deludes himself and them into a hopeless maze of error, he is guilty of a double falsehood; he degrades the worthiness of his own office, and tempts the wayfarers from the great highway; and the echoes of their wandering voices will people that deep silence at the last, when he ought to be coming to the eternal joy.

On the whole, this later production of an unequal though undeniable genius cannot be said to satisfy the universal expectation; but it contains sufficient promise to be regarded as the pledge of greater things, if the fancy be chastened, the morality extended, and the wild outpourings of fitful passion soothed by a gentler philosophy, and hallowed by a clearer faith and love. The author, after a few pensive, retrospective stanzas, written more for himself than for others, closes his meditations with the following lines:—

> "Imprisoned in this wintry clime,
> I've found enough, O Lord of breath,
> Enough to plume the feet of time,
> Enough to hide the eyes of death."

If we may trust these touching words, a different vision has at last opened to him,—a perception of the eternal compensation whose earnest is given to us even now, and which, to the eyes that watch for its indications, presents an assurance of Divine Fatherhood in which they are contented to put their trust,—leaving the unfolding of life's deep things, and the interpretation of its "dark sayings," to the hand that makes all things work for good, and the lips that have blessed the sorrowful and the patient-hearted. The thick cloud will never be wearied by repining tears, yet its darkness may glitter under the rainbow of faith; and if the vexed and turbid stream be turned into a deeper and purer channel, its clear and quiet song may flow with a serener murmur on towards the great, calm sea, where the "many voices" of time's weeping rivers are fading in music for ever.

PROFESSOR WILSON AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.*

There are few men in any age or country who have so impressed the world by their greatness, either in thought or action, as to have left behind them imperishable names. The great lawgivers in science are so few and far between, and are sprung from so many diverse lands and people, that they strikingly resemble the oases of the desert with relation to the rest of mankind; they are, generally speaking, not only far removed from each other in point of time, but they are equally so in point of place. The same thing obtains with relation

* Recreations of Christopher North, vol. i. Wm. Blackwood and Sons, Edin. and London. 1857.

to men of action; but the reason and causes of their appearance are different. Men of thought operate directly upon the universe and nature, independently of all casual or passing events; but men of action are so far the children of circumstances that the events must occur, or be in progress, before they can unfold their power or genius. When the world is all at peace, and nothing exciting or fraught with great interest to mankind is taking place, the man of action cannot manifest himself; he is yet a pearl within its shell, and cannot yet shine and sparkle in the light of day. But for the persecuting spirit of Charles the First, and the fanatical, and fiery character of the English Roundheads, Cromwell could never have been known beyond his native village; and but for the French Revolution and its frightful atrocities, Napoleon Bonaparte could never have emerged from his pristine obscurity into Imperial greatness. In a large sense certainly it is true, as Byron somewhat paradoxically remarks, that "men are the sport of circumstances, and then, circumstances are the sport of men." But, at all events, both the proper man and the proper circumstances must coexist in time and place, otherwise history neither becomes pregnant with great men nor great events. It is quite otherwise, however, in the Empire of Thought. When Galileo, La Place, and Newton appeared, all mankind were ennabled to contemplate new phases of the universe, through their far extended range of vision. So it is in a somewhat different sense with the true poet. Though not, strictly speaking, scientific, the poet is both the harbinger and popular expounder of science; his knowledge of nature, both in her concrete and generalised aspects, is so large and comprehensive that his representations necessarily render him the pioneer in science, for his far-reaching thoughts even make his works suggestive to the pure scientific investigator; and when the empirical facts assume the scientific form, they give birth to the symbols and imagery of the poet, and hence he himself becomes the interpreter of science to the unlettered masses. Thus the poetical mind, though not of itself scientific, embraces the most comprehensive views of all science; so much so, that its most vital facts are as mere play things to the poet, and anon assist him in garnishing the mere tropes and figures of his language. But the true greatness of the poet consists in his having a profound instinctive knowledge of the human heart, and with probably no other materials than his own spiritual framework, and those of a few of his compeers, he is of necessity a profound practical philosopher. Of this order of minds are Homer, Shakespeare, Dante, Milton, and a few others—their thoughts live in the hearts and understandings of all the civilized races of man, and they will continue to do so as long as civilization subsists. In the sense we have described them, both lawgivers in science and true poets are inspired thinkers, and nature herself is sparing in the distribution of them upon the earth; she seems to say that the lessons which they teach require to be but once inculcated, and if future generations disobey or neglect them, they must be left to suffer the penalty of their disobedience. But every new lawgiver and poet differs as much

from his predecessor as he does from the rest of mankind. The lawgiver has impressed upon the inmost recesses of his spirit the precise and definite mission that he is destined to fulfil in science; and the poet, though not so circumscribed in his mental endowments, possesses chiefly the highest, most salient, and striking spiritual features of the race to which he belongs. The poet, indeed, is only a being of larger and more gigantic proportions of soul than his fellows, to fit him for his arduous and lofty vocation. What is Shakespeare but an incarnation of the ideal of the Norman Saxon race, blended with the living spirit of Christianity. At first glance he would appear to belong to no particular people, but on closer examination we descry the large broad lineaments of the Anglo Saxon mind, shining through the noblest spiritual Titan that ever appeared among the children of men. Although his works belong to no age or country, yet the framework of his soul is especially Anglo Saxon. In ideal grandeur and comprehensiveness of thought he represents the highest order of genius of his race, as well as the greatest practical skill and ability of the English mind. The same holds true of Horace, Virgil, and Juvenal; they are the ideal representatives of the Roman type of soul, and to us of the nineteenth century, they form curious and interesting historical studies. Our own Burns plumed himself upon being an ideal peasant, but who does not descry in him infinitely more than this, namely, the ideal type of the Scottish mind, the largest and truest soul that has sprung up in Scotland since the days of Wallace. Such are the men who are not only the pioneers, but the directors and controllers of human thought and opinion, and their ideas and language form the most living and glowing portion of every true human heart. The thoughts and imagery of all the great poets, indeed, are like pole stars in the heavens; they are calculated to guide even the most wayward and reckless in the paths of goodness and truth.

But, besides our great Poets, we have innumerable men of genius and ability constantly appearing and disappearing, who form the great practical thinkers in the present. They are probably to be regarded more as men of great ability then as men of genius. In the highest and largest sense they can hardly be looked upon as discoverers or creators. They neither conquer nor acquire any new truth from the kingdom of darkness. They sit quietly on the verge of times' horizon, watching whatever, new or original, may heave in sight. Neither are they in a strict sense Philosophers, but they frequently adopt some philosophy, through whose eyes they look at nature and the universe. To the bar of this philosophy they bring all ancient and modern thought, and by it test all the works and opinions of men. To this order of thinkers the critic most certainly belongs. Nay, it may be said to include all that class of artists immediately below the poet, viz., the historian, the novelist, the painter, &c. To this discription of thinkers belong Thucydides, Herodotus, Tacitus, Gibbon, Scott, Salvator Rosa, Wilkie, Turner, &c. These are the mere delineators of History, or the representers of

Poetry in its concrete or illustrative form. They reduce the abstract or ideal to the plain practical everyday fact, and in the ratio that they possess the ideal or poetical element, in the same ratio are they truthful in their delineations. Of this order of minds the most remarkable in our own times was Scott. With but slender pretensions to the poetical element in its abstract or higher aspects, Scott still possessed a lofty ideal which he represents in the concrete form with a power and depth that has seldom been surpassed. He is certainly at the head of the ideal or truth-seeing school of Novel Literature. Looking at man individually he has a profounder knowledge of the spiritual laws of his being than any writer of fiction that has appeared. His great power indeed lies in his penetrating sense of law, especially of the moral laws of man's being, and of his representing man as actuated or not actuated by this great element. But Scott's habits of thought unfitted him for being a great critic. Although indeed he frequently entered the lists of history and criticism, neither vocation suited his genius. He was only, after all, a great healthy vigorous story-teller. When we bring all the writers of fiction, however, since his time into comparison with him, they all suffer more or less by the juxtaposition. Dickens, though possessed of a minuter knowledge of most phases of everyday life than Scott, and evincing a profounder insight into all the workings of man's emotional nature, still Scott transcends him by his delineation of that underlying sense of law that guides and directs truly all emotion. Dickens, we could almost say, overlooks this great element of man's being in his fiction, and for this reason it lacks the truth of nature. It is true that Dickens awards all manner of power to man's higher emotional nature, but by leaving out or sinking the one great element—his sense of law and moral obligation, Dickens leaves man to become a wreck amidst the winds and waves of his passions. Dickens' theory of human nature, indeed, is too sensational. Dickens would have man to be merely emotional and impulsive, notwithstanding that there exists a principle in him underlying all emotion, that guides and directs all his actions to the harbour of truth. Hence, although we frequently shed tears over the exquisite delineations of emotion by Dickens, yet on reflection we feel that there is something awanting that should have been unfolded. An example of this defect in Dickens' pictures will be best illustrated by referring to one of the most striking examples of the opposite tendency in Scott. At Effie Deans' trial for child-murder, her sister Jeanie could at once have saved Effie's life by declaring that Effie had made known her condition to her previous to the birth of her child, and the reader is for a moment disturbed by Jeanie's apparent obduracy; but when the whole picture is unfolded, her journey on foot to London, her hair breadth escapes, and her appearance before the Queen, combined with her touching eloquence to that personage, her whole life and conduct become an impersonation of truthfulness far transcending the loftiest ideals of ancient virtue, and that nothing but Christianity could have implanted. The character of Jeanie Deans thus

becomes so fixed in the imagination and reason of the reader, that the rock on the sea shore lashed by the waves of ten thousand years is a feeble symbol to express the healthfulness and stedfastness of her character. Dickens has no indication of such a nature throughout his manifold delineations of human character.

Dickens, however, has had numerous predecessors, contemporaries, and successors, in his sensational treatment of man. Among these we are sorry that we cannot help including Professor Wilson. His Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life, Trials of Margaret Lindsay, &c., are decidedly of this description; they are, moreover, so thoroughly wanting in a true knowledge of human life and nature, that they resolve themselves into a tissue of mawkish sentimentalism too glaring even to meet the taste of childhood. We should not have referred to these literary escapades of the Professor but for his editor inserting in the present volume a tale characterised by all the defects of the sensational and thunder and lightning schools. It is entitled A Tale of Expiation, and is not only absurdly improbable, but it contains no redeeming elements to entitle it to a place among Wilson's remains. We have merely noticed it here as a very remarkable and purespecimen of the sensational school of novel literature. But the fame of Wilson does not rest on such a basis; we shall anon speak to his genuine merits, which are amply displayed in the volume before us.

But, even in the palmy days of *Blackwood*, there were writers belonging to a different class from the merely ideal or sensational schools of literature. At this period, religious scepticism prevailed to such an extent, that the rising generation of thinkers could hardly now believe in its wide-spread ramifications, and this was chiefly occasioned by the intolerance and persecuting spirit of the pseudo-religious party. Looking back through the long vista of thirty years, it now appears somewhat extraordinary that any set of men should have attempted to support or defend Divine truth by pains and penalties, as if true religion required extraneous or inbrought aid of any kind. Since that period, Christianity has been left to the influence of its own catholic spirit, and if it has not kindled an enduring interest in every human heart, it has at least generated a respect for religious sentiment that has driven scepticism from the field. Scepticism in religion does not now shew itself in its former gross and degrading aspects. But the same description and order of mind which nursed and cherished religious scepticism still exists and manifests itself as powerfully and ingeniously in other directions. Though scepticism has changed its objects, it is still as false and withering in its spirit. From time immemorial we have had a philosophy that teaches the unhealthy doctrine that the highest of man's actions are based upon self-love and selfishness, and in these modern days we have the same doctrines reduced to the illustrated form. Thackeray is at present at the head of the sceptical school of novel literature in England. Although he is not deficient in a genuine knowledge of the world and of the true nature and constitution of man, yet throughout his novels he invests cunning and selfishness with all the power

of guiding and directing society. According to Thackeray, cunning and selfishness are all but uniformly crowned with success, while benevolence, honour, and truthfulness shrink into obscure corners, and have no influence in society. How any writer could give up his endeavours to illustrate so false a view of society, we cannot well imagine, but it is still more wonderful that he should have a large body of followers and admirers. But the sceptical form of mind probably still exists to a greater extent than most men are inclined to believe, and many are led away by the ingenious manner in which Thackeray unfolds his doctrines. But even contemporary with Professor Wilson, we had a host of writers of the sceptical school. Most of these have long since disappeared before a more healthy literature. Among these, John Lockhart, late of the *Quarterly*, was the foremost. Without a particle of the genial spirit of Wilson, and with as slender an amount of native truthfulness as ever belonged to the literary character, he contrived to earn a reputation in literature which has not even yet gone down. With a classical elegance of diction and a remarkable power of sarcasm, Lockhart played the part of a great literary conjuror. The poet, historian, and novelist of his day, all equally feared the gall and bitterness and power of his invective. He was incapable of recognising the good or the true in anything. His cue lay in pointing out the feebleness, folly, and trashiness of everything that came within the field of view of his scowling sarcastic eye. Though as a Scottish advocate, while at the bar, he would hesitate and stutter in craving a *cessio bonorum* for some miserable bankrupt, yet with his pen he would boldly and unhesitatingly propound and support the most atrociously obnoxious opinions, and sneeringly defy all opposition. His "Life of Burns" is but a cold, ungenial piece of literary patchwork, and all else that he has done is distinguished more for its sarcastic bitterness than for its truth. In his "Life of Scott," even, where there was no occasion and but little opportunity of being acrimonious, he vomits forth his bile unsparingly against poor Constable, the publisher, and Ballantyne, the printer; but his misrepresentations were speedily and triumphantly rebutted by a quiet and subdued statement of the true facts by the relatives of these gentlemen, and the memory of Sir Walter Scott made to suffer thereby. Thus Lockhart, in the worst of all senses, was a sceptic, and even those of his writings that possess a comparatively permanent interest, will speedily be forgotten from their lack of the generous and truthful elements. Accordingly, the dark and occasionally demon-like characters in his Adam Blair, Matthew Wald, and Reginald Dalton, are drawn by the hand of a master, while his moral portraits, that stand side by side, are thin, feeble, and imperfect, as from the hand of untutored boyhood, or from a spirit in whom the kindlier sympathies of our nature were never wakened.

We have dwelt thus long on this threefold classification of modern literature, that we may point out to our readers more clearly the

precise place occupied by Professor Wilson. In his novels it is on all hands admitted, even by his warmest friends, that Wilson evinced a mawkish sentimentalism that completely unfitted him for excelling as a novelist. In fact the Professor in this sphere almost sunk below the French novel and romance school of last century; and accordingly, with the slight exception that we have mentioned, we are glad to find that his editor has not yet reproduced any of these works. It is but justice to his memory to allow them to remain in the undisturbed oblivion to which the reading public has long since consigned them. But the question arises, Does none of this mawking, sentimental, or sensational spirit, adhere to the rest of Wilson's productions? Does it not appear in his poetry? Does it not shine strongly through his criticism? Nay, does it not form both the warp and woof of the volumes before us?

It is certainly easier to put these questions than to answer them. Of Wilson's poetry we have to speak at a future period, on its republication; of his essays and criticisms we have spoken already; and from the inequality of these productions we have pronounced on them variously. At distant intervals the Professor appears to be actuated by a fine philosophical spirit of discrimination. We then descry in him not only all the culture of a highly educated mind, but the penetrating insight of a truth-seeing spirit. We feel impressed with the idea that Professor Wilson was guided more in his views by the eternal principles of truth, than by the conventional feelings and opinions of the world. In his "Noctes," there was at intervals a fine philosophic train of thought; at other times, they were as light, gay, frivolous, and ephemeral as the thing could well be. In his "Essay on Wordsworth," there is probably as thorough a philosophic spirit brought to bear on the subject as has been evinced since the appearance of the poet. His remarks are not only quiet, calm, and dignified, but they are characterised by a penetrating insight into Wordsworth's true nature; and he, moreover, points out the distinguishing place he occupies among modern poets. Still, even in this case, the criticism is more a delineation of Wordsworth's peculiarities, in which he evolves the true and characteristic spirit of the poet, than an analysis of his poetry from a high philosophical stand-point; but the result is the same, for he unfolds, in a most masterly fashion, the entire spirit and tendency of his works. Wilson's essay on the "Genius and Character of Burns," does not truly touch the subject, for it is only an unduly prolonged description of the poet's works. It is certainly no analysis of the poet's character. Then, again, to confirm our matured impression of the Professor's character as a thinker, we find him classing as true poets such writers as Southey, Rogers, Bowles, and a long list of others, whose very memories have long since dropped from public view. All this betrays the undeniable fact that the Professor is too much influenced by the conventional spirit of the day, and that he is somewhat wanting in that permanent and enduring form of thinking that, overlook-

ing all conventionalism, regards as the only true poets those memorable spirits who have opened up the laws of nature and their harmonies, and illustrated these by powerful delineations of the corresponding phenomena. Human feelings and events, too, have ever formed the staple subject-matter of poetry; but human feelings and events must always be delineated in harmony with the established laws of the human mind, and the poet that can fix and determine these appears only at distant intervals. Wilson himself, in a paper (in the first volume of the "Recreations") on poetry, states that the present century has not produced a great poem, although it has produced a host of true poets. But the question recurs, What does a great poem consist in? If it is to be resolved into a narrative embodying merely a series of events, all bearing upon the evolution of some great fact, then the salient and striking features of history themselves are poetry. No. Poetry is more than this, for the true poet has not only to unfold the mental framework of every character he delineates, but he has to sustain his thought throughout with a corresponding delineation of character. He must develope the deepest laws of every individual he touches. Now, hardly any poet of ancient or modern times realises this in a large or continuous effort. The "Iliad" of Homer is far from realising it. In the "Episodes" chiefly have we the genuine ideals of the poet's spirit. The narrative, for pages and pages, is wiredrawn, heavy, spiritless, and tiresome beyond measure. All the true poetry in the largest poem ever written could be condensed into a small compass. It is altogether different with modern poetry. Like the railway and the electric telegraph, that annihilates time and space, the modern poet puts aside or annihilates events. He now deems them unnecessary for his purpose, and hangs the largest thoughts upon the most trifling incidents. This, after all, is following closer the leading strings of nature, for as much high character and true feeling may be associated with the most insignificant and commonplace incidents, as with the most stirring and striking historical event. There is more true poetry in a few of Burns' finest lyrics than in all the works of the Roman poets. The same may be said of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Campbell, and a host of others. Thus, it is the mission of the modern poet to compress his Iliad into a nutshell, and to suspend his largest and most penetrating thoughts upon the slenderest materials. It is not largeness of bulk or quantity that mankind now demand in poetry; it is the subtlety and intensity quality. Hence we would maintain, in opposition to the Professor, that although the present century has not produced a great poem, in the sense that the "Iliad" is a great poem, yet it has produced innumerable great poems, teeming with the profoundest and truest thought and feeling, and that these will and must live as long as the language in which they are written.

But the more salient and striking features of the present volumes, consist of what may be termed the Outdoor Recreations of Christopher North. Although his indoor meditations and lucubrations possess their own peculiar interest, still we uniformly find that Christopher

is more at home when he is *in propria persona* in immediate contact with nature. His descriptions occasionally have no parallel in the language. Let him speak, however, for himself:—

"But the Day of Days arrives at last, when the schoolboy, or rather the college boy, returning to his rural vacation (for in Scotland college winters tread close, too close on the heels of academies), has a gun—a gun in a case—a double-barrel too—of his own—and is provided with a license, probably without any other qualification than that of hit or miss. On some portentous morning he effulges with the sun in velveteen jacket and breeches of the same—many-buttoned gaiters, and an unkerchiefed throat. 'Tis the fourteenth of September, and lo! a pointer at his heels —Ponto, of course—a game-bag like a beggar's wallet at his side—destined to be at eve as full of charity—and all the paraphernalia of an accomplished sportsman. Proud were she to see the sight, would be the "mother that bore him;" the heart of that old sportsman, his daddy, would sing for joy! The chained mastiff in the yard yowls his admiration, the servant lasses uplift the paneof their garret, and with suddenly withdrawn blushes, titter their delight in their rich paper curls and pure night-clothes. Rab Roger, who has been cleaning out the barn, comes forth to partake of the caulker; and away go the foot-steps of the old poacher and his pupil through the autumnal rime, off to the uplands, where—for it is one of the earliest of harvests—there is scarcely a single acre of standing corn. The turnip fields are bright green with hope and expectation—and coveys are couching on lazy beds beneath the potatoe-shaw. Every high hedge, ditch-guarded on either side, shelters its own brood—imagination hears the whirr shaking the dew drops from the broom on the brae—and first one bird and then another and then the remaining number, in itself no contemptible covey, seems to fancy's ear to spring single, or in clouds, from the coppice brushwood with here and there an intercepting standard tree.

Poor Ponto is much to be pitied. Either having a cold in his nose, or having ante-breakfasted by stealth on a red-herring, he can scent nothing short of a badger, and, every other field, he starts in horror, shame, and amazement, to hear himself, without having attended to his points, enclosed in a whirring covey. He is still duly taken between those inexorable knees; out comes the speck-and-span new dog-whip, heavy enough for a horse; and the yowl of the patient is heard over the whole parish. Mothers press their yet unchastised infants to their breasts; and the schoolmaster, fastening a knowing eye on dunce and neerdoweel, holds up, in silent warning, the terror of the tawse. Frequent flogging will cow the spirit of the best man and dog in Britain. Ponto travels now in fear and trembling but a few yards from his tyrant's feet, till rousing himself to the sudden scent of something smelling strongly, he draws slowly and beautifully, and

"There fixed a perfect semicircle stands."

Up runs the Tyro ready-cocked, and, in his eagerness, stumbling among the stubble, when hark and lo! the gabble of grey goslings, and the bill-protruded hiss of goose and gander! Bang goes the right-hand barrel at Ponto, who now thinks it high time to be off to the tune of 'owre the hills and far awa',' while the young gentleman, half-ashamed and half-incensed, half-glad and half-sorry, discharges the left-hand barrel, with a highly improper curse, at the father of the feathered family before him who receives the shot like a ball in his breast, throws a somerset quite surprising for a bird of his usual habits, and, after biting the dust with his

bill and thumping it with his bottom, breathes an eternal farewell to this sublunary scene—and leaves himself to be paid for at the rate of eighteenpence a pound to his justly irritated owner, on whose farm he had led a long and not only harmless, but honourable and useful life."

Again, farther on, the Professor continues in the following admirable strain :—

Not a boy in the school had a game certificate—or, as it was called in the parish—"a leeshance." Nor, for a year or two, was such a permit necessary; as we confined ourselves most exclusively to sparrows. Not that we had any personal animosity to the sparrow individually—on the contrary we loved him, and had a tame one—a fellow of infinite fancy—with comb and wattels of crimson cloth like a gamecock. But there numbers, without number numberless, seemed to justify the humanest of boys in killing any quantity of sprauchs. Why, they would sometimes settle on the clipped half-thorn and half-beech hedge of the Manse garden in myriads midge-like; and then out any two of us, whose day it happened to be, used to sally with Muckle-mou'd Meg and the Lang Gun, charged two hands and a finger; and, with a loud shout, startling them from their roost like the sudden casting of a swarm of bees, we let drive into the whirr—a shower of feathers was instantly seen swimming in the air, and flower-bed and onion-bed covered with scores of mortally wounded old cocks with black heads, old hens with brown, and the pride of the eaves laid low before their first crop of pease! Never was there such a parish for sparrows. You had but to fling a stone into any stack-yard, and up rose a sprauch shower. The thatch of every cottage was drilled by them like honey-combs. House spouts were of no use in rainy weather—for they were all choked up by sprauch nests. At each particular barn-door, when the farmers were at work, you might have thought you saw the entire sparrow population of the parish. Seldom a Sabbath, during pairing, building, breeding, nursing, and training season, could you hear a single syllable of the sermon for their sakes, all a-huddle and a-chirp in the belfry and among the old loose slates. On every stercoraceous deposit on coach, cart, or bridle road, they were busy on grain and pulse; and, in spite of cur and cat, legions embrowned every cottage garden. Emigration itself in many million families would have left no perceptible void; and the inexterminable multitude would have laughed at the plague.

The other small birds of the parish began to feel their security from our shot, and sung their best, unscared on hedge, bush, and tree. Perhaps, too, for sake of their own sweet strains, we spared the lyrists of Scotland the linnet and the lark, the one in the yellow broom, the other beneath the rosy cloud—while there was ever a sevenfold red shield before Robin's breast whether flitting silent as a falling leaf or trilling his autumnal lay on the rigging or pointed gable-end of barn or byre. Now and then the large bunting, conspicuous on a top-twig, and proud of his rustic psalmody, tempted his own doom—or the cunning stone-chat, glancing about the old dykes, usually shot at in vain—or yellow-hammer, under the ban of national superstition, with a drop of the devil's blood beneath his pretty crest, pretty in spite of that cruel creed—or green-finch, too rich in plumage for his poorer song—or shilfa, the beautiful nest builder shivering his white-plumed wings in shade and sunshine, in joy the most rapturous, in grief the most despairing of all the creatures of the air—or redpole, balanced on the down of the thistle or flower of the bunweed on the old clovery lea—or happly twice seen in a season, the very goldfinch himself, a radiant

and gorgeous spirit brought on the breeze from afar, and worthy, if only slightly wounded, of being enclosed within a silver cage from Fairy Land.

But we waxed more ambitious as we grew old—and then woe to the rookery on the elm tree grove! Down dropt the dark denizens in dozens, rebounding with a thud and a skraigh from the velvet moss, which under that umbrage formed firm floor for Titania's feet—while others kept dangling dead or dying by the claws, cheating the crusted pie, and all the blue skies above were intercepted by cawing clouds of distracted parents, now dipping down in despair almost within shot, and now as if sick of this world, soaring away up into the very heavens, and disappearing to return no more—till sunset should bring silence, and the night air roll off the horrid smell of sulphur from the desolated bowers; and then indeed would they come all flying back upon their strong instinct, like black-sailed barks before the wind, some from the depths of far-off fir-woods, where they had lain quaking at the ceaseless cannonade, some from the furrows of the new brairded fields aloof on the uplands, some from deep dell close at hand, and some from the middle of the moorish wilderness."

But were we to transfer to our pages all the fine delineations of boyhood and early manhood, given in the Recreations, we would fill up our Journal for months to come. In this department of his Recreations, Professor Wilson evinces so much spirit, and so genuine a love for nature, that he appears actually to be living his life over again. His descriptions are the freshest and raciest pictures of nature we have ever read. His fondness for all athletic and manly exercises, passes all bounds, and his love of all outdoor sports is as genuine as his delineations are true and effective. But we must draw to a close, and in selecting another passage, as illustrative of the Professor's style and manner of thinking in his higher moods, we cannot refrain giving that on Coleridge as a talker. We give it entire:—

"Let the dullest clod that ever vegetated, provided only he be alive and hear, be shut up in a room with Coleridge, or in a wood, and subjected for a few minutes to the ethereal influence of that wonderful man's monologue, and he will begin to believe himself a poet. The barren wilderness may not blossom like the rose, but it will seem, or rather feel to do so, under the lustre of an imagination exhaustless as the sun. You may have seen perhaps rocks suddenly so glorified by sunlight with colours manifold that the bees seek them, deluded by the show of flowers. The sun, you know, does not always show his orb even in the daytime—and people are often ignorant of his place in the firmament. But he keeps shining away at his leisure, as you would know were he to suffer eclipse. Perhaps he—the sun—is at no other time a more delightful luminary then when he is pleased to dispense his influence through a general haze, or mist—softening all the day till meridian is almost like the afternoon, and the grove, anticipating gloaming, bursts into 'dance and minstrelsy' ere the god go down into the sea. Clouds too become him well—whether thin and fleecy and braided, or piled up all round about him castle-wise and cathedral-fashion, to say nothing of temples and other metropolitan structures; nor is it reasonable to find fault with him, when, as naked as the hour he was born, 'he flames on the forehead of the morning sky.' The grandeur too of his appearance on setting, has become quite proverbial. Now in all this he resembles Coleridge. It is easy to talk—not very difficult

to speechify—hard to speak; but to discourse is a gift rarely bestowed by Heaven on mortal man. Coleridge has it in perfection. While he is discoursing, the world loses all its commonplaces, and you and your wife imagine yourself Adam and Eve listening to the affable archangel Raphael in the Garden of Eden. You would no more dream of wishing him to be mute for a while, than you would a river that 'imposes silence with a stilly sound.' Whether you understand two consecutive sentences, we shall not stop too curiously to inquire; but you do something better, you feel the whole just like any other divine music. And 'tis your own fault if you do not

'A wiser and a better man arise to-morrow's morn.'

Reason is said to be one faculty, and Imagination another—but there cannot be a grosser mistake; they are one and indivisable; only in most cases they live like cat and dog, in mutual worrying, or happily sue for a divorce; whereas in the case of Coleridge they are one spirit as well as one flesh, and keep billing and cooing in a perpetual honeymoon. Then his mind is learned in all the learning of the Egyptians, as well as the Greeks and Romans; and though we have heard simpletons say that he knows nothing of science, we have heard him on chemistry puzzle Sir Humphrey Davy—and prove to his own entire satisfaction, that Leibnitz and Newton, though good men, were but indifferent astronomers. Besides, he thinks nothing of inventing a new science, with a complete nomenclature, in a twinkling—and should you seem sluggish of apprehension, he endows you with an additional sense or two, over and above the usual seven, till you are no longer at a loss, be it even to scent the music of fragrance, or to hear the smell of a balmy piece of poetry. All the faculties, both of soul and sense, seem amicably to interchange their functions and their provinces; and you fear not that the dream may dissolve, persuaded that you are in a future state of permanent enjoyment. Nor are we now using any exaggeration; for if you will but think how unutterably dull are all the ordinary sayings and doings of this life, spent as it is with ordinary people, you may imagine how in sweet delirium you may be robbed of yourself by a seraphic tongue that has fed since first it lisped on "honey-dew," and by lips that have "breathed the air of Paradise," and learned a seraphic language, which, all the while that it is English, is as grand as Greek and as soft as Italian. We only know this, that Coleridge is the alchymist that in his crucible melts down hours to moments—and lo! diamonds sprinkled on a plate of gold.

What a world would this be were all its inhabitants to fiddle like Paganini, ride like Ducrow, discourse like Coleridge, and do everything else in a style of equal perfection! But pray, how does the man write poetry with a pen upon paper, who thus is perpetually pouring it from his inspired lips? Read "The Ancient Mariner," "The Nightingale," and "Genevieve." In the first, you shudder at the superstition of the sea—in the second, you thrill with the melodies of the woods—in the third, earth is like heaven;—for you are made to feel that

'All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of Love,
And feed his sacred flame!'

Has Coleridge, then, ever written a Great Poem? No; for besides the Regions of the Fair, the Wild, and the Wonderful, there is another up to which his wing might not soar; though the plumes are strong as soft. But why should he who loveth to take "the wings of a dove that he may

flee away" to the bosom of beauty, though there never for a moment to be at rest—why should he, like an eagle, soar into the storms that roll above this visible diurnal sphere in peals of perpetual thunder?"

We have now recently had re-dished up for us the best works of our modern critics; and although but a few years have elapsed since their appearance, one and all of them are already fast receding into oblivion. The reviews and essays of Jeffrey, Macaulay, Thomas Carlyle, and others, exerted a temporary and fleeting interest, but none of them seems to contain a sufficient amount of far-reaching thought or wisdom to float them down the stream of time, even to the next generation. Mankind do not care merely for the opinions of Jeffrey, Macaulay, or Thomas Carlyle, unless they are calculated to make them wiser and better fitted for examining man and nature with their own eyes. None of these writers fulfil this requirement. Jeffrey, though full of fancy, and sufficiently nimble, is too conventional, pragmatical, and narrow in his range of view. Macaulay, though vigorous after a fashion, is too pictorial and superficial; and Thomas Carlyle, though penetrating and far-seeing, looks only in a long narrow vista, and cannot regard any single subject in its entirety. He sees only the separate parts, never for one instant does he embrace the whole in his field of view. Therefore is he as little to be depended upon as the most superficial of his contemporaries in his general conclusions. The mere critic is thus essentially an ephemeral writer, his work generally is only for the day, month, or year in which it is produced. It wants the universality of thought of a production that is destined to last. It is essentially of no farther use after it is read, for there is but little in it to furnish healthy and nourishing food for the human soul. But the question remains, Are these somewhat voluminous works of Professor Wilson to share a similar fate with those of his compeers? Are none of them destined to take a permanent place in English literature, and afford the Professor an enduring niche in the temple of fame? There is much that is vigorous and truth breathing in the Professor's Critical Essays, and there is still a large amount of true life and feeling in these, his Recreations. But that either of them contains that amount of genuine thought and truth that is necessary to sustain them down to another generation, is what we should rather demur to. A century hence they may be peeped into by the curious critic, for the sake of instituting a comparison between them and the criticism of the day,—thus merely making use of them as milestones to mark man's onward progress in the country of thought. But if any of them are read at all, it will be his Recreations, for they will always be interesting and instructive, as forming a picture of Scottish recreations and manners in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Appointment.—The Queen has been pleased to appoint the Rev. George Sprott to be Chaplain of the Scots Kirk at Kandy in the Island of Ceylon.

Trinity College Church.—On Tuesday the 22d ult., the Town Council of Edinburgh issued a presentation to the New Church and Parish in favour of the Rev. Mr Smith of Lauder.

Presentation.—The Rev. James C. M'Clure, assistant Minister at Stewarton, has been presented by Alexander Crombie, Esq. of Thornton, to the church and parish of Marykirk, in the Presbytery of Fordoun and County of Kincardine, vacant by the death of the late Rev. Alex. C. Low, late Minister thereof.

Presentation.—The Earl of Fife has issued a presentation to the church and parish of Rothiemay, in favour of the Rev. Robert Moir, presently Minister of Careston, Presbytery of Brechin.

Greyfriars' Church, Aberdeen.—The Town Council of Aberdeen, at a Meeting, unanimously agreed to present the Rev. James Smith of Ladhope, in the Presbytery of Selkirk, to the charge of Greyfriars' Church and Parish.

Newton Parish Church.—It has been unanimously resolved that a presentation to the parish of Newton-on-Ayr, by the delegates, should be issued in favour of the Rev. Robert Wallace, Edinburgh.

Ordinations, Inductions, &c.—The Presbytery of Kirkcaldy met and ordained Mr Low to be Minister of the Church at Thornton.

Ballingray.—The Rev. Mr Penuel was inducted into the Church of Ballingray.

Balmerino.—The Parishioners of Balmerino have agreed to recommend the Rev. Mr Campbell, assistant to the Rev. R. H. Stevenson, St George's, Edinburgh, for the church and parish of Balmerino, vacant by the death of the Rev. John Thomson.

Selkirk.—The Presbytery of Selkirk met in the Parish Church, and ordained and inducted the Rev. James Farquharson, to the church and parish of Selkirk.

Kilmalcolm.—The Rev. A. Leck, of Martyrs' Church, Glasgow, has been presented by the Patron, Dr Brown, to the parish of Kilmalcolm. This is the third presentation to this parish.

Died, at the Manse of Cabrack, on the 20th ult., the Rev. Harry Leith of Balcairn, Minister of Rothiemay.

MACPHAIL'S

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THE ATROCITIES IN INDIA—THEIR CAUSE AND CURE.

THE Word of God is ever and anon receiving fresh striking illustrations. Events are ever occuring which show that passages which we had been regarding as to some degree figurative, as only generally true, now that the circumstances to which they originally applied no longer exist, are just as strictly correct as ever. What a demonstration does the state of matters in India at the present time form that "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." How convincingly does it show that time and civilization will never by themselves greatly soften the fell passions of humanity, and that Christianity is entitled to the credit of any abatement of the ferocity of war which has taken place. Nebuchadnezzar's atrocities have been far surpassed by those of Nena Sahib; and neither Chaldean nor Roman conquerors of Jerusalem were more merciless than those who have risen up against our countrymen in the present day. Speaking of this warfare as a whole, it is an extremely humiliating one. No negotiations with a view to prevent preceded it. No terms were offered, and no time for escape allowed, even to those who could make no resistance. Quite as unexpectedly as the elements sometimes burst into conflict in Hindostan have those—whom we were deeming, if not reconciled to our rule, at least broken to it—assumed the attitude of rebellion. Marks of confidence have had no influence to withhold from treachery. While the officer was appealing to the men whom he had refused to believe could be corrupted—whom he had led in the battle and in the game—to show themselves mindful of a soldier's obedience—he has received his answer in a death wound. To tell him that his authority was at an end, but that he might go with his life and his sword, has been rare devotion. The most touching appeals to mercy have made no impression. The woman and the child, from whose escape no after trouble was to be

apprehended, who could not turn round and assail when they had joined others or gained a strong position, have been granted as little quarter as the fighting man who scorned to seek it. The endeavour has been to make the slaughter indiscriminating and total: and it has been to a lamentable degree successful: few comparatively have escaped to tell of the carnage they had witnessed and the hardships they had sustained.

But while, as a whole, the war has been ruthless beyond any that Christian nations wage, there have been actions so peculiarly atrocious as to fasten the recollection especially on them. The massacre of Cawnpore casts all the other instances of breach of faith and of ruthlessness into the shade. The circumstances hardly need recal: all have heard of them: and none who have heard will soon forget them. The Nena Sahib—after protestations of fidelity which made some look to him as their protector when all other refuge failed, threw off the mask when he thought a fit time had come—began by shooting about 100 ladies and children who were flying from Futteyghur, and then laid seige to Cawnpore. The defence was gallant for twenty days; but then a capitulation became a matter of necessity—the provisions being exhausted, and the numbers and material of warfare so greatly in favour of the enemy. His own terms were accepted. The place was to be vacated; the treasure and ammunition given up, but the soldiers with the women and children were to be allowed to go to Allahabad in safety. The Rajah swore to observe these conditions. He furnished boats to cross the Ganges, and aided in the embarkation; but forthwith he opened fire upon them. In vain did they hasten to the other side. There cavalry were belly-deep in the river to hew them down, and between the two assailing parties 400 fell. But this was only the first act of the tragedy. About 100 men and 150 women and children were taken alive. The men received no respite, they were forthwith bound, dispatched, and thrown into a ditch. Yet happier they than those they left to bewail them. A few days of marching, to which apprehension for the prisoners imparted wonderful swiftness, brought up the rescuing forces of Havelock; but alas! to find that, after all their efforts, they were too late—that there was no survivor among all these mothers and babes—that the whole lay in a ghastly heap—stripped, headless, and mangled—in the well of the court-yard where they had been butchered, and which was yet covered to the depth of two inches with their blood. Perhaps there is not in history a blacker deed than this. The massacre of Glencoe hardly serves for a comparison. It may, perhaps, equal this in deceitfulness, but its victims were not a sixth part so many. We must go back, then, to more barbarous periods of our history than that of Glencoe; to the time when clan sought to exterminate clan, when the Grants and the Gordons made two hundred children of the rival clan of Farquharson orphans in one day. Nay, even that detestable butchery is wanting in the horrors of Cawnpore: the children of the clan were spared, and afterwards cared for in a fashion by the avengers. We must

rather, therefore, seek a parallel in the suffocation of the whole inhabitants of Eigg, to the number of about two hundred, by Macleod of Skye, in the cavern wherein they had sought refuge from his ferocity. Nay, since there were some extenuating considerations even here, we must turn again to former wars with India for a fitting comparison. We must find the prototype of Nena Sahib in Surajah Dowlah the Nabob, who at the point of the sword propelled 146 English prisoners of war into the Black Hole of Calcutta; a place of only 20 feet square, and therefore too scant for the comfortable accommodation of one individual in such a climate; and then composed himself to a sleep which his attendants, in answer to the entreaties and shrieks and struggles of the frantic prisoners, said they dared not to disturb; and from which he did not arouse himself until the whole, except 23, perished in their agonies. He is the likest we remember to this countryman of his: to whom already the murder of almost 1000 of our countrymen is imputed; and who is not yet satiated: and, we shudder to add, not yet muzzled; but now ravining round Lucknow where another 1000, and these principally women and children, will, unless the Lord of Hosts interpose, be immediately at his mercy.

Surely the place where such deeds are done is a habitation of cruelty! and Bengal is full of such places just now. It is larger and more populous than Great Britain, but over its length and breadth are to be found cities which will long be associated in our recollections with Cawnpore; in which have been perpetrated deeds which, but for its still more horrid deed, would have been accounted the most horrible that a soldiery, fancying themselves superior to their conquerors, and having scarcely any sense of responsibility to a higher Being than man, can commit.

What is the explanation of this state of matters? Is it merely an expression of the resentment and the hatred which subjugated tribes entertain towards their conquerors for generations—a hatred which a strong arm may smother, but which it requires manifold and high and long-continued benefits to extinguish? We would regard it as that to a considerable degree. It should not be forgotten that we have taken possession of India by force; that originally we asked only a narrow footing there for purposes of trade; that our process of annexation has been so rapid that in one century we have made ourselves masters of our present immense empire of 837,412 square miles and 132,000,000 souls: and that the reason of the annexation has in many instances been very slender. No doubt it has been for the advantage of the people to be put under British rule. Not without many particular acts, and even an entire policy at times, which are incapable of defence, it has after all been milder than that of their native princes, and more favourable to the improvement of their estate. But it is not reasonable to expect them to be as satisfied of this as we are; or that, if they were, the conviction should have as yet reconciled them to the loss of independence. It appeared, no doubt, to Edward I. and his subjects that it would be for the advantage of

Scotland to be subject to England; but though that was perhaps the correct view, our brave ancestors never could be brought to take it. We now are sensible that it was for the great good of both countries to be united: but it is not yet very long since that conviction became general. Nor can it be maintained that we have always been considerate of the interests of the conquered in India. The yoke has been lightened as the bearers became more patient; but for a time it was both very irritating and very crushing. There are periods of misgovernment in the history of India, deeds of rapacity and deeds of oppression, for which no candid writer does more than plead one or two extenuating circumstances. Who denies that under the Governor-Generalship—say of Mr Vansittart—the servants of the Company made it their only object to wring money from the natives? Or who justifies the hiring out of the British army by Mr Hastings to that disgrace even of Mahommedan usurpers—Sujah Dowlah—just in order that therewith he might appropriate a State which, because far better governed and cultivated than any other in India, and the home of far braver men, had the best right to our protection—we mean that of Rohilcund? When we say that the Governor-Generals who did more than any others to found and build up our Indian empire—Lord Clive and Warren Hastings—both committed acts which, notwithstanding all their great services, brought them to trial before the British Parliament, we give enough of proof that our rule of India has not been of unmingled benefit to the natives.

The supposition, then, that this rebellion is to be attributed in part to an innate dislike of foreign domination, and especially to a desire in the Mahommedan portion of the population to regain their former baneful rule, may be correct enough. But it is only a very partial explanation: because no people have less of the natural love of independence than the Bengalees. One who knows them well—Macaulay—says that perhaps there never was a people better fitted by nature or by habit to bear a foreign yoke than the Bengalees. And another reason for pronouncing the explanation inadequate, is, that the rising up in arms is not of the people at large, but of a soldiery, swollen with the idea of its superiority above the other castes, and which, of all the four, has the least ground of complaint against our rule.

Are we then to consider the atrocity of this war merely as the general characteristic of *heathen* warfare? No doubt heathen warfare is much more ferocious than where the combatants are Christian. It is to the praise of Christianity that it not only makes war less frequent than before its adoption; but that it mitigates its horrors when it does break out. One of its most noticeable effects upon tribes brought to embrace it, is to heal their animosities, to make them patient of many of the offences for which they were wont to run to their weapons; and to render them somewhat more humane and honourable when hostilities do prevail. But there is even more than the ordinary cruelty of heathen warfare in this. It is not rage alone that is let loose, but every other evil passion. There is more of

treachery than barbarians in general display when meditating injury, and more refinement of cruelty in the hour of mastery, and a wider spread of licentiousness. We attribute the surpassing excesses of this war to the surpassing *wickedness of the religion* of the people.

A very general acquaintance with the religion of India will greatly lessen the surprise at the present doings there. Whether we speak of Mahometanism or Hindooism we may say that lust and cruelty are at once their very virtues here and rewards hereafter. The first acknowledges no other reason for tolerating the professors of another faith than necessity; it employs no other instrument of conversion than the sword or grinding oppression, and it promises no higher enjoyments in its paradise for the extermination of the infidels, or aught else it pronounces meritorious, than sensual gratification; and, as a consequence, it whets every passion which war evokes. And yet it is an improvement upon Hindooism. In comparison of the deities of the Hindoos, Mahomet was merciful; and in comparison of the Shasters, the Koran is sanctifying. Among the hundred and thirty millions of India's gods there is not one virtuous; and in proportion as they stand high in the pantheon they are infamous. Brahma, who occupies the loftiest place, is scandalously wicked in every respect. Sir William Jones informs us that Krishna, the darling god of the women of India, and the object of enthusiastic worship to the majority of the Bengalees, is a murderer, a liar, and a thief; and that his thefts, wars, and adulteries, make his history one uninterrupted series of crimes. Doorga, the wife of one of the three highest, is represented as the very incarnation of ferocity: as having two dead bodies for ear-rings, and a necklace of skulls; as delighting in human sacrifices, and in the self-tortures of worshippers who stop short of utter immolation. Juggernaut is another favourite idol, and Molock of Scripture was not a more grim or vile. Nor are the blots in the character of the deities redeemed by virtues. They are not a mixture of good and bad; and it is not for the better part that they are held up to be worshipped and imitated. It is by reciting nothing regarding them save their quarrels and their crimes that the priests extol them at the public festivities; and the services they ask for them are licentious orgies, and self-inflicted tortures, or utter destruction of life. If from the temple, where everything he sees is designed to contaminate, the Hindoo turn to his sacred books, he only finds what is still more depraving than the public worship. It gives no idea of these to say that they are unimproving: they are most mischievous. They bury the few precepts to moral duties which they contain beneath the mass of those which make ceremonies—frivolous and cruel—of far greater merit than morality. They encourage falsehood and revenge; and they abound in passages so impure that their own Brahmins have been suffused with shame when translating them to Europeans. But more pernicious still than either the deities or the Shasters are the priests of India. Of all the castes they are the worst. In them all the national vices are intensified. Their selfishness, inhumanity, and untruthfulness, are proverbial. One who is rather indul-

gent than censorious to them—the Abbé Dubois—thus describes them: "The Brahmin lives but for himself. Bred in the belief that the whole world is his debtor, and that he himself is called upon for no return, he conducts himself in every circumstance of his life with the most absolute selfishness. The feelings of commiseration and pity, as far as respects the sufferings of others, never enter into his heart. He will see an unhappy being perish on the road, or even at his own gate, if belonging to another caste, and will not stir to help him to a drop of water though it were to save his life;" and, again, "It is not possible to describe a Brahmin better than to say he is an ant's nest of lies and impostures. All Hindoos are expert in disguising the truth, but there is nothing in which the caste of Brahmin so much surpasses them all as in the art of lying. It has taken so deep a root among them that, so far from blushing when detected in it, many of them make it their boast."

Now, with such objects of worship, such religious books, and such priests, is it wonderful that the people of India are conducting themselves as at present? Is it wonderful that, when war has let them loose from the restraints maintained in times of peace, they should act out those principles which their religion fosters and applauds? It teaches them that deceit and naked falsehood are no sins: it has made them practise these towards each other in daily transactions, and justify them; —is it strange then that they should be treacherous to us? It hath taught them that women are unworthy of the least consideration; it never mentions them save with epithets of contempt and abuse; it has made them degrade those of their own country in every possible way; —is it surprising, then, that they show themselves devoid of tenderness to ours? Their religion extinguishes natural affection towards each other. If the mother do not destroy her infant, if the children do not compel the parent to some mode of immolation so soon as age unfits for work, if the sick or hurt are not carried to the sacred rivers and drowned at once, or left upon the banks to be roasted to death or devoured, it is not because the religion has departed from these requirements, but because British law has interdicted compliance with the requirement. Nay, more; this religion has made its subject cruel to himself. That is the most meritorious rite which is the most torturing: the Fakeer is the holiest man just because his attitudes are the most painful, and his body the most filthy; and that the surest path to happiness which is the most incarnadined. And hence it is not only when the tempest of war careers over India that it is full of cruelty. The cruelty then attracts our notice more, because our countrymen and kindred are its victims; but even in peace it prevails in far more forms than has been mentioned; and this because the very result which the religion of India proposes.

What then is to be done? Are we to abandon India, or are we to trust only to the sword to hold it and to improve it? The first thing is to surpress the mutiny. It were only to leave the unhappy people to turn their weapons against each other; it were only to give their baneful religion increased power for evil, for Britain to surrender her

sway. Perhaps it may not be enough to assert her mastery. Perhaps the future well-being of the people will be best consulted by teaching them through bitter experience that they will not be allowed to violate oaths, and burn premises, and massacre with impunity. But, at the same time, justice should be tempered with mercy. It is not good for us to be insisting that in the day of victory there should be no voice regarded save that of vengeance. Soldiers who have seen their comrades tortured; men who have been made the solitary survivors of their family; a government whose means of maintaining its authority have been tested, do not require instigations to be unsparing, in the day of triumph. It were better then for us who have not been so acutely wounded, to remind the sufferers and combatants that if the rebels show want both of honour and humanity, these are principles unknown to their religion; that treachery, impurity, and carnage are, according to it, no crimes. We are glad to see that one eminent statesman, whose habit it is not to shrink from propounding what he considers the proper view because it may not be the popular, and who has a rare power of enforcing his own—we mean Mr Disraeli—has raised his voice against that cry for retaliation which is so loudly proceeding from the newspaper press and platform. In addressing the Agricultural Association of his county the other day, the right honourable gentleman expressed a hope that in the hour of triumph we would not imitate the atrocities of the Indian sepoy. "I have," he said, "heard things spoken and seen things written of late which would make me almost suppose that the religious opinions of the people of England had undergone some sudden change; and that, instead of bowing before the name of Jesus, we were preparing to revive the worship of Moloch. I cannot believe that it is our duty to indulge in such a spirit." It is not only not our duty, but it is not our wisest policy; for while no meed of revenge will bring us back one of the victims, nor afford their manes the least gratification, it would only perpetuate the hate of the people, and make them watch their opportunity of giving the rein to it again.

But the re-establishment of obedience and order is only of course a first step. How are we to preserve these afterwards? How are we to win the *willing* submission and attachment of the people of India: and make them an adequate return for the vast territory and wealth we take from them? We answer unhesitatingly—by entreating God to have respect unto the covenant which engages him to make it a part of the empire of his son, the Prince of Peace. There is an engagment to make the dominion of this Prince universal, and under its benign influence the nations are to beat their swords into plough shares and their spears into pruning-hooks; violence is no more to be heard in the land; wasting nor destruction within the borders. Our best security for India's good order in the future is to take all judicious means to hasten the accomplishment of that engagement.

In so far as the experiment has been made in India itself, the result is recommendatory of this policy. That policy does not date very far back. To give the people our secular literature only is but

an indirect way of opening their eyes to the monstrously absurd and wicked dogmas of their own faith; but it was not until 1835 that even this was adopted by the Company; and in its latest scheme of education, propounded only two years ago, it still abides by the principle of restricting its grants to secular education; and of leaving all religious to such individuals or churches as feel it their duty to provide it. But notwithstanding of this short and disadvantageous trial, Christianity has already effected the abolition of some of the most cruel practices that prevailed in the country—as infanticide and sutteeism; and certainly it has not made the people *more turbulent* than before. We say not more turbulent, for this is not the first time that the people of India have risen up against us; and from causes having nothing whatever of a religious character. Some eighty years ago there was a crisis having much resemblance to this. The Mahommedan soldier of fortune—Hyder Ali—swept over the country like a tornado, at the head of 90,000 men and 100 pieces of cannon. In three weeks he all but wrested southern India from our grasp. And then the sepoys acted much as they have done just now. In many garrisons they flung down their arms; and many forts they treacherously surrendered; and this, be it remarked, was long before we had begun any attempts to bring the people to Christianity.

We need scarcely defend these attempts against the charge of causing the *present mutiny* of the sepoy soldiery; for it is not more than insinuated by those who have least sympathy with missionary labours; and is so devoid of authority, that not many even of those have made even the insinuation. It is not to the soldiery, but to the other classes of the population that missionaries have been addressing themselves. It is not where missions have been most successful that the mutiny prevails. Southern India has been the longer occupied sphere; it is there that the churches, schools, and converts, are the most numerous; and there, as yet at least, the spirit of disaffection has scarcely shown itself—only in one or two regiments—and in these in far less terrible shape than in northern India. And though we have to mourn the untimely fate of many missionaries; and, among the rest, one belonging to our own church—Mr Hunter of Sealkat—and the havoc of their premises, still they have not been special objects of resentment; they have only shared the *indiscrimating* carnage. Yea, in some places they have experienced a forbearance which was not exercised to others. On this point we have the opinion of a gentleman resident in Calcutta, whose extensive acquaintance with Indian affairs renders him a high authority. "It is pretended by some that missions have caused the mischief, but this is utterly ridiculous. For consider, the 19th mutinied at Burampur. Did they show the least ill-feeling to the mission there? When the 19th and 34th were disbanded, they might with perfect ease have destroyed the defenceless missions in Serampur, Chinsurah, Burdwan, and Kishnagurh, but they did not even threaten one of them. Had the movement been occasioned in any degree by the missions, they

would have felt their vengeance. But hitherto they are all unscathed, except Delhi, where there was a general movement, as destructive to civilians and shopkeepers as to others."

There is no good reason, then, for supposing that missionary enterprize goes any considerable way to account for this revolt; but although it did, it would be very shortsighted policy to slacken it. Duty sooner or later ever turns out a better principle, than expediency. There are ultimate results so beneficial, as fully to justify the risk of some immediate troubles; and of none may that be more warrantably affirmed than of those which, sooner or later, follow the conversion of a heathen people to the religion of Christ. That may sometimes send a sword in the first instance, but nothing else is such a security for a peaceful and well conditioned population in the end. We found this assertion not only upon the consideration of the nature of its doctrines and precepts, but upon *its actual effects.* It has in no great length of time completely reformed the manners of heathen tribes in other lands than India. "Ever since the establishment of the mission among the Griquas of South Africa," saith Baptist Noel, quoting a witness; "this people has always been the bulwark of the colony of the Cape on the north and north-west frontiers. There is not a single intelligent farmer who does not acknowledge that it would be impossible to sleep there a single night in peace, if the Griquas were not placed as they are, to serve for a rampart between the colony and its enemies. . . . At the commencement of the mission they were as ignorant and as destitute as the Borannas, the Bushmen, and the Bechouanas, who surround them, and are now under their protection; and such is the condition in which the Christian faith and education have placed that handful of men, that they protect at this time nations five times more numerous than themselves, and have become by their courage and discipline an object of jealousy to the colonists, whom they nevertheless defend along the whole length of a frontier of 300 miles." Nor is it upon them alone that the effect has been thus happy. He connects them a little farther on with other tribes, and says of these collectively: "While the missionaries have been employed in locating the savages among whom they labour, teaching them industrious habits, and creating a demand for British manufactures, and encreasing their dependence on the colony, there is not a single instance of a tribe thus enjoying the labours of a missionary making war against the colonists, either to injure their persons or deprive him of their property. . . . . While the Caffres, who command about one hundred and fifty miles of our frontier only, have been the scourge and terror of the colony of the Cape, those who have enjoyed the labours of missionaries are, without a single exception, friendly to its security and interests."*

These results should help us to solve the problem how we shall maintain our position in India for the time to come. It will be difficult indeed to hold it in subjection, by the sword. It will not be easy to

* Noel's Essay on Effects of Missions.

enlarge permanently our European army of 50,000 to such an extent as to enable us to dispense with the native army of 240,000;* and it will indeed be a perilous experiment to rely on the allegiance of the latter as implicitly as we have been doing, so long as it is constituted as at present; nay, so long as under any minor improvement it retains its present corrupting faith. If we would have our Indian Empire at once well conducted in peace, and trust-worthy and efficient in war, our surest way is to employ all judicious means to *introduce the ameliorating religion of Christianity.* And there are not wanting grounds of hope, even in its own history, that both its own princes and the Company will in due season appreciate the attempt and respond to it. There is at least one missionary remembered in India, not as a man who occasioned mischief, but did services more beneficial than any performed by his cotemporaries. No man was ever committed to the grave amid more general and sincere lamentations than Christian Frederick Swartz. Native prince and British superior vied in acknowledging how much each had been indebted to him. The Rajah of Tanjore, in whose kingdom his labours had been conducted, directed that his portrait should be placed among the pictures of the princes of the country in the principal hall of audience; and the Company bore its testimony to his usefulness to them—more especially in the war with Hyder Ali—by erecting a splendid monument to his memory at Madras.

We conclude, then, that this insurrection, instead of raising any doubt as to the wisdom of trying to enlighten India, and make it cast its idols to the moles and to the bats, shows that this is the only mode of constituting it a permanent or desirable possession. All other means of ameliorating the wretched condition of the people, or of establishing our throne upon a firm foundation, will want the power and success of this. If we would do it a benefit, which in its own estimation will make up for all in our treatment of it which gives right of complaint, let us emancipate it from its accursed religion. If we would break down its system of Caste—to which most of the evils that afflict it may be traced, and this mutiny which hath cost us so dear, more directly than to aught else—let us teach them that religion which makes all men equal and brethren, and plant among them schools and churches wherein this equality may be exhibited,—wherein the male and the female—the despised and the insolent—may meet without distinction. If we would bring it to deem alliance with us for its honour or its advantage; or if we would have it, when it again becomes a foe, more generous and worthy of our steel than it is now, let us teach them that "happy is that people whose God is the Lord." But, above all, if we would be exonerated on that day when He who has given us our high place among the nations calls us to account for the use made of our influence, we should make the bringing of the people of India to bow before the golden sceptre of Jesus Christ, a primary object of our connection with them.

* Speech of Chancellor of Exchequer at Kingston.

THE MUTINY IN INDIA.

(*To the Editor of Macphail's Journal.*)

DEAR SIR,—We read in Scripture that a time will come when every nation of the earth shall bow the knee to Christ. We are not called upon to believe that every individual member of each nation will be in reality a true Christian, but merely that the ruling or religious politics of the nations shall change from Infidelity and Heathenism to Christianity. This great and desirable event will occur at the time when, according to Daniel, "the stone cut out of the mountain without hand shall smite the image on the feet, and crush them into powder." It is not necessary here to point out when that time may be expected to arrive; it will suffice for my purpose to state that come it surely will; and that, too, at no very distant period from the present time. It is reasonable, then, to suppose that events have been gradually tending through a number of years past to bring about this change; and, indeed, we have seen with our own eyes how much Christianity has been spread abroad, even in our own days, and how feeble and tottering have become those infidel politics which actually threatened some centuries ago to trample Christianity under foot. Among the many events which have tended at different times to break down the prejudices of the infidel world, we may now no doubt reckon the present rebellious movement in Bengal.

That the crusade now waging against the Christian Government of this land will eventually come to nought, no one who is properly acquainted with the holy writings of the prophets and apostles, or who justly appreciates the strength and resources of our native land, can for an instant doubt. "Whosoever shall fall on *this stone* shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." Verily it is hard for men "to kick against the pricks." The failure of the movements must necessarily tend not only to bring about a change in the ideas of the present generation of natives in regard to the stability and correctness of their own vile creeds, but likewise be the means of compelling the government to introduce and carry out with a strong and determined, though still merciful hand, a system that will have a tendency effectually to curb and finally to crush the zeal of infidel fanaticism, while it at the same time elevates the pure religion of our Lord above all creeds, and gives it that position in the land which ought long since to have been accorded to it; and for not according which, the present punishment has fallen upon us. If Christianity be truth (and who shall gainsay the blessed fact) then is it the duty of our rulers to give it that prominent position which the Scriptures have declared to be its due; whereas hitherto we have allowed it to be trodden under foot, and have done our best to promote and foster, by a false and injudicious system of toleration and non-interference, those very creeds which Christianity is designed and commissioned to overthrow. Toleration is, doubtless, commendable to a certain extent; and I

would not for a moment counsel a resort to anything approaching to coersive measures in matters of conscience. Let the people believe in what they please; but at the same time, while we give them liberty of thought and conscience, I would tolerate nothing that has an evil and immoral tendency, or which is in anywise calculated to influence and inflame the fanatical zeal and prejudices of the mass, to the endangering of the safety and welfare of the State. If Christianity and heathenism come into collision, it needs no conjuror to determine which of the two should be made to give way. Hence all public processions, and cruel and indecent exhibitions, such as the parading of Taziahs, the celebration of Churuk-poojah, the rain Leela, the obscene and disgusting Hoolee, and the like, should undoubtedly be crushed and rendered contrary to law, in the same way that we have put down Suttee and Infanticide; and if we had a right to interfere in the abolition of those two diabolical practices, equally have we a right to put down all else that may have a tendency, either directly or indirectly, to militate against the pure requirements of genuine Christianity. Christianity and civilization must ever walk forward hand in hand; if we civilize we must also Christianize the people, and it is false and wicked to declare that we "never have attempted this, and never intend to do so;" we cannot, and we dare not attempt to halt, without incurring the danger of arousing another outbreak similar to the present rebellion. Half measures are always dangerous and bad, and in religion are worse than in anything else; had we shewn ourselves to be more in earnest, this rising would never have occurred. We have permitted the natives, by our own want of firmness, to cherish the idea that we regarded their religion as being entitled to the same respect and position as our own; and hence their determination now, if possible, to take the lead. Were a Christian to enlist under the banner of a Mahomedan power, he would be under the necessity of conforming to the customs of his ruler; and it is, therefore, but just and fair, when Mahomedans and heathens take service under a Christian government, that they should be compelled, by the strong arm of the law, to submit to it.

The present movement is, without doubt, essentially Mahomedan; and in respect to that religion there is a prophecy which tells us that, in a few short years from the present time, Mahomedanism will cease to be the religion of the Turks in Europe; and that its downfall there will gradually pave the way for breaking up the same delusion among the nations of the East. But there is likewise another prophecy which clearly points out the time when Mahomedanism would receive a deadly blow, and that blow is now about to fall! The present crisis, then, will doubtless be made subservient to that great end, and has been permitted by Him who "ruleth in the kingdom of men," not only with that view, but also for the purpose of inflicting a well merited chastisement upon a nation which, while it boasts loudly of its enlightened position among the Christian nations of the earth, has permitted Christianity to be trodden down and dishonoured throughout the length and breadth of that vast em-

pire which has been entrusted to our care, in order that the name of Christ, and the glad tidings of salvation which he has proclaimed, might be made known and exalted above the debasing infidelity and heathenism which pervade the land. With the risk of being sneered at by the worldly wise, I hesitate not a moment to declare that this rebellion is but the prelude to those still more startling events which are destined shortly to burst with terrific fury upon the nations of the West!

If the reader will now turn to the 12th chapter of the Prophet Daniel, he will there perceive, at the 11th verse, a declaration that "From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days;" the allusion here is to the exaltation of Mahomed over Christ, by which means the daily sacrifice of the latter is rendered void; this is the abomination that maketh man's heritage in Christ still desolate to all who follow the apostate creed; and the prophet declares, that from the time when this abomination commenced there should elapse a period of 1290 prophetic days or current years. Taking these 1290 years as meaning Mahomedan years, since they refer to that power and polity, we must deduct three years per cent. in order to reduce them to the scale of Christian time, which leaves only 1251 years as the true duration of the period indicated. The abomination of Mahomedanism commenced in A. D. 606, when Mahomed first declared his mission to his own family and immediate followers, so that, adding to that date the term of 1251 years, we are actually brought down to the present year of 1857 for the termination of the time specified by the prophet, and for the infliction of a blow that will tend eventually to crumble the delusion into dust.

It is further clearly to be found, from other enigmatical numbers of the same prophet, that the downfall and extinction of Islamism in European Turkey is to be looked for in A. D. 1860. Hence the movement of the Mahomedans in India during the present year is to be regarded, it would seem, as the commencement of events that are eventually destined to subvert and annihilate that creed *in toto.*

Is it likely, then, let me ask, since a few years hence the great image or symbol of idolatry is to be signally overthrown, and the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven is to be given into the hands of the Saints, or *Christians*, that the present out break canshake off our tenure of the empire? Not for one instant is the thought to be entertained! "Yea, let God be true, but every man a liar." Tried and corrected we well may be, for chastisement has been richly merited; but that prophecy can be falsified, and idolatry and infidelity prevail over the sure oracle of God, is an utter impossibility, well calculated to bring a balm and consolation to each believing and trusting heart.

That we are utterly unclean, notwithstanding our boasted superiority as a Christian church, is proved beyond the reach of doubt by the fact, the ominous and too significant fact, that Britain is still

reckoned as the tenth foe of that great image which Daniel holds up to view as the symbol of the idolatry and impurity of all the nations down to the hour of its final overthrow by the blow to be inflicted by the "*little stone.*" The further discussion of these important points, I must, however, reserve for another time and place, my object in the present letter being simply to shew that the hand of Providence directs the storm. Yours truly, T. H.

Himalaya Mountains, 21*st July* 1857.

THE MUTINY IN INDIA, No. II.

As it may be necessary, with reference to my former letter, to afford some further explanation in regard to the alleged connection of Daniel's enigmatical numbers with the present rebellion in India, I beg leave to offer the following remarks on a subject which ought to prove of the greatest interest to every Christian.

With regard, then, to the prophet's description of the four great idolatrous empires which were successively to hold sway over the kingdoms of the earth until crushed into powder by the "little stone," it will be seen that, as regards the Fourth Empire, the declaration is, that at a certain time it should become divided into ten distinct divisions; and that, subsequent to such division, another "little horn" or kingdom should spring up, which would pluck up three of the preceding kingdoms by the roots.

The power here alluded to is Mahomed, who rose up as a *Seer* or prophet after the decem regal division of the empire had been completed, and who, by the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Persia, literally plucked them up by the roots and totally dissevered them from the domination of the West, when he established Mahomedanism as their national religion. Now, with regard to this power, it is further said, that "the same horn made war with the saints (*i.e.* the *Christians*), and prevailed against them,"—and that they were thus to be "given into his hand until a time, times, and the dividing of time."

At the same time it is to be observed, that it was not the entire body of Christains that was thus to be held in subjection for a certain period, but only a portion of them.

In a metaphorical prophecy, "*a time*" signifies a prophetic year, composed of 360 prophetic *days*, or current years; and hence the entire period of oppression here specified amounts to 1260 years. The commencement of this war against the saints must be dated from the year 606, when Mahomed retired to the cave of Heva for the purpose of maturing those schemes which eventuated in the subjugation of the eastern division of the empire, or Greek Christendom. By reducing these 1260 years at the rate of three per cent., in order to bring them down to Christian time, we have 1222½ current years for the duration of the oppression of the eastern Christians; and adding these to A.D. 606, we are brought down into the

year 1829, the very year when, by the declaration of the Independence of Greece, and by the free religious toleration accorded to the Principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, the saints or Christians were once more rescued from the spiritual thraldom of the Turks.

Then, secondly, as regards the movement in India at the present time, we have still to bear in mind that Mahomedism originated in A.D. 606, when the imposter proclaimed his mission to his own family, and retired to the cave of Heva to mature his plans; and Daniel declares that from the time of the origin of this abomination there should elapse a period of 1290 prophetic days or current years. It seems, then, quite reasonable to infer, since the apostacy was to remain in full vigour during that long period, that at the termination of it some event would occur to cause its rapid decline and overthrow.

That the abomination has continued in full vigour and vitality ever since 606 is plain enough; and we have the western branch, or *Soonees*, under the Sultan of Roum, or Constantinople,—and the Eastern branch, or *Shiahs*, under the kings of Delhi, by foolishly maintaining whom we have also fostered and maintained the delusion of which he is still reverently regarded as the head.

Upon the western branch it can be shown, from Daniel's numbers, the blow will fall in 1860; and consequently it is with the eastern branch of the apostacy that we have now to deal. Mahomedan time being three per cent. in advance of Christain time compels us, as previously shown, to reduce the 1290 years by the deduction of 39 years, which thus leaves 1251+606=1857.

In this year, then, a crushing blow descends upon the eastern branch of the apostacy, and the king of Delhi, as the head of the eastern Mahomedan Church will be deposed (if not slain), and the title being henceforward extinct will tend most materially to induce the belief (and it does even now prevail) that with the fall of the puppet king Mahomedanism in the east has received its death-blow, and must gradually fade away.

If now we further consider that the Mahomedans do not reckon from the rise of their religion in 606, but from the flight of their prophet from Mecca to Medina in 622, we shall perceive that the difference is exactly 16 years; and as Daniel dates not from the flight or Hegira, but from the birth of Mahomedism, if we add the difference of 16 years to the current Mahomedan year of 1274, we shall find that 1274+16=1290, the exact term mentioned by the prophet; and when we consider that this event was predicted, *for our instruction and guidance*, nearly 2400 years ago, we must to our shame confess that had we but studied the Holy Scriptures one half as diligently as we have sought to extend our worldly empire, we should have been somewhat better prepared to meet and parry the present blow.

Thirdly, with regard to the western branch of the Mahomedan Church, if we date from A.D. 609, when *the public* profession of Mahomed's mission was made, and add thereto, as before, the 1290 years

reduced to Christain time, we shall have 1251+609=1860, when a revolution may be expected to recur in European Turkey which will end in the subversion of the Mahomedan and in the substitution of a Christain dynasty or form of government, and then will "*the water*" of the great river Euphrates be dried up, in order to prepare and pave the way for the eventual conversion of the infidel and heathen nations of the East.

Nor ought these events, all startling though they must appear to those who willfully shut their eyes and refuse to take the sure word of prophecy as a guide to the comprehension of what is to befal the religious politics of this last dispensation of the world, to be regarded as disheartening and ominous, for the Word of God points out that at the termination of each prophetic term of years, the Saints should take the kingdom or dominion, and *retain it.*

Now, these *Saints* are not to be regarded in the fanatical and visionary sense which the word is usually made to bear in Exeter Hall, but simply as "*the Christians,*" the term Saint being derived from the Latin *Sanctus*, that is, sanctified or rendered holy through faith in the atonement of our Saviour; and it is these believers or Christians who are, at the expiration of the several allotted periods, to overthrow the false systems against which their leader, Christ, is waging war, and to establish *their own* rule, dominion, or religion instead. That is to say, simply, that Mahomedism and Heathenism are to be supplanted by Christianity as the pre-dominant religious polity of the land.

Hence, where Daniel assures us, when speaking of the Mahomedan polity, that "the Judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the end;" and that "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heavens, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the Most High;" he does not allude to any millennial nonsense, but simply declares that, at the expiration of the several periods allotted for the prosperity and duration of the Mahomedan powers, both in the East and in the West, their polity should be overthown, and that Christianity should thenceforward take the lead as the predominant religion of the land, and retain such pre-eminence until all nations eventually come to know and bow the knee to Christ, that thus may be fulfilled Isaiah's prophecy, that in the latter days the mountain of the Lord's House, or Christian Church, should be exalted above the tops of the mountains, and that all nations should flow unto it.

That we have hitherto (on the 10th of August) failed to make much progress in putting down the rebellion, and that the outbreak has indeed been daily on the increase, should cause no uneasiness or misgiving as to the eventful result, since a little attention to the prophecy will clearly show that the time for our complete ascendancy has not arrived, inasmuch as the 1290 years of Mahomedan vigour have not yet elapsed. The year 1274 of the Mahomedan era, which completes the prophetic period, and commences the actual downfall of Islamism in the East, will not commence until the 22d of August

1857, and from that moment affairs will take a decided turn in favour of the Christians. That we shall hold our ground till then, and afterwards succeed in most completely crushing the power of our foes, is no more to be doubted than that we can hope to succeed before the allotted period of 1290 years has passed away. All that we have to do is to place implicit faith in, and reliance on, the sure and never failing aid of that Almighty Power who has given us the Scriptures for our guidance, and who has promised to grant that aid to all who fully and freely ask it of Him in the name and for the sake of Him whose soldiers and servants we profess to be.

10th August 1857.

LONDON PREACHERS, AND THEIR FAST DAY SERMONS.

That the conjuncture of affairs in India is sufficiently alarming, all will be ready to confess. The spirit of disaffection and mutiny has broken out with virulence in one of the Presidencies, and there are symptoms, nay, unequivocable indications, that the revolt is likely to spread further; while many hearts have sickened at the recital of the atrocities that have been perpetrated by the mutineers. Men, women, and children sacrificed—professions of attachment and loyalty made one day and contradicted the next—tales which make the blood run cold!—tidings of these things have reached us by successive mails; while already there are many families in our land—we fear before this formidable outbreak is put down there will be many more—who have had reason to lament, not merely the fall of relatives upon the field of honour, but their slaughter under other and infinitely more appalling circumstances.

With the conclusion of the Crimean war it was fondly hoped that the reign of peace had returned, but, as if to chastise our national pride, the supremacy of Great Britain in India is exposed to jeopardy. Our Premier is not believed to be peculiarly alive to devotional considerations, nor the majority of the Cabinet to be addicted to what was called, in the times of Cromwell, "seeking the Lord!" the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not asserted to be peculiarly rigorous in his devotions; though the Duke of Argyle has attempted to figure in polemical discussion, and Lord Panmure, together with the Marquis of Breadalbane, are heralded in the Free Church Assemblies as among the *elite*. But if Lord Palmerston has now discreetly learned to keep silence upon questions which he has been unaccustomed to grapple with, he possesses *tact*, and knows when to gratify a prevailing inclination. The instinct, or rather sagacity which (aided by the Earl of Shaftesbury's advice, it is said) has prompted his recent elevations to the Episcopal bench and to the lesser dignities in the English Church, has not deserted him at this conjuncture; unless, indeed, the prompting proceeded from the feeling and devout

heart of the greatest dignitary in the land,—who sympathised so thoroughly with her brave soldiers during a recent contest. Be this as it may, we believe that our Premier, profiting by long experience under a great variety of administrations, knows how to feel the public pulse, and believes as much in the efficacy of Fast Days—as in due accordance with the sympathies of the nation—as he believes in the more earthly and temporal agency of Hayter and of Coppock. He accepts the fact, and adroitly pays deference to the public suffrage.

We propose, in the succeeding pages of this paper—as bearing upon a topic very close to the minds and hearts of a large portion of the community—to give a condensed view, with occasionally a word of observation upon some, of the London Sermons delivered on the recent day of Public Humiliation. The series are reported, if not at great length, at least by means of many specimens, in the columns of the "Times."

The readers of this Magazine will thus have, in a convenient shape, a record of some of the more interesting discourses delivered at this memorable period in the metropolis of the kingdom.

Those who have had opportunities of frequenting the London Churches, must have been struck with the too general poverty in point of thought, and, to use a Scotch expression, "*fushionlessness*" of many of the discourses delivered within these consecrated edifices. In the service of the sister Church the sermon often occupies a very disproportionate place; exactly the reverse of what it does on this side of the Tweed, where devotion is so often sacrificed to preachment. Considering the number of the London clergy, they are as a body surprisingly deficient in good pulpit orators. We fear that a list of about a dozen names would almost exhaust the amount of those who would, on this side of the Tweed, attract any very great amount of attention. We do not speak of popularity, *that* being often in an inverse ratio from the real merits and scholarship of the preacher. We have found, indeed, in obscure London Churches, clergymen who gave good discourses, too often addressed (not from their fault, but from circumstances over which they had no control) to a beggarly account of empty pews, the auditors being literally "*rari nantes in gurgite;*" but as often in her abbey and cathedral churches have we listened to but very poor specimens of pulpit addresses, and have found some of the more distinguished lights of the evangelical party lamentably deficient in advanced theology and criticism, and those of another school giving pointless essays and frigid harangues. On the recent occasion, however, a greater than usual number of good discourses appear to have been delivered, of which we shall now give a few samples.

The new Bishop of London, Dr Tait, whose senatorial displays do him less credit than what appears to be the spirit in which he conducts the administration of his extensive and most important diocese, and whose liberality and aggressive spirit have in some quarters caused not a little offence, was absent in a remote quarter of the

Highlands, enjoying his well-merited holiday season of relaxation; consequently we cannot speak of the merits of an Episcopal sermon as delivered in his Cathedral church. But his place in the afternoon was supplied by the Rev. Dr Dale, vicar of the important and wealthy parish of St Pancras, and one of the Canons in residence, once the popular vicar of St Brides, and author of some poetical works; a man of cultivated taste, and superior in oratory to a large proportion of his metropolitan brethren:—

"St Paul's Cathedral.—In the afternoon the Lord Mayor attended the Cathedral in state, being accompanied by members of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council, the Sheriffs, and officers of the corporation in their official robes.

"The sermon was preached by Canon Dale, vicar of St Pancras. The rev. gentleman selected as his text the following words in the 7th verse of the 26th chapter of Isaiah:—'When thy judgments are on the earth the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness;' and then proceeded as follows:—

"To deny the operation of God or His judgments, whether the famine or the pestilence, the warfare or the mutiny, is practically to deny God himself; and they who act thus presumptuously are foretold by the prophet Isaiah what the end will be, 'Lord, when thy Lord is lifted up they will not see; but they shall see and be ashamed.' They have belied the Lord in saying it is not He. 'Shall there be evil in the city,' asks another prophet, 'and the Lord hath not done it?' Does not the Lord himself declare, 'I make peace and create evil? I the Lord do all these things.' Oh, then, let us beware of ascribing to secondary and subordinate causes that which is the work of God. Let us acknowledge with the Psalmist, 'He is the Lord our God, His judgments are on all the earth.' And when, as now, His judgments are abroad on the earth, when fear hath come upon our countrymen as a desolation, and destruction as a whirlwind, and distress and anguish have come upon those whose position seemed by the Lord's favour to stand strong; let us supplicate on behalf of all that the inhabitants of the world may learn righteousness; let us say for ourselves as well as for others, Come, and let us return unto the Lord, for He hath torn and He will heal us, He hath smitten and He will bind us up. Some put their trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. Now, judgments are the consequences of sins; but it does not follow from this that particular judgments are the consequences of particular sins, or even that, in the case of a nation at least, the retribution is always exacted of the same persons by whom the penalty has been incurred. Manasseh filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, which the Lord would not pardon; but Manasseh himself became a penitent, and died in peace; and even when compunctions visitings were awakened in the heart of the reckless and ruthless Ahab, 'Seest thou,' said the Lord to His servant Elisha, 'how Ahab humbleth himself before me? Because he humbleth himself before me I will not bring the evil in his days, but in his sons' days will I bring the evil upon his house.' Just such is our own present experience. We may say concerning that most fearful and widespread visitation which has convulsed our Indian empire to its centre, which has involved in one indiscriminate destruction the warrior and the trafficker, the parents and the offspring, the infant and the full of days; which has traced on the darkest page of human history at once the depth of man's deceitfulness and the desperation of his wickedness,—we may say concerning that desolation what the patriot prophet said under parallel circumstances concerning his own captive city, 'Our

fathers have sinned and are not, and we have borne their reproach.' More than half a century had elapsed since the establishment of British supremacy in India, when it was declared by one of the most eloquent orators who ever pleaded the cause of the oppressed, that if our Indian conquests were to be as suddenly lost as they had been speedily acquired, not a trace would remain to show that pagan India had ever been held in subjection by a professedly Christian nation; and it is among the mysteries which no human intellect can penetrate or explore that retribution of this wrong done to India should be exacted of the generation which had done more than any other to repair it. Dark periods there have been during which it might almost have been said of British India, as the prophet declared of his own doomed and devoted city, 'Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see how, and know, and seek the broad places thereof, if we can find a man—if ye can find any that executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth—and I will pardon it.' But it has been far otherwise in our day. The Lord hath had much people in India—many who executed judgment, many who sought the truth, many upon whom not only the name of the Lord Jesus Christ was called, but who reflected the lineaments of His moral image, because they possessed a measure of the mind that was in him; and yet upon such the thunderbolt has fallen. Such the overflowing scourge had swept away; and to many who have lost their nearest and dearest upon earth, the only consolation that now remains is that which is above all price—the remembrance that they who acted as Christians endured as Christians, and they who had lived as Christians died as Christians; and that if the righteous perished and no one laid it to heart, he did not the less surely enter into rest because his bed of death was the dismantled fortress or the crimson battle-field, and his executioner his murderer, a demon rather than a man! What can we say, then, to these things but that the judgments of God are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out? What can we do but entreat Him, as the prophet Daniel did, to behold our desolators, to regard us as the people on whom his name is called, to accept our sacrifice, to hear our prayer, to forgive our sin. Alas! we know not how far our own sins may have contributed to draw down upon the sufferers this most appalling and unsparing judgment. When, as we have heard in the service of the day, there were some that told the Lord Jesus of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, 'Suppose ye, said the Lord, that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans because they suffered such things? I tell you nay: but except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish.' And what is the bearing of this upon ourselves, but that if we will not learn righteousness from the judgments that fall upon others, others may learn righteousness from our own? While we believe, therefore, that the pestilence, the famine, the sword, the mutiny, the rebellion are still, as they were of old, the instruments of God's wrath, the ministers of God's will, we believe also that the penal visitation will continue just so long as He hath determined, and accomplish just so much as He hath decreed. In a period of national calamity, therefore, when so many thousands of our own people have fallen victims to the destroyer, and so many thousands more are in jeopardy every hour, exposed to all the horrors that can be perpetrated by a superstitious race, sensual and debasing, combined with a system of falsehood that unfurls the death-flag as its banner, and professes to propagate itself by the agency of the sword, we have only to seek how the disaster may be averted or abated; we need not to seek further, we know but too well how it has been provoked. We are to repair to the throne of grace to help our trouble, while war is the help of us. We are to present our supplications before the Lord, not for our own righteousness, but for

His great mercies; we are to confess both the sins of our people and our own; we are to humble ourselves, not only generally as a nation, not only collectively as a church, but separately and singly as those who have been partakers of the sin, and cannot therefore but fear lest we should be involvd also in the punishment. Had not the Fast been proclaimed—had not the solemn assembly been called—had not the Sovereign called upon her people to join with herself in the act of humiliation because of their common sin—the men of Nineveh, of whom we have heard this day, would have risen up against this generation and condemned it, for they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and behold, a greater than Jonas is here. 'Behold the Lord called out of His place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity; the earth also shall disclose her blood and shall no more cover her slain.' But here must be the work of the closet as well as the work of the church, if we would make this a fast and an acceptable day unto the Lord—a day profitable to our afflicted country, and to our own souls. Not only the house of the Lord, but the inner chamber of our own dwelling, must be witness to the depth of our humiliation, the fervour of our supplication, the integrity of our purposes, the importunity of our prayers. We must in suchwise solemnize the fast that if further testimony were wanting as to the part which we have borne in this prostration of an offending people before their God, the stones would cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber would answer it; and our penitence must be as practical as it is profound, our expressions as durable as they are deep. What would supplication avail to ourselves unless it led to holiness; and what would intercession profit others unless it wrought by love. . . . . But, my brethren, if it be so indeed; if the Destroyer, now executing the mission of God's displeasure upon India be commanded to put up his sword into the sheath and to stay his avenging hand, let it not be forgotten that a like deliverance involves on the part of the rescued nation a like expression of adoring thankfulness—a like memorial of abiding gratitude. Not only did the penitent and pious monarch consecrate to the Lord the spot on which he had seen the avenging angel, and received the assurance of the pardon and mercy vouchsafed; not only did he build here an altar to the Lord, and offer peace offerings and burnt offerings, but he that day forth set his affections more reverently than ever toward the house of his God, for while this was the site ordained of leave, he set a part of his own proper goods, over and above what he had prepared in his kingly character for the holy cause. The immediate duty of the nation, indeed, and that to which during the present distress every other must give place, is that of meeting, on a large and liberal scale, the countless and complicated forms of destitution and misery which this mystery of horrors has entailed. This done, however, the acknowledgment of Britain should be the same in principle, however varying in the development; and God is alike honoured, Christ is alike confessed, in the erection of sanctuaries for the faithful, or the provision of ministrations for them in danger to perish for lack of knowledge, or the preparation of fitting asylums for the widow and the fatherless. The nation must not think to offer sacrifices to the Lord of that which doth cost it nothing; and a light thing it is to mitigate, as far as may be, with the corruptible things, the silver and gold, the destitution of the orphan's soul, the desolation of the widow's heart. But we must learn righteousness, each for himself. In this age, in this country, in this city, no one who would be useful in his generation and faithful to his trust can ever need to ask the question of the subtle casuist, 'And who is my neighbour?' No one can ever be at a loss for pious and philanthropic objects, which have respect to the immediate temporal and spiritual welfare of those around him, by which he may at once benefit his

fellow-man, and glorify the common Lord. At this moment, indeed, British sympathy traverses continents and oceans. The electric touch vibrates at the interval of many thousand miles in the inmost heart of our own metropolis. But when the emergency is fully met—as met it will be, for every pulsation of this crowning city, the heart of the nation, is felt and responded to by the remotest of its members—we must come back to the hallowed circle which is the centre of all social and kindred charities, and not even in the outburst of irrepressible sympathy with our distant countrymen must we lose sight of that invaluable deposit with which each of us is put in trust by God, and with which eternal interest the universe itself, with all that it contains, could not for an instant be held in equipoise; 'For what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' O, then, let the visitation which we now deplore, and for the removal of which we are met to entreat the Lord, be the means of drawing Christians into more close and intimate membership with each other, arising out of a closer union with Christ, our common Lord. We have heard across the ocean the voice of wailing, the sound of the musket, the alarm of war; destruction upon destruction is cried, for the whole land is spoiled. Suddenly are the tents spoiled, and a voice is heard as of a woman in travail, and the anguish as of her that bringeth forth her first child; the voice of the daughter of her that bewaileth herself, that spreadeth her hands, and that saith, 'Woe is me now, for my soul is weary because of murderers.' And what saith the voice to them? It saith to him, who finds his chief earthly happiness in the most endearing and most enduring of all social ties, that at any instant, and by a visitation, as signal and as sudden, the desire of his eyes may be severed from him at a stroke. It saith to the fond parents rewarded by a numerous and promising offspring, that their dearest and their loveliest may be torn asunder by a separation that embitters death by dishonour, and leaves them to go childless to the grave. It says to each of us, that the beloved who is as our own soul, may occupy to-morrow the grave that is not open to-day; or, like the victims of a treachery and cruelty which have no parallel in the annals of mankind, may be despoiled even of a grave; yea, it says to each, 'Be thou ready also, for the Son of Man cometh when thou thinkest not.' O then, let the unforgotten solemnity of this day—a day long to be remembered as well as devoutly to be observed—call upon every one of us, with a voice that shall penetrate to our hearts and pursue us to our homes, to provide against the peril of family bereavement by the practice of family religion."

The enlarged attendance at Westminster Abbey dates back, we believe, very much from the period of the "Great Exhibition." Certes, we have on occasions previous to that seen scanty enough audiences collected, in spite of the hoary grandeur of the building, with its rich associations and the impressiveness of the musical services. In losing Dr Buckland, the accomplished geologist, but we believe very inane preacher, Westminster made a gain in acquiring Dr Trench as its dean, as well as in retaining the services of Dr Wordsworth as one of its prebendaries. Our theological readers must be well aware of Dr Trench's abilities and scholarship, more particularly of his qualifications as an annotator and adapter of the thoughts of others. He is, besides, occasionally a poet, and has contributed nervous and stirring verses to the columns of the "Times." It was said that much disappointment was caused alike by the matter and manner of a recent course of University Sermons preached by

Dr Trench at Cambridge. Be this as it may, he has acquired as an author some standing, and is evidently a clergyman of active habits and vigorous mind,—was not long since spoken as the not unlikely candidate for a Bishopric, and, for aught we know, is at least as much entitled to that elevation as one or two who have been recently promoted. But he is not an "*Honourable*," and is understood to belong to the *broad* class of theologians. We give the outline of the Dean's sermon, which, on the whole, accords with the notions which we had formed of his ability and good sense :—

"WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—The Fast Day services in Westminster Abbey were yesterday attended by numerous and devout audiences, the whole of that portion of the Minster usually devoted to the service, and the wide space extending to the north and south transepts, being densely filled with worshippers. In the morning the prayers were read by the Rev. Canon Lupton, and the lessons by the Rev. Precentor Haden.

"The sermon was preached by the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, who took as his text, Lamentations iii., 40, 41 :—'Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord. Let us lift up our heart with our hands unto God in the heavens.'

"It was hardly necessary, he said, to remind them that they were met together for a purpose that well became a Christain nation—to acknowledge God's hand in all that we suffered ; and that they might ask Him, by prayer and timely repentance, to cause His displeasure to cease from us. It was the character of ungodly men that they would not see and acknowledge God's judgments ; but the godly were priviledged to see His footprint as He walked unseen in justice and in mercy throughout the earth ; and they could hear the rustling of the skirts of His garments as He moved mysteriously throughout the world, dealing according to their deserts with men and nations. As a consequence of this, they accepted their evil and their good as alike coming from the hand of God. It was good thus to recognize God in the good and evil that befell us, for both brought with them their several blessings. Sorrow, adversity, and pain, often brought to individual men rich blessings, especially when, in the words of the prophet, they were led to 'search and try their ways;' and, having searched and tried them, were led to 'turn again to the Lord.' In the days of our prosperity we easily acquiesced in the existence of our present corruptions ; we forgot our sins, and it almost seemed to us as if God was conniving with those corruptions and had also forgotten our trespasses. We all too easily forgave ourselves those faults that God in his providence seemed to be forgiving us ; but when He smote us, when His judgments overtook us, then how much was remembered that but a little before was altogether forten ? Numerous transactions that had been well nigh effaced from the tablets of memory flashed out again in characters of fire. It was not till perplexity and distress had overtaken the sons of Jacob that they remembered and mourned over the cruel treatment which they had inflicted on their brother Joseph ; and it was not till the Angel of Death had passed over the threshold of the widow of Zarephath that she remembered her forgotten sins, and called to the prophet, 'Art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son ?' What was thus true of single men was true also of nations. They remembered their sins in calamity, and forgot them in prosperity. Nations could not, any more than individuals, endure a long course of palmy and prosperous days. Some were more corrupted by prosperity than others, but all had need of disappointments and reverses that they might be brought to sit humbly in the dust and acknowledge His

hand. The cup of affliction came in due time to all. To individual men it came in the shape, it might be, of strength turned into weakness, of undutifulness of children, of the unkindness or estrangement of friends, of the taking away of those who were bound up with us in the bundle of life; or it came, perhaps, in some strange and unwonted shape, for the resources of God were infinite, and in a thousand ways He could mingle that one drop of bitterness in the cup of a man's life that would turn it all to wormwood and gall. Among nations afflictions came in the shape of desolating pestilence, wasting wars and famines, the domination of the stranger, civil commotions and intestine broils, class alienated from class, and coming into hostile collision so that the peace and harmony of nations was broken up and destroyed. They all remembered how, nine or ten years since, it fared with England when the storm of wild revolution swept over Europe—when thrones of a thousand years came tottering down, and the fair capitals of Europe fell into the hands of brutal and violent men. They remembered how England sat unshaken and unmoved—her temple of freedom safe and unviolated—how she sat as a Queen, and said perhaps in her heart, 'I shall see no sorrow.' But now all was changed. The other nations of Europe were at peace, while sorrow and anguish had taken hold of us in England. We were now, as then, a spectacle to the world, but the nations we then pitied were now pitying us, or, it might be, speculating on that downfall that would not come, and saying in their hearts, 'Now is she laid waste.' Why had God visited us thus? Surely such a time of visitation must have serious and solemn thoughts that belong to it. God was speaking to us—not merely to this man or to that, but to all; and it was necessary to remind them of the duties of such a time, because it was a great mistake to suppose that God's chastenings were sure to do the work for which they were sent—they were only beneficial to those who, in the words of the Apostle, 'were exercised thereby.' Two dangers menaced us in regard to this. In the first place, we might defy God's chastenings. They had read in ancient story of a fierce tribe who, when it thundered, shot their arrows and threw their javelins in defiance against the sky. It was thus with some men now. There was no brokenness of heart, but rather defiance; they were stricken, but not grieved. There were those who said, 'The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones; the sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars.' Nor need it be supposed that this defiance would of necessity take the shape of open blasphemy and speaking great things against God. We might defy Him in many ways that came short of this. We might be convinced of our sins, and yet leave them unrepented of. We might feel that God had a controversy with us, and yet in our hearts indulge the thought that we might nevertheless stand our own against Him. There was another danger to which we were exposed. We might kiss the hand that smote us, but only in so far as we felt its crushing weight; we might groan under the stroke, but only so long as the affliction endured. It behoved all, then, to take good heed—on the one hand not to defy God' chastenings; or on the other to accept them, indeed for a moment, and then forget them. Joshua did not give over searching till he found out the Achan who had produced shame and confusion and well nigh ruin on his camp. Even so in England ought we in the hour of our trouble and confusion to search as desiring to find, and as prepared to cast out whatever might be bringing upon us God's wrath and indignation. Especially should we do this with regard to England's dealing with that land whence the danger had come upon us. How had we occupied the talent committed to us there? Joshua discovered but one Achan in his search. It was to be feared that in England, if the question was honestly asked, we might discover many; but

amid many that might be thus discovered there was one on which he could not keep silence. If there was one thing which more than another was the 'accursed thing' in England's relations with her Indian possessions it was the traffic in opium. It was a hideous fact, that the Government of India raised a revenue of some millions from trafficking in this poisonous drug, which was so destructive both to the body and soul of millions in the East. The East India Company annually exported 100,000 chests of opium, forcing it upon unwilling nations, upon China above all, despite of their laws and their remonstrances. This was their crying sin, but it was ours also; for the Government of England was so constituted and so responsive to the national views and feeling, that whenever the people of England were resolved that this thing shall not be, or that other thing shall, those who administered their affairs were bound to put the resolution into effect. So it was with the slave trade and slavery itself; and if the Christian conscience of England were so roused as to declare that this unhallowed traffic in opium should cease, it would be accomplished. But there were other sins that sat closer to the people of England than this, viz., the little we had hitherto done in advancing the knowledge of Christ and of His Gospel in India. There were some, indeed, who did not shrink from saying that far too much had been done, but he would be bold to say that we had done far too little. He would say, in reference to this and other matters affecting India, 'Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord.' Let us confess to God our sins, and the little effect past afflictions have had upon us, and consider how in time to come we could best follow out His holy will. We had known in this country, within the last ten years, what it was to come under the three chief weapons of indignation in the armoury of God. He had visited us with pestilence, famine, and war. With regard to the last of these, two years had scarcely elapsed since we experienced it in a shape that we then thought dreadful enough. It seemed to task our energies of endurance to the uttermost; and we thought then that, whatever tidings could ever sadden us, none would ever be equal to those which told us of the horrors to which our gallant soldiers were exposed. And yet worse things had now come upon us; so much worse, that we could almost look back with envy on our condition then. Then we were at war with a Christian nation, observing in the main the laws and usuages of Christian warfare; but now, how hideous the contrast! He would not pain them by the recital of horrors that were too familiar to all, nor would he indulge in the painful thought whether or not there might be still worse behind. He would rather ask with what feelings towards God they were regarding these things? Let this be such a fast as God had chosen; and he would remind them that no one was keeping it aright who was not prepared to put away the evil of his doings,—'Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord.' In conclusion, he entreated their compassion and sympathy for our suffering brethren in India. Their deeper griefs required the handling of a higher Power than ourselves, but we could make our full hearts speak out not merely in words but in deeds, and in the kind offices and offerings of love.

We can only afford a passing notice of the service at the "Temple Church," the audience assembling in which is usually supposed to be one of the most discriminating in the kingdom:—

"Temple Church.—The sermon here was preached by the Rev. F. J. Stainforth, who took his text from the Book of the Prophet Ezra, viii., 21, 22, and 23.

"The preacher observed that it was a common saying that we must

not tempt Providence—the meaning of which was, that we must always use those means which were available to obtain God's blessing, and that that rule was one so just and useful in the practical affairs of life that few could imagine by what limitations it was to be guarded. The exertions of the prophet Ezra to establish the true religion, and the difficulties of his responsible situation when leading the people and conducting the treasure of king Artaxerxes from Babylon to Jerusalem, were a proof of the confidence which he reposed in the protection of the Almighty. The meek confession and earnest prayers of the suppliant prophet on the banks of the Ahava showed in a striking degree his consciousness of aid from above. He proclaimed a fast before he crossed the river, that God might be pleased to direct a way for the people, their little ones, and their substance. He cared not for the arm of flesh, because he felt that he had made his peace with God, and that he could leave all things at His disposal. In like manner, he (the preacher) would say to the nation, 'Go not without humiliation and prayer—shrink not from the desert; there is no solitude where He is nigh; there is no want where His fulness abounds; there is no danger where He is present to defend; there is, in fine, safety only in his protection, and peril only in his displeasure.' His own opinion of measures was, that the half measures of the Government had been its ruin. We might have governed them if we had left them as we found them—an ignorant and slavish race—and the Indian Government, he believed, would not have been indisposed to have left them in that state; but the feeling and sense of the country were against such a policy, and the result was, that we gave the natives of India a certain amount of education and liberty, but we did not instil into them the principles of religion. Education and liberty without religion first brought about the French Revolution; and here were the same cause and effect exemplified in the case of our fellow-subjects in India. He did not believe we could hold India without a native army. That army must, of course, be officered by Europeans; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that we should improve the Christian character of those officers and non-commissioned officers who represented our power in foreign lands. If we assumed the Government of India, we were bound to give every blessing which we were capable of bestowing or the Indians could receive. The first act, however, must be to establish our authority, and give up to unsparing punishment the men who had been guilty of such hideous offences against humanity. But when justice was appeased, let it be remembered that these men were as much to be pitied for their ignorance as abhorred for their crimes. Let us extend towards India the principles of our holy faith. Let us teach the natives that we are the sons of one common Father—subject to the same immutable decrees, and partakers of the same immortal glory. We had done well to pray for our enemies; but was it not our duty also to try to destroy their enmity, and make them brothers and servants with us in Jesus Christ? And if we did this we might look for the blessing of God. He firmly believed, that good would come out of these calamities, and that this stormy night of desolation would be succeeded by the light, and that a harvest would be gathered into the granaries of faith."

We give an outline of the discourse delivered at the notorious "Puseyite" Church of St Pauls, Knightsbridge; the mode of conducting the service in which has given rise to so much heartburning and controversy:—

"St Paul's, Knightsbridge.—The Hon. and Rev. Robert Liddell

preached here in the morning, taking his text from the first lesson appointed for the day—Daniel ix., 7:—'O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto Thee, but unto us confusion of faces as at this day to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel that are near and that are far off, through all the countries whither Thou hast driven them because of their trespass that they have trespassed against Thee.'

"The rulers of our nation, said the rev. gentleman, had rightly judged in appointing a set day for humbling ourselves as a people before the presence of God in consequence of the terrible calamities which had occurred; and, it was to be feared, still were occurring among our countrymen and countrywomen throughout a great portion of our Indian territories. If ever there was an infliction which bore the character of a national chastisement it might without fear of contradiction be asserted that this was one, whether they considered the extent to which the evil had gone—the mutiny spreading from one military station to another until the whole of the vast province of Bengal had been implicated in one general disaffection, or whether they reflected upon the indiscriminate hate manifested against our people—the combinations of treachery by which their destruction was compassed on all sides, and the personal innocence of the many victims sacrificed in cold blood—the defenceless women and children massacred with every antecedent atrocity that the ingenuity of human wickedness could devise. Confidently might it be averred, that these did not suffer for their own fault, whatever blame might possibly attach to the incapacity of rulers, or the remissness of officials in relaxing the discipline of government. Assuming (what he was far from wishing to assert) that they had been in many instances, and long previously, culpable, we might yet put into their mouths what David said when he saw his people smitten by the destroying angel for his offence, 'Lo! I have sinned, and I have done wickedly; but these sheep, what have they done?' So might we ask of these sad immolations of women and babes—'These sheep—these lambs! What have they done?' Not, then, for there own fault, but for that of others, whether it were remote or manifest, did these suffer their aggravated martyrdom. The present was therefore not a personal but a national chastisement; and God's providence, which ordered all things, did not inflict a national chastisement except for national sins. Individuals were amenable for their conduct to a judgment hereafter; but not so with nations. They, as such, could only be punished or rewarded in this world; for their corporate relations were only of a temporary character, and therefore God's moral government over them was evidenced by temporal and visible signs of retribution. The chequered history of their rise and fall was nothing less than the enunciation of his immutable laws, teaching each succeeding generation by the example of those preceding it; and the real science of politics consisted in reading these lessons aright. But whether we read them rightly or wrongly, or whether God's judgments followed on the transgression of them, sooner or later those laws did assuredly work themselves out and vindicate their own sanctity by the punishment of transgressions against them. And yet, as with individuals, so with nations; God's inspired Word told us that He was ever ready to bring them by those very judgments to repentance, and graciously to accept that repentance when yielded in all sincerity. So, when we saw that God's judgments had come upon us, though we might be unable from ignorance to assign the precise cause of them, it was our wisdom as well as our duty to humble ourselves greatly before His Divine Majesty, and while we meekly submitted to His rod, deprecate a still severer chastisement by earnest prayer and self-abasement. After dwelling upon the example of Daniel as developed in the special lesson of the day—and pointing out how he identified

himself with the sins of his countrymen, though personally innocent of them; how meekly he acquiesced in the equity of the Lord's dealings, uttering not a word in extinuation of His people's guilt, or one complaint against the Divine judgments—the rev. gentleman exhorted his hearers to learn some practical lesson from this example:—First, in the way of self-abasement, let each individual among them, while subjugating himself to such bodily mortification and abstinence as his frame could bear, employ a portion of this day in making a special confession to God of his own sins. This was the first and most necessary exercise, without which our other acts would lack reality. After this they were called upon, as Daniel did, to confess their national sins. Now, without alluding to any detail to the system of government pursued in India, let them be sure that that system had been in the main in accordance with and initiated by the national mind at home. And whence had arisen that restless love of conquest, that frequent dethronement of native rulers, and annexation of one province after another to our gigantic dominion? It was the result of our pride and covetousness, which, deny it as they would, were the crying sins of the British people. In this instance it seemed that our sins had been our punishment. For what lands had been the scene of the direct outrages yet committed against our countrymen? The very lands of which we had most recently taken forcible possession. What people, on the other hand, had been our most steadfast allies? Those Sikhs who some years back assailed us, first in an unprovoked way, and were afterwards conquered in fair fight in that defensive warfare, and had since been treated by us with justice and kindness. But without going to a distance to find cause for our late disasters, let a part of this solemn day be used in the work of self-examination, to ascertain how far those present in their several places were chargeable with these faults of pride and covetousness. Was Covetousness not a feature of our national character at home? Whence came that unseemly adulation of wealthy people so common among us, except it were from our undue estimate of the value of wealth for its own sake, as though it could compensate for the want of qualities which were deemed essential in other ordinary instances? Whence, again, had arisen those gigantic frauds in trade which had of late years been so conspicuous; or those many wild speculations which had been the ruin of thousands? Whence, but from covetousness—the desire of becoming speedily rich without that amount of wholesome labour which a merciful God was ordinarily ready to bless. Where, then, each of us was covetous and greedy of much gain, there did we share these dangerous qualities which seemed to have brought the nation at large into its present perplexities. In the next place, there was Pride. We had in a pre-eminent degree prided ourselves upon this very Indian army which now had mutinied against us. We had won that country, annexed province after province, and held them mainly by the sword, and now, we had been smitten with the sword. We raised that army among the natives themselves, trained it according to our own military tactics, fought with it, conquered with it, and then made our boast, 'What could we not do with such forces?' And now God seemed to have punished our pride by the very means which fostered it. The army in which we gloried had melted away. Happy would it be for us if our national pride could be dissipated as readily as this occasion for it; but not so. There was perhaps no nation on earth so proud as we—proud of ourselves and of everything belonging to us. It was proverbial that when Englishmen went into other countries they invariably looked down upon the people as an inferior race of beings to themselves; and this arrogance rendered us objects of extreme dislike (and what, alas! we sometimes

cared for more—and ridicule) to many of our continental neighbours. So, at the present crisis how unwilling were we to own that we ourselves, as a people, had been in any way in the wrong. We could see the aults of others—the treachery of Sepoys, the obstinacy of Brahmins, thecruelty of Mahomedans, or, in the late war, the grasping ambition of one country and the inertness of another—but we were blind to our own defects; and what made us so was our pride. The only thing we had not been proud of, was our religion. We had cared much for our vast possessions, for our revenue, and for the fortunes (as they are called) which our kindred made in that land of wealth and luxury; and we had cared, again, for our glory, for the dazzling feats of generals and the determined courage of our men; but we had not cared for the glory of God and the souls of those we had conquered. We had left our religion to take care of itself. Our nation had évinced no parental character towards the innumerable children of her forcible adoption in India. Her policy had been for many years more and more to cast off the national Church at home, to loosen more and more its relations with the State; and the same policy had led to fearful neglect of our Christian duties to our dependencies abroad. Whatever personal religion might have been maintained by individuals in those lands, we had had no public adequate acknowledgment of God and of Christ wherewith to win the people. He spoke with a deep sense of humiliation on these matters, but he should be wanting in his duty if he did not suggest, what seemed to him some of our most crying national sins; and his hearers should ponder of these things and pray God to give us a better mind, as well as to turn away His heavy judgments from us. And here it would be proper to consider some of the petitions which might most appropriately this day be offered up to the Throne of Grace. First, they ought to intercede for all sufferers in the late deplorable events. How many were mourning their dearest relatives cut off from them suddenly by treacherous assassination, or by the casualities of war—by hardship, by disease, or mortal wounds! And how many more were living in a state of the most anxious and ceaseless suspense, waiting in agony for what news each fresh mail might bring, when tidings must be expected of more engagements, and probably, alas! of still further outrages! While praying for these, his hearers should not be wanting in other marks of sympathy, by giving freely of their substance for the aid of those who had been reduced so suddenly to a state of the most utter destitution. Next, with regard to our heroic soldiery, who, by God's mercy, had hitherto so nobly stemmed the torrent of disaffection and fanatical fury around them, in spite of their paucity of numbers. They also needed our earnest intercessions. To them was committed the terrible task of vindicating the government of our Sovereign, of overcoming rebellion, and of inflicting just and awful punishment upon the wrongdoers. But when every vein throbbed with indignation at the unexampled barbarities which had been perpetrated against our own people—and when such burning anger was yet more inflamed by the intense excitement of battle—who might not fear for the reprisals to which our troops might be tempted?—that discipline might be lost in excesses, justice be debased by cruelty into vengeance, and the innocent be merged in one common destruction with the guilty, without reference to age or sex? Prayer should be offered for them, that they might not lose the vantage ground which, in a moral point of view, Christians ought ever to maintain above heathens; that not only might victory crown their efforts, but that justice also might be tempered where possible with mercy; that they might steadfastly maintain the justice which spares as well as that which punishes. It was by the moderation of our soldiers in victory, and by their investing as much as possible every

chastisement of the murderers with the solemnity of a judicial proceeding, that they might best hope for God's blessing on their arms, and for restoring ultimate peace and order to that benighted country. Furthermore, if we would realize our exalted Christian duties, if we would profit by the blessed example of Him who prayed for His very murderers, we should not forget to intercede with God for that benighted people—the natives of India, who had been led into those frightful extremes of rapacity, lust, and bloodshed. Fearfully had we as a Christian nation already come short of our great responsibilities in this respect. Little had we done to promote the glory of God in the acquisition of that vast and populous region. We had held it for ourselves, not for Him. Of the enormous revenue derived from our eastern possessions what proportion had been sanctified for the service of God and the maintenance of adequate Christian missions to evangelize these benighted multitudes? Next to nothing. From motives of worldly policy we have truckled to many of their worst superstitions. We had been timorous and time-serving, and had failed to exhibit our own religion in such an aspect as to gain their respect and affection. Our disunited condition at home was sure to have its counterpart abroad; and there, as here, the Church spoke too often with stammering lips, and failed in that definite authoritative teaching which the human soul required for its edification in the faith of the Gospel. We should pray, then, much and often for the conversion of the millions whom we claim to govern. Let the conscience of the nation at home be in this way more aroused to the duty which it had hitherto so greatly neglected, and then we might hope that more systematic efforts would in due time be made in behalf of these heathen people to win them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Lastly, we should hold ourselves in readiness, as loyal Christian subjects, to aid our country in every way in our power during this present momentous crisis. If she drained away her forces to this distant region, confident of the sympathy and support of her population at home, we ought not to belie that confidence, but humbly endeavour to fulfil with more efficiency those social and relative duties which belonged to each in his respective station; and on the present occasion his hearers should give of their substance to the utmost of their ability in token of their sympathy with the bereaved and destitute. So would their alms ascend with their prayers and self-humiliation as a memorial before God, and in proportion to its sincerity would draw down, as in Daniel's instance, a speedy reply in the Divine forgiveness and blessing."

We are not surprised to find among the preachers whose discourses are more fully reported, the name of the eloquent Dr Croly, whose prose compositions have been uniformly marked by vigour and vividness of expression, and whose poetical powers are of no mean order. But age now tells hard upon the author of Catiline, Salathiel, Marston, and the Political Biography of Edmund Burke; and though his church is still well attended, when we heard him recently we found but the shadow of the "Old man eloquent." Domestic grief, we believe, has bowed him down; and long since surprise was excited that he had not been advanced to some more prominent position in the church. During Sir R. Peel's first brief tenure of power, subsequent to the passing of the Reform Bill, he had the merit of bestowing London livings (Dr Croly's is by no means richly endowed) on this consistent churchman, and also upon the accom-

plished and learned Dr Milman, now the Dean of St Paul's. We give Dr Croly's sermon on this occasion, as reported by our authority.

"St Stephen's, Walbrook.—The sermon at this church (which was densely thronged) was preached by the rector, the Rev. Dr Croly, who took for his text the words of the 8th and 9th verses of the 79th Psalm:—'O remember not against us former iniquities; let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of Thy name, and deliver us, and purge away our sins, for Thy name's sake.'

"The rev. preacher commenced his discourse by alluding to the peculiar nature of the service which they were then celebrating, and remarked that the Old Testament abounded with instances of beneficial effects resulting from national prayer. He thought, too, that our own later history was not destitute of such instances; and referred especially to our religious observances during the great French war; and, still more recently, the special days set apart for Divine worship upon the occasions of the cholera and the Russian war; in both of which instances the affliction of which we complained was almost immediately abated. Upon the present occasion they were called upon to entreat the Divine mercy in consequence of the awful occurrences in India; and therefore it would be advisable to consider all the circumstances connected with our occupation of that country. For 200 years we had been connected with India, and for 100 years we had been really its masters. During the whole of that time it had been found impossible to bring the minds of the English nation to a full consciousness of its relations towards that country; and even in the Legislature the subject of India was that which attracted the least audience. He regarded the present visitation, awful as it was, as a severe but merciful act of the Almighty to recal us to a sense of our duties towards India. The frightful atrocities, the fiendish mockeries of which our fellow countrymen and women in the East had been the subjects, might be the means of reminding us that, as possessors of a vast empire, we were charged with the just duties of empire. And how had those duties hitherto been fulfilled? There had been a clamour raised against the East India Company; but, without descending into the arena of politics, he thought they ought to do justice to that Company. For the first 100 years of its existence the East India Company pursued a peaceful and purely commercial career; but, about a century back, there occurred a frightful cruelty (the Calcutta Black-hole Massacre) that in a measure compelled the Company to its first conquest in India. In any subsequent acquisitions to its territory the Company could not be charged with dishonesty, cruelty, or oppression; but their supremacy only endured for 50 years later, for in 1784 the Government of India really passed from their hands to those of the Government at home, and from that time commenced the extraordinary spirit of annexation which we should one day sorely lament. The acquisitions of territory which we had made since that time might be justifiable by circumstances; but certainly they were not politic; departing widely from the interests of both the East India Company and of this country, whose vocation it was, through the medium of peaceful commerce, to extend the blessings of civilization and Christianity. In relation to the present melancholy outbreak, in some quarters blame had been imputed to our missionaries; but that blame the rev. preacher considered to be wholly undeserved, as the missionaries had really done nothing, and could not be expected to make much progress in a land where their country was represented with the Bible in one hand and a sword in the other. Men of whose land we took forcible possession could hardly be expected to regard

our religious teachings with much respect. Then came the question, what was our duty at the present time? The first thing to be done was, of course, to reconquer India; and that city which had been the rallying place of rebellion—where a mock King had been installed to insult the power of Britain—must be razed to the ground, in order to teach the lesson that the just might of England could not be aroused with impunity. We must then abandon our career of annexation; and we must show to the natives of India that we were conscious of our high privileges as Christians. The rev. doctor said he did not advocate proselytism by force, but we should cease to encourage idolatry, or to sanction it by a timid disrespect for our own holy religion. Missionaries in larger numbers, and more especially connected with the Church of England, should be sent out. Let a larger policy of peace, commerce, and instruction be adopted, and there would be less chance of a recurrence of the present disastrous events. In conclusion, the rev. gentlemen pointed out to his congregation what must be the wants of thousands of our fellow countrymen and women in India, who had no claim upon the Government or upon the East India Company, and who yet were in the utmost need of help from those who had been providentially spared from sufferings such as they had endured, and called upon his hearers liberally to contribute towards their relief."

The outlines of three other sermons which we insert, out of the great mass of materials that have been forwarded to us, are marked by good sense and appropriateness in the selection of topics:—

"St Bennet, Gracechurch Street.—The Rev. C. Mackenzie, A.M., rector, preached from Daniel, vi., 20. 'Is thy God whom thou servest continually able to deliver thee from the lions?' After a preface suitable to the occasion, the preacher drew three considerations from the text—viz., 1. That the severest trials happen to men of piety and faith, which he illustrated from Scripture and from modern history, also pointing out the signs of fidelity and piety exhibited now in India; 2. That our God is mighty to deliver; 3. That the best way to secure help and deliverance is to serve God continually. After showing that all need exhortation to repentance, Christian life, and prayer, the preacher concluded with earnest appeal. 'Mothers (he said) have given their sons, we must not refuse our gold.'"

"St Michael's, Cornhill.—Sermon by the Rev. Thomas Wrench, from Genesis iv., 10,—'Thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.'

"The discourse was thus divided:—1. That it is incumbent upon all Christians, in their private capacities, to abstain as far as possible from revenging personal injuries and wrongs. 2. That it is the province of 'the powers that be, to execute God's justice in the earth, inasmuch as they bear not the sword in vain, both for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of them that do well."

"St Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge.—The Rev. Dr M'Caul took for his text Psalm xliv., 1—4, observing that they were assembled at the bidding of the highest authority in the land The Sovereign of the greatest nation under heaven humbled herself before the King of Kings, acknowledged her own impotence and His power, and called upon her people to unite in humiliation and prayer. The people heartily obeyed the call. The royal proclamation only expressed the deep and pervading feeling of the nation. We were suffering under calamity. We felt there was no help but in God. To Him, therefore, we appealed. We, like Israel of old, had had conferred upon us the high commission of being a kingdom of priests. Our wondrous empire in the East was God's gift;

we won it not by our own sword, as the history of British India made evident. It was given to us that we might teach the nations the way of salvation. We had proved unfaithful to our trust. We had rather helped idolatry than Christianity. The Lord had let loose upon us that idolatry; one of the greatest calamities that ever befell the nation had come upon us, nearly touching the happiness, the honour, and dignity of the British people. We acknowledged God's hand. He had sent it. We called for mercy and help. No nation ever cried in vain. He had strengthened the hearts of a few of our countrymen to withstand, and enabled them to triumph over armies of aliens. He would hear our prayers and bless our hosts now going forth, if our appeal to him was in earnest. This must be shown in the sincerity of our repentance—national and personal—and in our sympathy with the sufferers and afflicted who had borne the punishment for the nation's sins."

Passing over a great variety of more ordinary discourses, we give the Rev. Mr Auriol's remarks:—

"St Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet Street.—The Rev. Edward Auriol, the rector, preached in the morning. Text—Isaiah xxvi., 9th verse:—'With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early; for when thy judgments are in the earth the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.'

"Having given some details of the events in India, the preacher divided his subject into—I. The judgments of God; II. The righteousness to be learnt from these judgments; III. The position suitable to the servant of God at such a season.—1. The judgments of God had been provoked by the neglect of acknowledging God and Christianity in the Government of India; 2. By exclusion of the Bible from Government schools; 3. By connexion of Government with support of idol temples; 4. By encouragement given to the anti-social system of caste existing in the Bengal army, the preacher mentioning the case of a converted Sepoy dismissed the service simply for becoming a Christian. He observed, in the strong language used in God's Word, as to His jealousy for His own honour, and the sin of those who know Him not confessing Him before men. He remarked the peculiar character of the mutiny, showing God's avenging hand, from the fact that the Sepoys appear not to be able to understand this policy of neutrality, but to have suspected a design to force them to become Christians as concealed under it; and in the wildest fanaticism they had been guilty of crimes which, however horrid, were in accordance with the teaching of their religion. He mentioned, nevertheless, hopeful tokens of mercy, as seeming to prove that, if we humbled ourselves before God, he had a purpose of mercy for us. That these events had not occurred when British officers were wholly insensible of the duty of professing Christianity; and referred especially to the Punjab, where God had given signal success to officers who individually had felt it their duty to aid the mission cause. He referred, too, to the time of the mutiny as betokening the mercy of God; and said that even its horrors might have permitted to shew Christians the true character of heathenism, and to rouse them to greater missionary efforts. Secondly, the righteousness to be learnt. 1. That it was righteous with respect to God and to the people governed that the Government should avow itself Christian. 2. That it should express its desire that every facility be given that the people should be taught that truth which can alone elevate a fallen sinner and make him a child of God. 3. That it would not be righteous, or according to God's plan in His Gospel, to use compulsion or bribery to induce any to become Christians. True toleration forbids a Government to inter-

fere with a man's opinion, as mere matters of opinion or belief or mode of worship as such, but Christian governments must not tolerate acts of cruelty or injustice or anti-social customs under any pretext. 4. We should pray that we may become righteous in our conduct if successful. Justice would require exemplary punishment to be inflicted on the perpetrators of acts of violence and treachery; but Christian righteousness required that we should manifest to the heathen the difference between this blind, blood-thirsty fury and the execution of righteous vengeance. Thirdly, the position of true Christians at this season was one of earnest prayer—need of prayer for those shut up in our forts, for our soldiers, for those under anxiety for friends—for our missionaries and the ministers of the Gospel in their work of mercy—and for our rulers, that wisdom may be given them in this emergency. The Christian's duty is to seek to promote piety at home; true piety in the centre will be felt in the extremities of the empire."

At St Giles in the Fields, the Rev. A. W. Thorold remarked; taking as his text, Jeremiah xviii. 5–10 :—

"We, the English people, have our national blessings. For strength, for influence, for wealth, for territory, who surpasses us? Our Reformed Church has sent out her boughs into the sea and her branches to the river. In nigh 60 colonies loyal subjects obey the Queen; and for what? Even this,—that by our free institutions we should be the representatives of personal liberty; that by our extended commerce we should be the pioneers of civilization; and that, as direct witnesses of God, in Europe we should be the champions of an orthodox Protestantism; in Asia and Africa the ministers of Christianity. Have we been this? Is it an exaggeratio nto affirm of our Indian policy that, in the first instance, it fostered heathenism and frowned on Christianity; in the second instance, it protected heathenism and permitted Christianity; and that even now, let the heathen proclamations say what they please, no one can justly accuse our government of betraying even the faintest desire that the Hindoos should be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Here is the plague spot of our deliberate policy. We have been so fearful that our subjects should suspect us of wishing to convert them that we have been wanting in common self-respect in the matter of our own faith. After pressing the claims of the sufferers through the mutiny on the sympathy of the congregation, and reminding them of the Roman senator in the second Punic war, who bought the plot of ground on which Hannibal's tent was pitched within two miles of Rome; and of the prophet Jeremiah, who bought land of his uncle's son while Jerusalem was on the point of being taken by the Babylonians; the preacher thus concluded :—The heathen teaches us to be brave in adversity, and never to think it possible we can be conquered. As English citizens, with Varro of old, we will never despair of the republic. The prophet shall teach us trust in God. A good conscience makes a man brave. As mere civil governors we have, on the whole, been a signal blessing to India. Our cause is the cause of humanity, of good government—may I say, without presumption, even of God? Brethren, whatever comes, we will keep up heart. No temptation shall take us but such as is common to man; and suffering is the school of all Christian virtues; and where under the sun has Christianity been spared her baptism of fire? Like her Master, before she can reign she must suffer. Yes, we will walk on calmly, side by side, dreading nothing but that we should distrust God. As He has watched upon this evil and brought it upon us, so will He take it away if we turn from our

iniquities and understand His truth. 'For the Lord will not cast off for ever. He doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men.'"

Elsewhere the rector of Trinity Church, Mary-le-Bone, enters into more minute details:—

"TRINITY CHURCH, MARY-LE-BONE.—The morning sermon was preached by the Rev. Richard Chaffer, Fellow of the University of Durham, from Lam. v., 7—'Our fathers have sinned, and are not, and we have borne their iniquities.'

"The rev. gentleman opened his sermon by a discussion of the justice and goodness of the law revealed in the second commandment, that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children. He showed that it was the necessary result of three admitted principles. 1st, That sin must be punished; 2nd, that its punishment must often be delayed; and 3d, that we are bound together in close ties of family relationship, so that the son's life is in a great measure a continuation of that of the father. It produced more good than evil, both as being inseparably connected with the other rule, that 'the generation of the upright is blessed,' and as enabling the displeasure of God against many kinds of sin to be plainly and lastingly manifested, so as both to remind us of those penalties which are inflicted on the transgressor after death, and to deter men from crime by standing examples of signal retribution. More especially was this the case with nations. They stood continually before the tribunal of God. Their sins are open, presumptuous, and gigantic, and that they are punished is evident from every page of the law and every prediction of the prophets. Yet if their punishment is delayed, even for a year, many fathers must have passed away from this earthly scene, and left their children to suffer in their place. Commonly the punishment is delayed much longer. Very often the generation which suffers, although wicked, is much less wicked than that which precedes it. Hoshea, Zedekiah, the Jews whom Titus slew, the Pope in whose days Rome was sacked, and Louis XVI., were less guilty than their predecessors; but they 'filled up the measure' of their fathers. In like manner, we in India were suffering for our father's iniquities even more than for our own. Our fathers had been unjustly ambitious, covetous, and ungodly. Mr Chaffer here gave a short sketch of the history of India from our first embassy in 1606 to the present day. He dwelt particularly upon the duplicity of Clive, upon the atrocities perpetrated by Warren Hastings, specifying the Rohilla war, the seizure of Benares, and the spoliation of the princesses of Oude, upon the crimes of private persons in the last century, and upon the gross ungodliness of our countrymen, their support of heathenism and persecution of Christianity among the natives. At the close of the last century there were but three churches in India and twelve chaplains in regular employment. Missions had been discouraged; the first missionaries were ordered to leave the country, and the Sepoys were strictly guarded from all intercourse with Christian ministers. In the year 1819 a Sepoy, who turned Christian, was compelled by the sentence of a court-martial to leave the army. This occurred at Meerut, the very city where the present mutiny broke out. Until the last few years every native who turned Christian forfeited the whole of his property. The government established schools, in which the Vedas, the Shasters, and the Koran were systematically taught, while the Bible was excluded. They had levied a tax on pilgrims, and contributed to the support of heathen temples. We shall be told that all this is right; that it has been dictated by sound policy; and that we ought to respect the prejudices of the people whom we govern. Be it so. Policy is tested by success; and it is no great success to have our army in rebellion. Had we really considered what was the

character of the prejudices and customs of the heathen? We had heard only part of the atrocities recently perpetrated, yet we had been filled with horror. Had we never considered that these atrocities were committed daily among the heathen? Was it a matter of wonder that those who consider that their gods are pleased with self-torture and human sacrifices, who throw themselves beneath the wheels of Juggernaut, who leave their sick and aged relatives to perish on the banks of the Ganges and if they are too long in dying suffocate them with the mud of the river, and who have festivals at which murders are so common that no inquiry is made,—is it wonderful that they should have murdered and tortured our countrymen? or that those whose temples were covered with indecent images; who despised women, and burned their widows; whose devotees walked through the streets without one particle of clothing, should have ill-treated women? We had heard only last year of the use of torture by the native officials in the collection of the revenue, not with the concurrence of the government, but because the heathen is naturally cruel. Yet we had kept the knowledge of Christianity from the people. We had borne our own iniquities and those of our fathers. With the same measure that we had meted it had been measured to us again. The children of those who had been accomplices in the slaughter of the Rohillas had suffered in a similar way. The children of those whose oppressions had extorted from a Mussulman historian the cry, that God would succour and avenge his afflicted people, were now uttering a cry not one whit more piteous. The rebellion was the natural fruit of Mahomedanism and heathenism. Of heathenism enough had been said; the koran bade all true believers propagate their religion by the sword, and gave them unlimited power over their female captives. We had prevented the growth of a Christian population who would have sympathized with us. The rev. gentleman then turned to the future. There was no need to discuss the question of vengeance or of mercy. We could not spare the mutineers while they remained in arms, and by the time order was restored the question would probably be, how to save the people from starvation. But we must resolve for the future to govern India in the fear of God. At present, however, we must provide for our suffering countrymen. To make a fast acceptable it must be joined with Christian benevolence; and the present was a case where our help was absolutely required.

"Christ Church, Newgate Street.—The morning service in this church was attended by a large congregation. The sermon was preached by the Rev. M. Gibbs, the rector, from Judges, ii., 1—5 inclusive. 'And an angel of the Lord came up from Gilgal to Bochim and said, I made you to go up out of Egypt and have brought you unto the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you. And ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall throw down their altars; but ye have not obeyed my voice. Why have ye done this? Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you, but they shall be as thorns in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare unto you. And it came to pass when the angel of the Lord spake these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lifted up their voice and wept. And they called the name of that place Bochin; and they sacrified there unto the Lord.'

The preacher commenced his remarks by observing, that the words of his text applied specially to the children of Israel, but that the principles God laid down of old for the government of the world were for all time, and must still regulate the conduct of nations and individuals. The his-

tory of the Israelites was instructive. They worshipped the true God, and so long as they continued faithful to Him they enjoyed His favour and protection. He gave them possession of the land of Canaan, subduing the people who had previously inhabited it, and to him they were responsible for the righteous administration of the trust he had confided to them. Nations were answerable to God for the conduct of their rulers, as the power they held was delegated to them by the people. In the text was described the sin rebuked and the repentance manifested. The Israelites had been told it was their duty to destroy the altars and the idolatrous worship of the country; and very reasonably, for what could the worshippers of the true God have to do with idols? But they failed to discharge their duty, and the angel of the covenant reminded them of their deliverance from Egypt, of the many privileges they had enjoyed, and demanded a reason for their disobedience; the very sins they had connived at became weapons by which they themselves were punished. One hundred years ago God called us to found a vast empire in the East, and those who were now crying out for vengeance upon the guilty perpetrators of those atrocities which have shocked the civilized world would do well to inquire whether we had, even with reference to the very province where disaffection so largely prevails, been faithful to our trust. Had we been faithful to the immortal soul of the heathen? Instead of considering India as a country we were bound to Christianize, we had treated it only in an imperial sense. If we had acted neutrally it would have been bad enough, but we had respected the religion of the heathen more than our own. Our toleration had exceeded its proper bounds. Government has established schools for the education of the natives, and an order in Council forbade the introduction of the Bible into them. Had we manifested to them our belief in Christianity? Had we not almost led them to suppose that we considered ourselves their rulers more by sufferance than right, and thus emboldened them to the treason they had committed in their endeavour to throw off our rule? The superstitions we had connived at had at length become scourges in the hands of our enemies. Let them consider next the repentance manifested. When the angel spake these words the Israelites wept. Did they weep for the sin, or for its punishment? Some were sincere. If we had any reverence for God or love for our country our humiliation would be sincere that day. The Israelites sought an atonement; they sacrificed. In like manner must we look to the great atonement—the great sacrifice—in this the day of our affliction. That day they should all supplicate the divine protection and blessing for our Government and country, and manifest their sympathy by contributing according to their means to the fund now raising for the relief of our suffering brethren, their widows and orphans, in the East."

"HER MAJESTY'S CHAPEL OF THE SAVOY, STRAND.—The Rev. John Forster preached a sermon from the Second of Corinthians, chap. i., verses 8 to 11:—'For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia; that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life. But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead; who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that He will yet deliver us—ye also helping together by prayer for us.'

"The preacher commenced by showing the connexion between this passage and the present occasion. By 'so great a death' the apostle intended some imminent peril to which he had been exposed among the heathen in Asia; and we know that while there he had been hunted for

his life, and made to fight for it with wild beasts. He declares God to have been his deliverer, adding his trust that he should be saved in trials which yet awaited him; and having observed (in a previous verse), that the whole body of believers were 'partakers of his sufferings,' he calls them to the duty of uniting their supplications with his. We may surely say, this day is this Scripture fulfilled in our ears. There has not been so fearful and wide-spread a calamity since the Irish massacres in the middle of the 17th century, when in a few months many thousands of men, women, and children suffered death for their faith, under circumstances of very great cruelty and indignity. Would that a veil could be cast over the still greater atrocities and deeper dishonour recently inflicted on those bearing the British name! But our country was to be humbled to the dust. The story has been told in Gath, published in the streets of Ascalon, and the daughters of the Philistines have triumphed. And yet, after the first terrible surprise has passed, how great also has been the deliverance! The bush still burns with fire, but the Lord is there and the bush is not consumed. That we may more fully understand the present portentous event, we should reflect on what one of the appointed prayers has told us —that this murderous rebellion has been encouraged by a hateful idolatry and cruel superstition. Brahminism has, in fact, only borne its natural fruits; and the same may be said, in a less degree, of Mahomedanism. Scripture teaches us some important lesson in connexion with such events. There has been too much said among us savouring of a cry for earthly vengeance. This is a time of all others for Christians to show what manner of spirit they are of. Our blessed Master would not permit that fire should come down from Heaven (as His angry followers had suggested) to consume the cruel Samaritans; and He prayed under all the tortures of the cross for his murderers. The first Christian martyr meekly imitated the great example. A further lesson, which seems to be called for at the scene of this disaster, is, that we be more honest in future, and less governed by motives of expediency in the momentous concern of religion, herein imitating the Great Apostle, whom no extrinsic consideration and no severity of personal trial could daunt from confessing to the faith."

We now proceed to give a specimen or two of the discourses preached by Nonconformist ministers on this interesting occasion:—

"New College Chapel, St John's Wood.—Two sermons were preached in this chapel by the minister of the place, the Rev. Henry Christopherson, and collections were made on behalf of the Relief Fund. The morning text was from Jeremiah xviii., 7, 10.—'At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation,' &c.

"The sermon, while maintaining that true humanity required the severe chastisement of the murderous mutineers, and while denying that British misgovernment had any immediate connexion whatever with these disasters dealt very faithfully with some of our national errors that called for national humiliation,—and, after a very earnest appeal for a large liberality to the Fund, concluded with these words,—Brethren, it is not India that is concerned in this struggle. If we had a shake to our dominion there, if God does not prosper our councils and our armies there, we become at once a mark for a score of Powers to point at, to despise, and to threaten. We are not now fighting for a colony, we are fighting for our *prestige*, and therefore our security among the empires of the globe. I believe, therefore, that the prayers of every peasant, as he bows this day in humble supplication for the miseries of India, will tell upon the destinies of the whole kingdom, and thus upon the glory of Christ's kingdom in the earth. It is to me as if the court, the government, the commerce, the

arts, the sciences, the greatness of England, were suspended in this struggle, and therefore suspended on the penitence and the prayers of this national humiliation. Who can tell what new massacres may either fall or be averted by the temper of our people this very day? Great God! 'Save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance.' I never would have undertaken to address you for the mere curiosity, the mere excitement of this Fast, or the sorrows that caused it. It is because I want everyone to ask himself, Am I chargeable with any of the guilt? Can I do anything towards reform? Nations, after all, cannot humble themselves. Individuals must bow down, and that humbles the nation. There is not a man here who is not concerned in the causes of this calamity. There is not a man here who may not contribute to the coming back of peace. The work of this day will not, my brethren, have been done when in the splendid cathedral of our metropolis the appointed dignitary of our national church has delivered the eloquent discourse; nor yet when in 10,000 of our sanctuaries a wailing multitude of smitten spirits have chanted their varied *Miserere*s. No; I rather look for the best results of this National Fast to the secret closets of perhaps the poorest and the lowest among our churches. The cries of some Daniel, some Mordecai, some Cornelius, may outvalue in heaven the homage of Courts, and Cabinets, and Nobles; aye, and for aught I know, moved by the omnipotent intercession of some one Elijah, the cloud that now covers millions of hearts may pass away, or may drop in showers of blessings on yonder panic-struck, blood-stained population, and the very lips which, when this morning dawned, were crying out in despair, 'Oh God! the heathen are come into thine inheritance. Thy Holy Temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem in heaps!' Even they shall change their wail of woe not many days hence to the anthem of thanksgiving,—'God, remembering His mercy, hath holpen his servant Israel, as He promised to our forefathers Abraham and his seed for ever.'

"The evening sermon was from the text—1 Samuel, iv., 13.—'Eli sat by the wayside watching, for his heart trembled for the Ark of God.' This discourse was chiefly confined to the more purely spiritual treatment of the subject, and referred mainly to evils in our churches, and methods of removing them."

"Scotch National Church, Covent Garden.—The Rev. Dr Cumming preached to a densely-crowded congregation on the words, 'All these things are against me.'—Genesis xlii., 36.

"He showed that we often draw untrue conclusions from true premises, and interpret as permanently disastrous what is only temporarily painful. This arises from the imperfection of our knowledge, the precipitancy of our judgment, and the omission of God in all our thoughts and calculations. He said we should look at our afflictions in the light of the countenance of God; as chastisements, not penalties; as preparatory to purer issues here and eternal joys hereafter. He expressed his conviction that the awful baptism of sufferings and sorrows and death that had sprinkled the soil of India was, deplorable and heartrending as we felt it to be, the introduction to enduring blessings. The blood of so many victims was the seed of the church. It was no vain sacrifices. There was a meaning and a mission in it, and what we know not now we shall know hereafter. A voice comes from Cawnpore, and Lucknow, and Delhi, and either bank of the Ganges, thus interpreting itself,—'Be still, and know that I am God.' 'I will be exalted in the earth.' 'God hath said I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;' and therefore every fugitive and captive in India may with the Apostle boldly say, 'The Lord is my helper I will

not fear what man shall do unto me.' We have no time or heart to enter on animated discussions, how far all this might have been foreseen, or who are the parties guilty of culpable blindness and neglect. This is not the time for such inquisition. Nor have we any disposition to discuss at this crisis what should be the future government of India; this great question will come up in due time. It is our present duty to enlist on behalf of 'the Powers that be' all the disposable might and resources of the empire, if possible, in order to enable them to crush this sanguinary insurrection—this murderous crusade against helpless babes and unoffending women. We are not demanding vengeance; but just and due retribution is mercy as well as duty. We invoke not the sword against a single Hindoo or Mahomedan woman or child, but is it unjust to require that every Sepoy found armed against our Queen and her authority in India should meet the traitor's and the murderer's doom? This is not mere justice to the guilty—it is mercy to the rest of the empire. Here the highest political expediency and the purest justice are one. It is our duty, and I am sure it is our instinctive impulse, to pray as with one heart and voice that God, who is near to every acre of India as of England, would be pleased, in great mercy, to spread His protecting shield over our countrymen and their wives and children, now exposed to savage and relentless proscription. May every attribute of our Father enclose them, as the mountains are round Jerusalem! May He by His mighty power, paralyze every arm lifted up to smite the innocent. May He give courage and confidence to Havelock and his gallant Highlanders, and to the fugitive and the captive counsel and safety! May their cry be heard! Let it enter into the ears of the Lord of Hosts, and draw down His gracious and mighty presence. Spare them, good Lord. Spare thy people and save thy heritage, we beseech thee. Aware that those who escape are houseless and penniless—that luxury now pines in want, and fulness is hungry, and the possessor of wardrobes stored with goodly apparel is naked, it is alike our duty and our privilege to visit or minister to the widow and the fatherless, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world. There is a great necessity: let there be a corresponding exercise of liberality. As to the causes of this terrible outbreak I believe they are not owing to the crimes or the avarice or the misgovernment—and we cannot shut our eyes to grevious sins—of our country in India; the causes are deeper far. It is the maturity of deep-seated and long ripening elements. The Mussulman and the Brahmin have seen light breaking in every day, and dissipating their respective superstitions; and all kinds of knowledge, secular and sacred, have equally the effect; and, dreading the ebb of the tide of their deluded victims, and the loss of their own power, they have got up pretended reasons for combining the masses against Christains in India. I see in the horizon the circling dawn of light. With all our sins we have been too gigantic a blessing to the heathen to lose a field for yet greater benefits. Our noblest resolution this day will be our united determination to increase our contributions towards the evangelization of India, to sustain a greater number of missionaries in connexion with our own church,

> "Till earth's remotest nation
> Has heard Messiah's name.'"

"English Presbyterian Church, Regent Square.—The Rev. Dr Hamilton preached on Genesis, xii. 9:—'I do remember my faults this day.'

"After giving a sketch of the origin of our empire in the East the preacher said—It is no purpose of ours to take advantage of this day, and

launch an indiscriminate invective against England's government of India. We believe that on the whole our government has been a great blessing to that vast and populous land. Had it not been found a blessing by the people themselves it could never have spread so fast and far; and even now it is confessed that we have to deal, not with India's revolt against England's rule, but with the discontent of pampered Sepoys and the revolt of Brahminism and Islamism in favour of their several superstitions. It has been a blessing to India that the bloody feuds of rival states and opposing dynasties have been terminated. It has been a blessing to India that its industry has been quickened and not a few comforts added to the lot of its down-trampled artisans and cultivators. It has been a blessing to India that a tincture of European literature and science has been infused into myriads of minds mostly of the higher classes, and that among its traders and capitalists some few have been inspired with an honourable emulation of British probity and truthfulness. It is a blessing to India that the time-honoured institutions of widow burning and infant drowning have been suppressed, and that something of the equity of English law and the impartiality of English courts of justice has found its way into that region of chicanery and oppression—that land of lying and cunning, where a rupee can buy any testimony from a witness, and a shawl any deliverance from a judge. But although India is a happier land than England found it a hundred years ago, the question still remains, Is it as happy as a portion of the British empire ought to be? Has England fulfilled her stewardship? Has she been true to herself, to India, and to God? Were this year to close our Eastern annals, would there not be a sad and mournful page in the short and eventful story? After reading a 'prophetic passage' from a publication issued by Dr Duff 22 years ago, the preacher ended by expressing the hope that in future the Indian Government, as well as individual Europeans, would act out their Christianity; that no countenance should be given to caste; and that more energetic means should be taken for the diffusion of the Gospel."

"Crystal Palace.—The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon addressed yesterday, at the Crystal Palace, the largest audience that has assembled in modern times to listen to the exhortations of a minister of the gospel. The palace was opened to the public at 9 o'clock, and by noon every seat within earshot of the preacher had its occupant. The pulpit, which was brought from the Surrey Gardens, was placed at the north-east corner of the central transept at its junction with the nave, and the thousands of seats which had been here disposed, were soon engaged. Those portions of the galleries also which were within range of the speaker's voice were speedily filled, and the large orchestra was crowded even to the backmost bench. Altogether there were 23,564 persons present; and it is scarcely possible that a more animated or enthusiastic audience could have been assembled. Selecting for his text a part of the 9th verse of the 6th chapter of Micah, 'Hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it,' Mr Spurgeon opened his discourse by stating that this world was not *the* place for the punishment of sin; it might be *a* place, but it was not *the* place for punishment. Some religionists, he observed, treated every accident which happened to man in the indulgence of sin as if it were a judgment. The upsetting of a boat on the river on a Sunday was in their view a judgment for the sin of Sabbath-breaking. The accidental fall of a house in which persons were engaged in any unlawful occupation was supposed to be a special judgment for the special sin committed. All these were childish notions; but there were many who carried the opposite doctrine to an extreme, and who were apt to deem, because God did usually visit each particular offence in this life

upon the transgressor, that there were no judgments at all. In this they were mistaken, for he felt persuaded that there were such things as national judgments—national chastisements for national sins. Oh! what a rod was that which had just been inflicted upon our country! His poor words would fall infinitely short of the fearful tale of misery and woe which must be told before we could know how smartly God had smitten us, and how sternly he had chidden. We had to lament over the fact of revolted subjects; for that they were our subjects he challenged all the world to deny. With equal confidence he asserted that they were our subjects rightly, for the Sepoys had voluntarily given themselves up to our dominion, and had taken the oath of fealty to Her Majesty. The revolt, therefore, was not that of a nation, as when patriots strived to free their country from the yoke of an oppressor, but it was the revolt of treasonous and seditious subjects, fomented by ambition and the vilest lusts. He would not defile his lips by detailing their acts of debauchery, bloodshed, and worse than bestiality. His tongue would not venture to utter what they had dared to do. His audience would rise in their seats and hiss him from the place he occupied if he hinted at some of the crimes which had been done by these men in their open streets. He looked upon the gallows as a frightful evil; he regarded every gibbet as a dreadful visitation upon the land; but there were rebels to be executed; they must be punished, for both Heaven and earth demanded it. He was no soldier. He loved not war; but he did not believe that this was a war at all in the proper sense of the term, for our troops had gone forth against revolted subjects, who by their crimes and unmentionable sins had incurred the punishment of death. As the arrest of murderers was not war, so the arrest of Indian Sepoys was not war; and while earth demanded their punishment, he believed that God would sanction it. But it was a dreadful thing to take away the lives of our fellow subjects and we must regard it as a great affliction upon us. The rod, indeed, had fallen heavily; no mortal tongue could tell the anguish it had caused, nor could we dream where its consequences might end. It was a rod, but it was an appointed rod. He saw God everywhere; and we might rely upon it that every deed that had been done against us had been appointed by the Almighty. The wheels of Providence might appear to revolve in a mysterious manner, but wisdom was the axle on which they turned, and it would be seen in the end that God had only ordained this evil that great good might ensue. The rev. gentleman proceeded to observe that it would have been well for us if we had heard the rod before it had fallen upon us, and that there were indications sufficient to have forewarned us of the dispositions of the natives. He urged that she should never for a moment have tolerated the so-called religion of the Hindoos, which was neither more nor less than a mass of the vilest filth that the imagination could conceive. Religious liberty was a principle dear to all, but when religion taught immorality he said at once, 'Down with it.' He could never tolerate such a system as that. If it were any man's religion to blow his fellow creature's brains out he would not tolerate that; or if religion countenanced Thuggism, and the commission of bestial acts, he would not tolerate that; and he contended that it was the duty of a Christian government to have suppressed the vile religion of the Hindoos by the strong hand. It would have been well if we could thus have avoided the evil, and have been spared the remorse which fell to the lot of those who knew that they brought the punishment which they experienced upon themselves. But the rod had smitten us; it had ploughed its furrows in deep scourges upon our back; and, according to the published proclamation of the highest authority, this dreadful visitation was to be traced in part to the sin of the

people of England themselves. In the terms of the official declaration, it was our sins that had brought this visitation upon us, and in it we were exhorted to humiliate ourselves on account of them. He would be as honest as he could with his audience, and would tell them what were the sins for which, if it were true that God was now punishing us for sin, we were probably suffering. There were, he said, sins openly committed in this community which ought never to have been allowed; such, for instance, as the infamous nuisance in Holywell Street—at length, he trusted, about to be suppressed; and the barefaced prostitution which was permitted in the Haymarket, Regent Street, and our places of public resort. If there were a crime for which God would punish England, it would be for allowing infamy to stack our streets in public, exhibiting itself decked in the robes of a harlot in such a fashion as to insult the modesty of every decent person who approached it. He saw representatives of the press present, and he trusted that through them this frightful evil would be exposed. The press could sting sharply when it chose, and he trusted that it would sting so effectually as to infuse a little virtue into our governors. He then touched upon the nature of our public amusements; and observed with regret, that 'lords and ladies frequently sat in theatres to listen to plays which were a long way from decent.' Having exhibited these as glaring faults and sins of the community, he then enumerated various individual sins, such as pride, oppression of the poor, illiberality, carnality, and the like; and he urged that it was the prevalence of sins like these which should induce us to humiliate ourselves in the dust, and to beg the mercy of the Almighty. Finally, he expressed a hope that our humiliation would not pass away with the occasion. He saw with the eye of faith at that moment British arms once more triumphant in the East, and he hoped that we, who in the hour of disaster had prayed to the 'God of Battles,' would not forget that He was also a God of blessing and a God of mercy, and that our votive offering on the re-establishment of peace would be something different from sky-rockets and illuminations. With an earnest appeal for liberal contributions towards the relief of the sufferers in India, the rev. gentleman concluded his able and animated address."

The discourses in general bear marks of careful preparation; but, as might be expected, are marked by a very considerable similarity in point of idea, rendered unavoidable in the circumstances of the case. The places of worship appear to have been generally well attended, and some to have been crowded to excess; shewing that the magnitude of the calamity had taken deep hold upon the public mind, and that the occasion was very generally felt to be one that amply called for the setting apart of a day of national humiliation.

ON THE IMPROVEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN EFFECTED IN THE ART OF EDUCATION WITHIN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.

We shall first endeavour to realize in our minds the condition of the School and Schoolmaster fifty years ago. In regard to the teacher himself, *status* he had none—society allowed him none; and fearfully

was he revenged: for, we may safely affirm, that if any community despises or lightly esteems the men to whom it has entrusted the sacred charge of rearing the young, that community will be the first to reap the bitter fruits of its neglect. The village or parochial schoolmaster was in those days a kind of nondescript; he formed, as it were, a sort of connecting link between the *dults* and the adults; and, unquestionably, he was a Hamlet's ghost to all the little urchins of the village. He was regarded, moreover, as an appendage to the kirk, whence the clergyman would point to an individual, and exclaim, "there goes John, *my* beadle; or Mr Hammerjaw, *my* precentor; or Mr M'Learn, *my* teacher." Once or twice in the year the minister might condescend to invite the Dominie to his house to take a cup of tea, but if the latter individual happened to have a wife, she was not included in the invitation, as she was not reckoned fit company for the "Leddy of the Manse." His associates were chiefly the small farmers in the district, and in jovial gatherings he and the exciseman were the butts of the company. On Friday evenings, when an individual intending to enter into the state of matrimony applied for his lines, in order to be "cried," the bridegroom and his friends invariably filled the Dominie *fou*, so that next day there was no school, as the *maister* had scarcely recovered from the effects of having joined the *glassites*. Nor could it be otherwise, for in the vast majority of cases he had neither been educated nor trained for his work. Did a mechanic receive an injury, or become lazy, he forthwith opened a school; indeed a large proportion of those who taught was composed of men who had the characteristics of those sacrifices which were most rigorously excluded under the Mosaic Law, viz., "the halt, the maimed, and the blind." Did a licentiate of the Church become a prey to that "hope deferred which sickens the heart," he had recourse to a school, as a means of subsistence. Nay, more, and above all, was a clergyman deposed from his sacred office for immorality he started a school, as if the juvenile portion of the community were alone exempt from contamination. The discipline of the school, too, was in keeping with its entire economy. Fear of the rod was the only restraining influence in the minds of the pupils. Were the master in a bad key, woe to the *paw* of the unfortunate who committed a *faux pas*. The natural tendency of such cruel severity being to degrade the teacher in the eye of the pupil—to engender disagreeable, even disgusting associations with professedly mental culture—to estrange the affections of the young from him whom otherwise they might have respected—to furnish the most perfect example of absolute tyranny, in which the master was at once the prosecutor, judge, counsel, jury, and executioner, and to raise to the dignity of hero of the school the boy who could stand the greatest amount of *palmies* without flinching

It has been well observed, that fear is the great corruptor of the human heart. We mean that slavish fear which produces dissimulation, craft, hypocrisy, lying, cunning and feelings of revenge. As an illustration of cunning, we submit the following:—Many years ago the Herioters, as they are called, were wont to annoy a gardener

whose orchard could be easily reached by climbing over a wall. The poor man was fortunate one evening to make prisoner of one of the pilferers; and in order to secure identification on the following day, he deemed it advisable to cut off a button from the boy's jacket, and to call at the Hospital and pick him out. He had reckoned, however, beyond his host, for when the whole boys were drawn up in file, in order to have their jackets inspected, every one, from the youngest to the eldest, was found minus a button exactly corresponding with the one originally cut off.

Reverting, however, to the general management of the school, will it be believed that cock-fighting was duly practised on the schoolroom floor under the superintendence of the teacher, who received as a perquisite the bodies of the poor fowls who fell in the conflict. Need we add, that such exhibitions were at once degrading and demoralizing. At Candlemas, too, the teacher was presented with a gratuity from each pupil; and he or she who brought the largest offering was carried in state through the village, and styled King or Queen of the School for the ensuing year. In many instances the greatest dunce in the school received that high distinction.

We will next take a glance at the books then used, and what do we find?—why, a board hung up with the letters of the alphabet, and that for the purpose of initiating the tyro into the shape and names of *Muckle A*, *Little a*, *Muckle B*, *Little b*, and so on. After the youngster had learned to distinguish all the characters, his next textbook was the Shorter Catechism; the third, the Gospel according to St John; the fourth, the Proverbs of Solomon; and the last, the book of Nehemiah; for when the pupil could repeat without stammering the seven-leagued names in that book, his English education was said to be finished. Of course, all explanation of words was carefully eschewed; the pupil being left to form and retain any meaning he might attach to them, until intercourse with society in after life gave him the exact import. Many a one, no doubt, remembers the various opinions he formed when he attempted to realize the meaning of the first line in Gray's Elegy. What sort of tolls *curfew* tolls were, and in what respect they differed from other toll-bars was an inscrutable mystery. An amusing instance of the same sort was mentioned in our hearing by an eminent teacher, who was educated at Perth Academy about 40 years ago. On one occasion the highest class English read Milton's L'Allegro, and as no explanation was given or demanded, our informant pondered deeply in his mind what "the quips and cranks on Hebe's cheek" could possibly mean? In course of cogitation a supposed solution of the mystery came to his relief. He had a school-fellow named Hepburn who was familiarly styled Hebe, and as that young gentleman's face was pretty well studded with warts, our friend came to the conclusion that Milton meant none other than his play-mate, when he wrote then words "the quips and cranks on Hebe's cheek."

To revert, however, to books. The first step in the right direction was the preparing of elementary books, and this required no small amount of talents and we may add courage, for some parents, even at

the present day, look with suspicion upon what they think innovations or inroads upon the beaten track. Grammar was next introduced; and, if we mistake not, Lindley Murray was the text-book; but ere long that book was discarded, for two reasons, first its expense, and secondly its teaching only *two* cases, viz., the nominative and possessive, rejecting altogether the objective case, as it and the nominative are similarly spelled. We state this as a fact; and have often wondered how that authority, Lindley Murray, should have rejected that important case upon such a frivolous and unphilosophical an account. Milne superseded Murray; and certainly, if the latter had too few cases, the former had too many; as Milne followed precisely the Latin paradigm, viz., *nom.* a king, *gen.* of a king, *dat.* to a king, &c., which was a darkening of knowledge by words without meaning. Very few, however, were then taught Grammar, so that there was but little harm done. A decided improvement was next effected by the introduction of Barrie's Collection; a book still in use, and unquestionably its matter and arrangement have given hints to not a few of the authors of our present school-books. Barrie tried to throw light upon Grammar by having at the end of his Collection the rules of Grammar *in verse*—of course the poetry rivalled in pathos and sublimity the well known lines, "Thirty days hath September, &c.

But after all, what avail definitions and rules if their meaning and application are not explained. Many of our readers will, no doubt, remember the infinite disgust with which they regarded English Grammar. By dint of application they mastered, by rote, numbers, genders, cases, the shalls and wills, the dos and dids, of the verb; the formidable array of pronouns, propositions, conjunctions, and interjections; a perfect Herculean task; and, after all, whether a word was a nounor a verb was to many a matter of hap-hazard.

But it may now be asked, Had this dark picture no bright side? Unquestionably it had,—some of the ablest men which Scotland has produced received their education under that defective system. They were far more indebted, however, to their own native talent and perseverance than to the instructions of their teacher. We must also allow that there were several instances of really good teaching in some of our Burgh and Parochial schools in the days referred to. Can we ignore the ability of an Adams, a Carson, or a Pillans? These men were enthusiasts in their profession, and did more perhaps than any others to infuse vitality into what seemed ready to perish.

A necessity for reformation began to be urged about 45 years ago. The famous letters of Pestalozzi were translated into English, and were eagerly read by all classes, scholastic and non-scholastic. The tenets of Gall and Spurzheim, also, did considerable service; inasmuch as they treated education physiologically, and shewed that there is an essential connection between mind and matter, and that the former depends upon the latter for sound and vigorous operations. Physical education then began to be discussed, but it had little reference beyond the mere ventilating of school-rooms, many of which had previously been daguerreotypes of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

The next matter to which attention was turned, was the deficiency of the means of education, especially for the masses of our large cities. In the spring of 1812, three young lads were executed at Edinburgh for rioting and murder on the New Year's morning of that year, and a general sympathy for their fate led the public to enquire how could such a state of matters among the lower orders be remedied. This led to the formation of the "Mound School;" and that seminary, if we mistake not, furnished the very first instance in Edinburgh of the method called, at that time, "Mutual Instruction," applied to the children of the lowest classes of society. This method was proved to be extensively used in India among the Hindoo population by Dr Andrew Bell, who is justly acknowledged as the father of the Madras System. The enthusiastic Joseph Lancaster espoused the same cause; and with a zeal scarcely paralleled organized establishments, and proved to the public that good wholesome and efficient elementary instruction could be imparted to that class of society, which otherwise would have been left without instruction at all. Education is, however, a great Republic —there the rich and the poor meet together. It is essentially curative assuming as a mental panacea that what does good to the body of Lazarus would equally benefit the person of Dives. The problem, then, was—would the wealthier classes submit to the Lancasterian method; and Professor Pillans was the first in Edinburgh to solve it. Of course that indefatigable teacher was compelled to make modifications of the system, as the boys who enter the High School have previously undergone various degrees of mental culture. However, Professor Pillans did introduce the monitorial system; and, according to his statement, it wrought admirably. It is not our intention here to advocate that system; for if we grant it has advantages, we must at the same time confess it has its defects; but beyond all doubt that method gave a vital impulse to teaching which had never existed before. The great objection urged against the monitorial system was, that an immatured mind cannot communicate to another immatured mind so much instruction and intelligence as a matured mind can. This certainly has force, and it led to what is called a division of labour; which at first was carried to an extent perfectly ridiculous. Each teacher had his bounds prescribed. English with its collateral branches was divided as follows,—Geography was assigned to the Mathematical master; History, Grammar, and Etymology to the Classical master; while the poor English master crouched like an ass between two burdens. If he asked a question in history, or the derivation of a word, he was challenged by the one for going beyond his bounds; and if he asked the whereabouts of any part of the earth's surface, he was pounced upon by the other. His duty was simply to teach reading, spelling, and recitation, which last branch was in those days literally "teaching the young idea how to *shout*." It is our conviction that the division of labour is, even in our day, carried too far.

To revert once mo e to books. Barrie's Collection was to a great extent superseded by other school-books of higher pretensions. Scott's Beauties, for instance; Ewing's English Learner and Elocution, &c

Fulton and Knight's Dictionary likewise appeared, and with the orthoepy of each word distinctly marked, thus paving the way for more correct pronunciation of the language. Nor can we forget the beneficial services of Lennie—his series of Elementary Books, and his *magnus opus*, Lennie's Grammar, which not many years ago commanded a sale of 40,000 copies annually, gave a decided impulse in the right direction. The dry bones were now beginning to move, public attention was attracted to the cause of education; the teacher was more respected; and in order to sustain a reputation, and to make his labours prized, he found that he must study his profession. Self-interest, if not a higher motive, compelled him to do his duty to his utmost, as indolence, apathy, caprice, fretfulness, and cruelty, were voted decidedly unfashionable.

A casual conversation in a back shop in Edinburgh led to the formation of the "School of Arts;" an institution which has been of incalculable value to an important section of the community. The great and good Francis Horner having one day paid a visit to his scientific friend the late Mr Bryson, watchmaker, asked that gentleman if his workmen would not be able to repair clocks and watches better if they had a knowledge of the nature of pinions, springs, balances, pendulums, &c. Mr Bryson at once replied, most assuredly! and this casual remark, as we formerly observed, led to the formation of Evening Classes for Mechanics; and not a few of our most eminent architects and engineers attribute their success in life to the instructions they received while attending the Lectures at the School of Arts. We believe there are about 400 names on the roll at present in Edinburgh, and many of these men, chiefly artizans, can find time after their day's toil to collect their thoughts and to solve problems which would put to shame not a few students attending our University.

Almost simultaneous with the formation of Schools of Art, was the movement towards the founding of Infant Schools. It is not our province to defend these schools; as we think that a virtuous well-regulated household is the best infant school; at the same time, we must confess that in certain given instances these schools have been productive of incalculable benefit. Wilderspin was an enthusiast, but unquestionably he understood the training of young children; and both conceived and executed a method of instruction at once simple and comprehensive, and affording many valuable hints to those who were educating youths of riper years. Unless, however, infant schools are conducted with great discretion, they cannot fail to eventuate in mischief. Children ought not to be too soon dismissed from an education exclusively domestic. Morality is essentially of home growth; and the parent's roof is the best infant seminary. Parents, however, are so often anxious that their children should have a knowledge of the alphabet, spelling, geography, and other common branches, that they commit a worse fault than teaching them to walk too early. In that case it is the limbs, in this it is the brain; and it is a well known fact, that early prodigies of mind rarely obtain distinction. From an unwise attempt to convert at once a flowery spring into a luxuriant summer, that summer seldom if ever arrives. Ere the fruit has

formed, the blossom withers. One day an Edinburgh teacher was waited upon by an English lady, with a very smartly dressed boy of apparently eight years of age. After the usual salutations were over, the lady informed the teacher that the young gentleman was her son, that he had been three years at a fashionable boarding school in England, and had returned home during the recess, but as she did not wish him to be altogether idle, she had called to enquire if an hour or two could be devoted to him so that he might be progressing. The teacher of course commended the lady's resolution, and asked what particular branch or branches he might be called on to unfold to his understanding. The reply was—*Greek*. It required all the politeness of which the teacher was master to prevent him from laughing outright. However, he looked wise, put on a professional face, and declined the project, on the ground that he made it a rule never to teach Greek to any one to whom he had not previously taught Latin. Of course the lady had too much courtesy to insist, but simply hinted that she had been assured by his tutors that he was an *excellent* Latin scholar.

All the while, the teacher was eyeing the duodecimo edition of the "Admirable Crichton," and found that he was rather a restless specimen of rising humanity. He walked from chair to chair, and examined every article of furniture with an impertinent curiosity positively disgusting, so that if the teacher had declined to initiate him unto the conjugation of *tupto* he certainly felt his fingers itching to convey to him a practical illustration of its meaning.

The next matter to be noticed is the establishment in our larger cities of what are called Sessional Schools, that is, schools established and directed by kirk-sessions. Teachers from all parts of the country paid a visit on the *open* days to the most renowned of these schools, and received many valuable hints in the art of educating; but here arose a difficulty, teachers saw more of the *results* of teaching than the means which produced these results. Hence arose the demand for Normal or Training Schools. And here we may remark, that these schools form an epoch more ways than one in the history of the art of educating. Little more than a dozen years ago, a father and mother might be seen seated at the fireside, their son is now fourteen or fifteen, and must of course ere long leave that numerous class the "*nate consumere fruges.*" But what will he be? What will we make him? is the oft-repeated enquiry of the decent couple. The worthy matron, perchance, expresses an opinion that she would like to see her bairn "wag his head in a poopit;" but *res angustae domi*, and she feels it requires more than piety to bring out a full fledged minister. A doctor is next mentioned, but that is still more out of the question; various other visible means of earning a livelihood are discussed, one by one, but the word *teacher* was never mentioned. The idea entertained of a teacher was that of a broken-down scholar; a man who had tried something higher, and having from some cause or other failed, was compelled as an *ultimatum* to open a school; every morning, as he was going to his irksome task, dolefully scanning the lines "*quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore.*" The case is now, however, changed; and we regard the

great Christian duties taught us by our common Master are patent and binding upon us all; and what right have teachers, as such, to challenge the purity of the fountain whence the knowledge of these duties has flowed. We blame the imprudence of not a few teachers, as well as the clergy, with having beaten back with the "drum-ecclesiastic" the great work of national education. We speak advisedly. About two years ago the writer of this article was present at a school-examination. The Bible lesson prescribed was the life of St Paul, and the teacher, seeing a brother present, asked him as a favour to question the class, and for that purpose placed in his hands the text-book used, viz., the New Testament Biography. One of the questions in that particular section is, "Why did the Apostle commend the conduct of the Bereans?" The answer came promptly, "In that they searched the Scriptures daily," &c. The questioner then began to descant upon the superiority of the Bereans over the Roman Catholics, who, he alleged, forbade the searching of the Scriptures. All the while there were three children of that persuasion in that class, and one of their parents was sitting listening to it. It was a gratuitous insult, because perfectly uncalled for.

The only question now remaining is, Is teaching at perfection? By no means, there is fully more to unlearn than to learn. We have again and again examined the advertisements of the opening of classes in October in our leading schools and institutions, and have wondered how it was possible, in the brief space of five, six, or seven years, to impart anything approaching to a knowledge of the branches therein specified. We are afraid that something like quackery has sprung up amongst the teaching profession, and that the cravings for L.S.D. are far more urgent than the instructions of LL.D. It is now-a-days the best pennyworth; and, in order to attract attention of parents, we find teachers advertising ramifications of branches which are essentially one; as, for instance, we may find history stated, and immediately after *chronology*, as if the pundit could teach the one without the other. Yet we see it swells the advertisement and leads parents to think that the school which has most branches specified must be the best bargain for the money. Education has reference not so much to the amount of knowledge crammed into a boy's head as the kind of training which will draw out and expand his faculties, and fit him for the duties of active life. It is a startling fact, that the great majority of candidates for the civil service who are annually "plucked," are cast aside for *bad spelling*. And no wonder, spelling is *too common* a branch. Now-a-days it must be botany, conchology, entomology, meteorology, physiology, and other daughters of the prolific *logos*. We are far from banishing science altogether out of our schools, what we desire is, that it be kept in its proper place. The *essentials* are the first instance. We would much rather see a boy a good reader, a correct speller, a neat writer, and a ready cipherer, than one who could

"Discourse most learnedly, and tell them
Of *cerebrum* and *cerebellum*;
And skilfully play the commentator
On the *pia* and on the *dura mater*."

We repeat, while not ignoring a knowledge of the sciences as a necessary branch of education, it is our conviction that the essentials should hold the first place. Teach the boy how to handle his *tools*, and he will in course of time become a finished workman. To revert again to spelling, that is a branch which has one peculiarity, and that a very serious one too, viz., if not acquired in early life the probabilities are a thousand to one if it will ever be acquired after. Let teachers ponder this.

The schoolmasters of our country stand in a far different position than their brethren did fifty years ago. They are now better rewarded, and held in higher estimation; and the public demand that they justify this confidence placed in them. Theirs is a sacred duty; we know that they feel their responsibility, and are moved to a sense of a duty by a knowledge of the fact, that remissness on their part must involve lamentable results.

CALVIN'S CHARACTER AND CORRESPONDENCE.*

We shall now redeem the promise made to our readers in the course of our notice of the first volume of Calvin's Collected Correspondence, viz., to resume the sketch of the genuine portrait of the Reformer's character, drawn by his own hand, in the second volume, which has lately issued from the press. It is scarcely necessary to repeat, that owing to the successive stages of publication, we labour under the serious disadvantage of partial glimpses only of the complete *traits* of the Reformer's character. Accordingly, although we shall not hesitate occasionally to remark, *en passant*, upon striking characteristics, we deem ourselves called upon to follow in the footsteps of the 'Chief Justice," by withholding the pronunciation of our ultimate verdict until the complete evidence has been summed up with due impartiality.

The epoch of the Reformation, as well as the "Great Men of the time," have already been cursorily passed in review. The career of John Calvin—the Christian Hercules—has been traced from his birthplace, Noyon, in Picardy, to his adopted city, Geneva, in Switzerland—from 1509 to 1536. He has appeared before us as the earnest student—the Romish chaplain—the Protestant convert—the fugitive to Angoulême—the exile at Strasburg and Basle; and, lastly, the Protestant pastor, the popular preacher, and polemical theologian, at Geneva, the city of refuge and refugees in the 16th century. And now, in opening the second volume of Correspondence, he stands prominently forward as the *Counsellor of Christendom.* "I have heard," says Calvin, "that they (Protestants) have been reproached with wishing to make *an Idol of me and a Jerusalem of Geneva.*" Take up the two volumes only of Calvin's Correspondence which have already been published under the editorial superintendence of Jules Bonnet, and

* Letters of John Calvin; compiled from the original manuscripts, and edited, with historical notes, by Dr Jules Bonnet. Vol. II. Edinburgh, Thomas Constable & Co. 1857.

note even the addresses of these 336 letters—to congregations and churches, monarchs and ministers, priests and princes, ladies and lords, dunces and duchesses—it cannot be denied that they laid themselves open to the reproach of their Popish assailants. It is true that both England and Germany yielded to the dictatorship of Martin Luther—the causes and consequences of which submission we cannot stop to detail. It is not less true, however, on the other hand, that Lutheranism underwent considerable modification under the influence of Calvin. Knox and the Lords of the Congregation threw the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland into the mould of Geneva. That is an acknowledged fact, easily confirmed by a comparison of the Scottish copy with the Geneva original; a fact, moreover, which affords the correct explanation of those anomalies, happily obsolete, in ecclesiastic administration—pains and penalties, fines, stools of repentance, &c. &c. Although it may only excite our astonishment to meet with these curiosities in the ecclesiastical antiquarian museum, they were regarded "by them of old time" with very different feelings, both in Geneva and Scotland. "The tooth of Old Time" has deprived them of the deadly sting that tortured and tormented our worthy forefathers; and well that it is so, for the interest of "pure and undefiled religion."

"Amusements and Recreations" have been the theme of angry discussion in every age of the Christian Church—a specimen of which may be found in Tertullian on "Public Games;" and the era of the Reformation witnessed the revival of the acrimonious controversy. What would a modern Lord Provost of a Town Council say, if he and his lady were sentenced to a term of imprisonment in the common jail for the high ecclesiastical offence of "*dancing*, in a private house?" "The Captain-General Amy Perrin, the Syndic Corna, and several other persons having danced in a private house. 'It is ordained,' as is contained in the Registers of 12th April 1546, 'that they all be imprisoned;' and with regard to the wife of Amy Perrin, who spoke insolently to the Consistory, that she also be imprisoned, and be required to find security.' . . Two things are already matter of public talk, that there is no hope of impunity, since even the first people of the city are not spared; and that I shew no more favour to friends than to those opposed to me. Perrin with his wife rages in prison: the widow is absolutely furious; the others are silent from confusion and shame." How impartial!

What would our modern town councillors say if after dinner some reverend doctor of divinity should propose the game of "the Key," for their amusement? "He himself (Calvin) made no scruple"—is the record of the historian Morus—"in engaging in play with the seigneurs of Geneva: but that was the innocent game of the Key, which consists in being able to push the keys the nearest possible to the edge of a table." Sage senators and doctors pushing the keys—to ennoble the game let us suppose 'the keys of the city'—the nearest possible to the edge of the table! How innocent!

Or, again, what would either their municipal or Christian consciences say, if they were invited to witness the representation of a morality en-

titled "The Acts of the Apostles," in the Theatre, under the special patronage of the city clergy? "Our plays narrowly escaped," Calvin wittily remarks, "being converted into tragedy. . . . When the day was coming on, Michael (who had done so once before) instead of preaching, inveighed against the actors; but so vehement was this second invective that a concourse of people straightway made towards me, with loud shouts, threats, and what not. And had I not by a strong effort restrained the fury of some of them, they would have come to blows. . . . On the following day, by the favour of the Lord, we quieted all disturbance. . . . . The result is, that the games are now going on. Viret is present as a spectator, who has again returned, according to arrangement, with a view to restore our furious friend to sanity." "It is seen by this instance," remarks Jules Bonnet, "that Calvin was not so stern as to proscribe public games and amusements that harmonized with decency."

Grave councillors and exemplary divines spectators in a theatre!—though "one of them, named Michael Cop, less conciliatory than his colleagues, preached a very violent discourse in the church of St Peter, and said that the women who should mount the theatre to act that farce would be *shameless creatures*." How greatly daring!

"Tempora mutantur, et nos mutemur in illis."

That "imprisonment" is an anomaly—that "fines," into which imprisonment as well as submission to public rebuke on the stool of repentance were transmuted in the course of time, were also anomalies in ecclesiastical administration—will readily be acknowledged by every Christian who protests against the interference of the civil with the spiritual supremacy and jurisdiction of ecclesiastical judicatures. But what was the origin of their introduction into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs? No Protestant requires to be told that the ecclesiastical tribunals in the Popish church sentenced the culprits, who were afterwards executed by the civil authorities. Are Protestants, however, as fully conversant with the fact, that "Calvin administered," as Gerwinus remarks, "in the double character of *a Grecian Legislator* and of *a Christian Reformer*, and that he remodelled *Church and State together in the theocratic spirit of the old Mosaic law?*" We wish to call particular attention to this fact—a fact which reveals the genius of Calvinism—in passing, as we shall now do, to the consideration of the extent to which Calvin was implicated in the execution of SERVETUS.

Suffice it to state that Michael Servetus was a Spaniard by birth, and after wandering through France, Germany, and Italy, had settled as a physician at Vienne, in Dauphiny—had published two works, entitled "De Trinitatis erroribus," and "Christienismé Restitutio"—and kept up a correspondence with Calvin under the name of John Frellon, the address by which he is introduced to our notice, for the first time in Letter 153, dated 13th February 1546, which runs as follows:—

"SIGNEUR JEHAN,—By cause that your last letter was brought to me at my going away, I had not leisure to reply to what was enclosed therein. Since my return, at the first leisure that I have had, I have

been quite willing to satisfy your desire; not that I have had great hope of late of being profitable to a certain person, judging from the disposition in which I see him to be; but in order to try once more if there shall be any means of bringing him back, which will be when God shall have wrought in him so effectually that he has become entirely another man. Since he has written to me in so proud a spirit, I would fain have beaten down his pride a little, speaking more harshly to him than is my wont; but I could scarcely do otherwise. For I do assure you there is no lesson which is more necessary for him than to learn humility, which must come to him from the Spirit of God, not otherwise. But we must observe a measure here also. If God grants that favour to him and to us, that the present answer turns to his profit, I shall have whereof to rejoice. If he persists in the same style as he has now done, you will lose time in asking me to bestow labour upon him, for I have other affairs which press upon me more closely; and I would make a matter of conscience of it, not to busy myself further, having no doubt that it was a temptation of Satan to distract and withdraw me from more useful reading. And therefore I beg you to content yourself with what I have done in the matter, unless you see some better order to be taken therein. Wherefore, after my commendation to you, I beseech our good Lord to have you in his keeping. Your servant and hearty friend, CHARLES D'ESPERVILLE (Calvin)."

It was on the same day that Calvin addresses Letter 154 to Farel, from which we cull the following extract, embodying the terrible threat which was carried into execution seven years afterwards. "Servetus lately wrote to me," states Calvin, "and coupled with his letter a long volume of his delirious fancies, with the Thrasonic boast, that I should see something astonishing and unheard of. He takes it upon him to come hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety, for if he shall come, *I shall never permit him to depart alive, provided my authority be of any avail.*"

On 20th August 1553, Calvin addresses Letter 320 to Farel, acquainting him with the arrest of Servetus, and the institution of the process against him. It is as follows:—"We have now new business in hand with Servetus. He intended perhaps passing through this city; for it is not yet known with what design he came. But after he had been recognised, I thought that he should be detained. My friend, Nicholas [Calvin's servant], summoned him on a capital charge, offering himself as security, according to the *lex talionis*. On the following day he adduced against him forty written charges. He at first sought to evade them; accordingly, we were summoned. He impudently reviled me, just as if he regarded me as obnoxious to him. I answered him as he deserved. At length the senate pronounced all the charges proven. Nicholas was released from prison on the third day, having given up my brother as his surety. On the fourth day he was set free. Of the man's effrontery I will say nothing; but such was his madness, that he did not hesitate to say that devils professed divinity; yea, that many gods were individual devils, inasmuch as deity had been substantially communicated to those equally with wood and stone. I hope

that sentence of death will at least be passed upon him; but I desire that the severity of the punishment may be mitigated. Adieu!"

We shall only quote another letter, No. 325, addressed to Sulzer at Basle, immediately after the decision of the Council of Geneva to consult, contrary to Calvin's wishes, the churches of Rome, Basle, Schaffhausen, and Zurich, regarding the culpability of Servetus, expressive as it is of Calvin's sentiments regarding the errors and punishment of Servetus.

"As Michael Servetus twenty years ago infected the Christian world with his virulent and pestilential opinions, I should suppose his name is not unknown to you; while you may not have read his book yet you must have heard something of the sort of doctrines contained in it. It was he whom that faithful minister of Christ, Master Bucer of holy memory, in other respects of a mild disposition, declared from the pulpit to be worthy of having his bowels pulled out and torn to pieces. While he has not permitted any of his poison to go abroad since that time, he has lately, however, brought out a larger volume, printed secretly at Vienne, but patched up from the same errors. To be sure, as soon as the thing became known, he was cast into prison. He escaped from it some way or other, and wandered in Italy for nearly four months. He at length, in an evil hour, came to this place, when, at my instigation, one of the syndics ordered him to be conducted to prison. For I do not disguise it that I considered it my duty to put a check, so far as I could, upon this most obstinate and ungovernable man, that his contagion might not spread farther. We see with what wantonness impiety is making progress everywhere, so that new errors are ever and anon breaking forth; we see how very inactive those are whom God has armed with the sword for the vindication of the glory of his name. Seeing that the defenders of the Papacy are so bitter and bold in behalf of their superstitions, that in their atrocious fury they shed the blood of the innocent, it should shame Christian magistrates that, in the protection of certain truth, they are entirely destitute of spirit. I certainly confess that nothing would be less becoming than for us to imitate their furious intemperance. But there is some ground for restraining the impious from uttering whatever blasphemies they please with impunity, when there is an opportunity of checking it. As respects this man, three things require to be considered. With what prodigious errors he has corrupted the whole of religion; yea, with what detestable mockeries he has endeavoured to destroy all piety; with what abominable ravings he has obscured Christianity, and razed to the very foundation all the principles of our religion. Secondly, how obstinately he has behaved; with what diabolical pride he has despised all advice; with what desperate stubbornness he has driven headlong in scattering his poison. Thirdly, with what proud scorn he at present avows and defends his abominations. For so far is he from any hope of repentance, that he does not hesitate to fling this blot upon these holy men—Capito and Oecollempadius, as if they were his companions. When the letters of Oecolampadius were shown him, he said he wondered by what spirit they had been led away from their for-

mer opinion. But as I hope you will see to it that the impiety of the man be represented in the character it merits, I shall not add more. Only there is one thing I wish to say to you, viz., that the treasurer of this city, who will deliver to you this letter, takes a correct view of this case, so that he at least does not avoid the issue which we desire. Would that your old disciples were animated by the same spirit!"

The churches of Rome, Basle, Schaffhausen and Zurich were unanimous in the verdict of condemnation pronounced upon the theological errors of Servetus; and plainly pointed to the sentence of death by burning, which the Council of Geneva ultimately passed upon Servitus. Accordingly he died at the stake—a martyr to Socinianism.

Such are the facts of the case of Servetus, extracted from Calvin's own correspondence; and we refer those who desire fuller information regarding it to the letters themselves, as well as to the *brochure of* Rilliet, translated by Dr Tweedie. Now, what do they prove against Calvin? That the reformer, meaning the reformer *alone*, for that is the principal count in the indictment brought against him by his traducers, was guilty of bringing Michael Servetus to the stake on account of the theological errors proved and acknowledged to be held by him? Not at all. The trial of Michael Servetus ranked as undoubtedly in general estimation in the category of "Criminal Trials" in the sixteenth, as does any "Great Poisoning Case" in the nineteenth century. Papists and Protestants alike spoke of him as "a Pest," "a Plague," and "a Poison;" spreading contagion and death in society; and of which it was the imperative duty of the magistrate to rid them without loss of time. He had already been arrested—brought before the Inquisition at Lyons—condemned to be burnt by the Romish tribunals—and escaped from the dungeons of Vienne only to be seized by the executioners of Calvinistic justice. He was not sent back to the Romish authorities; nor was he *simpliciter* put to death upon the previous conviction. There was no precipitateness, no concealment; none of the usual legal forms was dispensed with. All was regular—*pro formâ*—completely in accordance with the legal routine of the Genevese political institutions. Not only so, contrary to the desire of Calvin and his ecclesiastical coadjutors, who had proved the theological criminality, so to speak, of the accused, the case was referred to the churches of Switzerland, Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen and Zurich; and consequently sentence of death followed as naturally in the case of Servetus, as it does upon the conviction of a criminal charged with murder in the present age.

"The magistrates in condemning him to death," is the remark of Jules Bonnet, the correctness of which must approve itself to every unprejudiced mind; "were only the interpreters of the stern thought of an age in which persecution, that sad legacy of the middle ages, was the avowed jurisprudence of all Christian communions." If then, the death of Servetus must still be denounced as a murder, let it not be forgotten that at least it was a judicial murder; and if any man must still be stigmatised as his murderer, let it be fully understood that that man was not John Calvin.

That the reformer's tone in his letters addressed to Servetus was dogmatic may be allowed; that his sentiments were harsh and intolerant must be acknowledged, when tried by the standard even of public opinion in the ninteenth century; not to mention the evangelic law of love. Yet it is the language and sentiments of the sixteenth century, as is testified by a perusal of the correspondence, as well as the works of Luther and Melancthon, Dromes and Litterateurs—Romish and Protestant—of that eventful period.

"As for the name of the bishop of Rome," says Calvin in Letter 229, addressed to the French Church in London; "that is a foolish question to dwell upon. We bestow too much honour upon *those horned cattle in calling them bishops*, for the name is too honourable for them. Neither does the title of Pope any better suit the *brigand* who has usurped God's seat. I do think that those who pray specially for him who bears such a mark of reprobation, have surely much time to spare." "Knowing partly the man he was," he writes in Letter 291, regarding an unknown heresiarch, to Madame de Cany; "*I could have wished that he were rotting in some ditch;* and his arrival gave me as much pleasure as the piercing my heart with a poniard would have done. But never could I have deemed him to be such a monster of all impiety and contempt of God as he hath proved himself in this. And I assure you, Madame, that had he not so soon escaped, I should, by way of discharging my duty, have done my best to bring him to the stake."

"It was he," we find him writing in Letter 325, regarding Servetus, to Sulzer; "whom that faithful minister of Christ, Master Bucer of holy memory, in other respects of a mild disposition, declared from the pulpit to be *worthy of having his bowels pulled out and torn to pieces.*"

Tolerance in language as well as in sentiment is the doctrine and practice of later centuries. Shall we remind the detractors of Calvin that Jacques Benigne Bossuet, sufficiently lynx-eyed to have pounced upon any Protestant charged with heresy on this particular point, maintained in his "Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes," published in the year of our Lord 1730, that toleration was *not* a mark of the true church; that none but Socinians and Anabaptists held a different opinion; and correctly asserts, that "Luther et Calvin ont fait des Livres exprès pour établir sur ce point le droit et le devoir du magistrat. Calvin en vint â la pratique contre Servet et contre Valentin Gentil. Melancton en approuva la conduite par un lettre qu'il lui écrivit sur ce sujet. La discipline de nos Reformés permet aussi le recours au bras seculier en certain cas; et on trouve parmi les articles de la discipline de l'Eglise de Geneve, que les ministres doivent deferer au magistrat les incorrigibles qui méprisent les peines spirituelles, et en particulier ceux qui enseignent de nouveaux dogmes sans distinction. . . . . En un mot, le droit est certain mais la moderatim n'en est pas moins necessaire."

Perhaps Calvin should never have penned that letter to Sulzer, as well as another to Ballinger, considering that the Council of Geneva

referred the case of Servetus to them for their advice; for he can scarcely be acquitted of the charge of tampering with at least two of the judges selected on that important occasion. Calvin was a man of like passions as we are; and whoever takes the trouble to peruse Rilliet's candid statement of "the reformer's share in the trial of Michael Servetus, historically ascertained from the Registers of the Council of Geneva," and other authentic quarters, will discover that Servetus adroitly took advantage of the factions that raged in Geneva, both to regain his liberty and excite the populace against his unrelenting adversary. That the existence of his ecclesiastical polity was threatened, is quite evident; that his ecclesiastical rule was at stake in Geneva, cannot be doubted. But these facts, though they may palliate, cannot vindicate a step which does not redound to the honour of the reformer. That letter must have influenced the Bernese churches in the conclusions to which they came regarding the fate of a man entitled to that very right of private judgment which they claimed for themselves as Protestants, and which they exercised in pronouncing sentence of death upon him as an arch heresiarch; for two years earlier the magistrates of Berne had declared in favour of toleration to Jerome Bolsec, who, in combination with Valentin Gentili and Michael Servetus, form the principal victims of Calvinistic intolerance in the sixteenth century. "Fiat Justitia, ruat Coelum." Yet we must not forget that he was a victim of intolerance himself. We have quoted Bossuet, hear now the acknowledgment of Isaac Taylor. The Protestant is as candid as the Romanist. "When at length the church," we find him stating in "The Restoration of Belief;" "by which we mean the Christian body throughout the Roman world, had achieved this great service, and had given expression to what may be called the martyr principle, there followed a consequence which was to entail upon the world a new catena of martyrdoms. A consciousness of the sacred obligations of religious truth had given the ancient martyr his constancy; but then *a spurious counterpart of this same principle* followed quickly, and it served to inflame the fanaticism of the *persecutor*. It was argued—If it be a duty we owe to God to profess the truth, even at the cost of life, must it not be a duty of parallel obligation to suppress and exterminate error? This inference, illogical as it was, did not wait long to be drawn or to be acted upon. It became an almost universally admitted axiom. Shall we attempt to number its victims? Doubtless they have been a thousand times as many as those that were immolated by the pagan authorities. This wrong and fatal inference, accepted so early as it was, came at length to be regarded as an axiom, needing no proof, indeed admitting of none, for it was self evident. If you would see in how cool and confiding a manner it is advanced, read the Epistles of Innocent III., and the Sermons of St Bernard." Or, as laconically stated by Professor Plitt, "The reformers meant nothing more by freedom of conscience than the right to hold the Augsburg confession. To others they refused the benefit of their own theory."

Our present purpose does not lead us to detail the growth and de-

velopment of the principles of toleration during the last century. We are glad to observe that Professor Plitt of Heidelberg introduced the subject to the attention of the members of the Evangelical Alliance at the late Berlin Conference, in his address on religious liberty. But certainly, on turning from a survey of the present aspects of Christendom, and in concluding our brief remarks upon those points in the ecclesiastical administration of Geneva which have been brought under our notice in Calvin's Correspondence, several questions suggest themselves for enquiry and discussion:—*e. g.*, Does the genius of Calvinism as we have beheld it in its operation and results 300 years ago at Geneva, or the genius of the Gospel as it was displayed 18 centuries ago at Jerusalem, preside over our treatment of ecclesiastical offences in the modern Christian Church? Do we extend the right of private judgment to humanity? Or, to put the question in accordance with the latest enunciations of the principles of Christian toleration or religious liberty, Do we defend the three following theses, and carry them into practical operation? viz., "1. We are convinced that every man who, as a dictate of religious conviction, holds his responsibility of God, is in virtue of that conviction irresponsible to man; 2. That therefore every man, even though he be in error, ought to be permitted, both singly and in fellowship with others, to hold and spread his opinions, if they be not dangerous to morality or the welfare of the state; and, 3. That the Word of God is on the side of this religious freedom, and that neither church nor state will be injured by its universal enjoyment?"

THE SUFFERING BAND.

Soft-smiling, quiet-glancing, as we see thee here,
Nature! thou canst not cheat us to forgetfulness
Of that far other picture,—which our eyes are spared,
But which can never be long absent from our hearts.

Oh India! Oh tender women and sweet babes,
And murdered heroes, by your noble trust betrayed!
The gloomy horror and the blinding agony,
Which, like a fire that raged first in some deep pit,
But now bursts from its mouth, flash and fume round your thought,
Forbid the Briton, howe'er severed from your lot,
To live immured in his own private grief or joy,
Far more to sink in dreamless or in dreamy ease.

Oh ye who first (our thoughts afar) the direful dint
Of suffering met, the vainly innocent and brave!
We might not fight for you, nor aid you in the fight;
We might not dress your wounds, nor sooth your harrowed souls
With thoughts of him, the elder brother near, who stood
Ready to fold you in his arms of tender love,
And hush your pain to rest, and then to carry you
To his own home of joy, whose threshold ne'er is crossed
By traitor or by foe. Nay, whilst your groans arose,
We did not e'en in fancy hear them, nor lift up

One prayer, nor offer you the tribute of a sigh—
For you we'll ever mourn; alas! and *only* mourn.
But ah! methought I heard, and ever hear again,
The echo of a low, beseeching, gasping voice,
In struggling accents falter, *There are others still.*
Oh was that but the earnest of a vintage yet
Ingathering? And can it be that there are still
With torturing pain of mind and body, such we scarce
Might dare in thought to sound its agonizing depths?
And are there tragedies e'en now enacting there,
Which if we only in one short hour's dream were made
To *realize*, 'twould make our hearts grow sick with fear
At the approach of sleep!
God grant it be not so indeed! But they are there,
We know that they are there, our God delivered charge,
The sorely suffering and the fiercely struggling still,
Who need our sympathy, and whom it may avail.
And we will not forget them. Oh forbid it, Lord!
We should not dare to look for pity e'en from those
Who love us best, in our extremest agony,
If our hard selfishness refused to grant it now.
We'll not forget them! We will wear them in our hearts;
And ask our God, who knows both them and us, and who
Is close unto us all, how we may succour them,
How *each* may pour into their wounds one drop of balm.
We, some of us, will gladly give them of our gold
(And surely in such urgent case few will refuse
To give from their own little store some crumbs of aid);
And some, by God made fit and willing, will present
The costlier tribute yet of tender care and skill;
Some will yield hospitality and shelter here;
While some with brave and bounding hearts are rushing on,
Or chafing, like pent lions, at the bars which check
Their fury, longing to avenge them or to die.
But ah! to many of us such vents for our zeal
Are nearly or quite shut. Must *we* be idle? No.
We too can *think* and pray. Can think upon their case,
And try to understand it, and what bears on it;
And judge what should be done—remembering the while
That modesty which fits those ever prone to err;
And if it still should be impossible to check
Sickening regret and wonder at the apathy
And tardiness of some to whom 'twas chiefly given
To care and act, still let us not despair, nor sink
Under an overwhelming sense of powerlessness.
He is not powerless, who can think aright. True thought
Is strong, and oft electric too; right thoughts upheld
Create right impulses, and these enforce right acts.
And we can *pray*. Oh help us Lord to pray aright!
May that grief pressing on our hearts be unto us
A talisman to keep away each sinful thought;
Its ever-burning flame a vestal fire to guard
Our inward purity, so may we better pray.
Yes, we can pray. Ah! parted ones, our greatest boon
Is borne to you the swiftest! Not on tardy ship,
Nor on slow spreading influence do ye depend

For the felt presence of a God, and all the pledge
That presence gives. How great, how wondrous is the power
Which in the ages long elapsed, and every age,
God hath displayed to join a father's tenderness
To Sov'reign Disposer's uncompromizing sway!
'Tis not for us, poor mortals of contracted view,
To seek to dictate measures to the wise Supreme.
Nay, if we *could*, we would not by a hair's breadth change
That best and perfect all and each embracing plan.
But ah!—Inalienable knowledge, heaven bestowed.
We know that He has made provision for our prayers;
And He who first inspires will answer our requests.
No weak, indulgent government is that of God.
In each age, when a mighty work was to be done,
And great necessity, the twin and friendly foe
Of power, demanded victims, his own trusting ones
Have suffered with the rest. But did they therefore feel
Their trust betrayed? Oh no! they knew their Father's heart;
And therefore, in their anguish, like that blessed Son,
The most confiding, as He was the sorest tried,
Could only faintly cry, and needed but to cry,
Father, *if it be possible*, let this cup pass.
But then, how oft the servants, as their Lord, have found
That while the *needful* sacrifice must be endured,
That other fearful agony was prayed away;
And they, like him, were heard, because they feared and loved.
And tho' in every mighty crisis we have seen
The guiltless suffering with the guilty, signal are
And manifold the deliv'rances of the good.
Nor have we seen the trusting and the good alone
To be the objects of the wondrous care divine.
Stubborn as few and unbelieving even the band
Preserved by God ungulphed amid the Red Sea waves,
As earlier midst tyranny's encroaching tide.
And for a pleading Moses and His own name's sake
(Something far higher, holier than mere renown)
Oft hath he served a people faithless and ingrate;
And by His own right hand, and by His holy arm
Himself has got the victory. So let us hope!

And as we turn into our humble sphere and trace
The power divine and rich resources which so oft
Have banished fear, and hope recalled, not narrowly
Content with these our partial blessings, let us turn to
Them all to pleas for those, our suff'ring fellowmen.
We'll pray, but not with slight and surface prayers, which leaves
No impress even on the offerer's consciousness,
But with deep, earnest, poised sense, which broodeth o'er
Its object, so absorbed it may forget to frame
Half in words, or fervent ejaculation
Uttered or mute, or struggling supplication roused
To agony, lest it should fail. So will we pray;
God helping us, nor shall we haply *only* pray;
But as the roots of prayer strike deeper and more wide,
In his right time may higher rise and ampler range
The stem of trust, and rich and fragrant boughs of *praise*.

Peebles, September 1857. AURA

LITERARY NOTICE.

A New and very Concise Method of Calculating Interest, with the Tables necessary for obtaining all results by simply adding two lines. By JAMES PRYDE, F.E.I.S., Teacher of Mathematics. A. & C. Black, Edinburgh, and may be had of all Booksellers.

WE were disposed to think that the Tables for calculating Interest were already sufficiently numerous, and that there was no room left for any improvement of any importance, but on examining these Tables we find we were entirely mistaken, for the Tables now given to the public are constructed on an entirely new plan, at once so simple and direct that we now wonder that it had not been discovered long ago. The Author has succeeded in giving a set of tables by which every question in Interest, whether simple, compound, or for days, is directly calculated by simply adding together two lines, which are readily found. The result is thus obtained with a readiness and certainly far more simply than it can by any other method yet extant. The nature of the Tables and the manner of using them is so clearly stated in the Introduction, that no one at all expert at figures can find any difficulty in applying them. The whole is printed in a large and beautiful type, and arranged in such a manner as to give the utmost facility in making the various calculations for which the work is intended. In fine, we cordially recommend these Tables to all who have anything to do with the calculation of Interest, being satisfied that they are superior to all their predecessors.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

East Parish Church of Stirling.—The Town-Council of Stirling have issued a presentation to East Church Parish, vacant by the translation of the Rev. John Stuart to St Andrew's, Edinburgh, in favour of the Rev. Wm. Shaw, minister of the first charge of Ayr parish. Mr Shaw has intimated his acceptance of the presentation.

Clerical Irregularity.—The case of the minister of Watten parish, where several irregularities are alleged to have lately taken place, came before the Presbytery last week, when it was resolved that the Rev. Mr Davidson should be proceeded against by libel.

Died, at Nesting, Shetland, on the 19th ult., the Rev. Alexander Shand, A.M., minister of the parish.

Died, at Old Machar, the Rev. J. G. Wood, minister of the parish.

MACPHAIL'S

EDINBURGH ECCLESIASTICAL JOURNAL.

No. CXLIII. DECEMBER 1857.

THOMAS DE QUINCEY.*

THE collected works of Thomas De Quincey were some years ago brought before the American public, by an enterprising publisher of that country. They were received with decided favour by the reading and intelligent classes of the United States; and Mr De Quincey, no doubt surmising that what was good for Jonathan would not be amiss for his elder brother John Bull, ventures to step forward from the obscure and forgotten pages of magazines, into the broad and open day-light of so many separate and independent volumes in this country. As the English Opium Eater is now a literateur and writer of some fifty years standing, and as he has actually written so much that his whole works would of themselves form a sort of cyclopædia of literature, it has, we presume, been deemed advisable to limit the publication to selections, or in other words to such of his productions as are calculated from the nature of the subjects or the original method of treatment to have an enduring interest. After all, this is just as it should be. It would, in one aspect, have been unfair to the public to have loaded them with works that were written only for a temporary and ephemeral purpose, and then it would have been unjust to Mr De Quincey himself, to republish every trifling article that may have come from his pen.

But some persons might argue that unless they have the entire works of an author they cannot properly judge of him. This is absolute nonsense. An invitation card to dinner or supper, or other in-

* Confessions of an English Opium Eater. 1856. Edinburgh: James Hogg & Sons.

Selections Grave and Gay. By Thomas De Quincey. Edinburgh: James Hogg & Sons. London: R. Groombridge & Sons. 1857.

different piece of writing by Shakespeare, was as much the production of his mind as Hamlet or the Merchant of Venice; but who would be so assenine as to insist upon such things being published with his works? No; this would be carrying hero-worship to a decidedly monomaniacal length. So would it be with the works of Thomas De Quincey and all other notable men. The English Opium Eater, as a writer for bread, has no doubt on many occasions been obliged to bring his faculties to bear upon enquiries for which he had little taste, and as little real capacity; and moreover, he may occasionally have given his labour to many matters of small importance; and thus if we were to have reproduced to us all the slight and trifling efforts of his pen, his genuine worth and power might be so far shrouded or concealed from us. It is infinitely preferable indeed that we should have unfolded to us only the deep strong characteristic lineaments of an author's mental constitution, than that we should have delineated much that is common to him with every second man we meet. For these reasons we are glad that Thomas De Quincey is publishing only selections from his works, and we have no doubt that from his own acute discriminating taste, that these will be such as to earn for him something like a permanent place in the literature of his country.

The world in general is curious to learn, *inter alia*, something concerning the personal appearance and bearing of men of genius; and as Mr De Quincey belongs to the very highest class of the literary guild, every one will naturally be anxious to know his personal peculiarities, as if the body reflected the precise and definite form of the spirit within. We have no hesitation, indeed, in asserting our belief that the body does so, and that if we were acquainted with the laws which regulate the phenomena of body and spirit, we should be able from a glance at the shell to measure with precision, and define its contents; we should in fact be able, from the mere external form and proportions of the body, to determine the character and tendencies of the soul. But physiognomy, though containing many interesting empirical facts, has never assumed a scientific form. Lavater himself, neither discovered nor laid down any laws on the subject. He merely contemplated the outward appearance of individual men, and pronounced his *dicta* and convictions concerning them. Physiognomy, therefore, as treated of by Lavater, was a mere art without rules or principles, and the unconscious method by which he judged died with him. But notwithstanding of this all men are more or less physiognomists, and when any of their fellow-men have either been found guilty of a great crime, or have performed some strikingly praiseworthy action, they are always anxious to learn something of their personal appearance. Now Thomas De Quincey can be best described by being placed in juxtaposition with one of his friends and compeers—and that friend is no other than John Wilson. Professor Wilson was about five feet ten inches in height, and in the heigh-day of manhood was muscular and looked the incarnation of vigour and personal energy. His head was large. The forehead was projecting and broad rather than elevated. The coronal region, especially the anterior portion of it, was large, presenting a not

inadequate symbol of quickness of perception and vividness of apprehension in the range of visible and material things. In particular, John Wilson had an eye endowed with great power and quickness,—it only lacked steadiness and fixity to have indicated a really great man. In the higher regions of imagination and fancy one could hardly imagine that the possessor of these outward and personal attributes could distinguish himself. They are all more or less symbols of a nature which is both powerfully acted upon by the external world and which again reacts powerfully upon outward and material nature in its turn. His eye was too excitable, wavering, and uncertain to look far either into the past or the future. The present moment was the peculiar sphere of so much personal energy and activity, and present personal enjoyments formed the chief range of his indulgencies. Hence, even looking on such a person, the least practised physiognomist would predicate the existence of a decided predeliction and taste for all athletic and manly exercises, and even a considerable amount of personal bravery, though this was somewhat diminished and marred by strong sensibilities. In fact Professor Wilson's personal appearance is best shadowed forth and represented by the Recreations of Christopher North, where he manifests such a genuine sentiment for all the popular recreations and exercises by which the early manhood of our rural population is distinguished. Even in his Essays and Criticisms, Professor Wilson draws more from personal observation and experience than from books, imparting that natural freshness and vividness to his style, that is characteristic of most of his works. Thus, indeed, the body and mind of Wilson are as nearly as possible the counterparts of each other.

Both the bodily and spiritual frameworks of Thomas De Quincey are just the antipodes of those of Professor Wilson. In height Thomas De Quincey does not reach above five feet two inches. His dimensions otherwise are somewhat compressed and slender. He is pale in complexion and has always been so, indicating a temperament that is not much given to mere physical enjoyments. His power and tastes do not certainly lie, looking at his mere structures, in anything inferring great bodily excitement or exertion. But again, his head is decidedly large. The frontal part of it, or the forehead, is in particular high, and projecting in the upper portion. The lower part does not project so much. It is, indeed, rather depressed than otherwise about the superciliary ridges. The occiput or posterior parts of the head are large, indicating decided power of the kind possessed by him. The coronal region is rather high than otherwise. The temporal region is well developed, imparting an expression of considerable breadth. The eye though sufficiently quick is quiet and subdued, as if under the control of some inner and higher agency. The entire contour both of the head and person, is widely different from that of Wilson. Looking at him attentively you could not pronounce to what country or age of the world the individual belonged, excepting from the fact that you found him a denizen of the British Empire in the middle of the nineteenth century. But for his existence in the present, and so far as his personal appearance goes, he might have been a subject of the Ptolemies, a private acquaintance of Homer in Crete, or he might have

been a friend of Horace and Virgil in the time of Augustus. His bodily form, indeed, resembles most of all things the mummy of some extinct type of the human race that has just been dug up from an obscure corner of the ruins of ancient Thebes. His very voice too, is in striking harmony with his bodily framework, for it is a gentle undertoned whisper, as a sound from the tombs of some ancient deserted city. He can certainly claim no resemblance nor kindred sympathy with any of the existing types of mankind. Such is the person of Thomas De Quincey.

It is more difficult, however, to deduce the corresponding moral and intellectual powers and peculiarities of De Quincey from his mere bodily framework. They are not so transparent and palpable as in the case of Wilson. The beholder descries in his bodily outline the entire spiritual nature of the Professor at a glance. The first point that the intelligent physiognomist determines in De Quincey, is, that his thin spare sallow though active little body, has but a slender connection with the present and existing state of things. It betokens the fact that he is neither capable of acting powerfully upon them, nor they upon him. The quiet subdued expression of his eye, is typical of the same fact. His head and features, however, are markedly intellectual, and his thin wan rigid expression, betokens that his field of view is most expansive, extending especially over the remote and far stretching territory of the past. There is a peculiar romantic dreaminess in his eye that speaks of his wandering even in his day dreams amidst the cities of the ancient world and noting with much nicety and exactness the characters and dispositions of their ancient inhabitants. His whole expression lends strength to this impression of him. While his intellect takes a comprehensive sweep backward over the hull of the present into the gulph of the past, it is likewise essentially microscopic and penetrating in its vision. In fact, the most remarkable mental feature in the English Opium Eater is his taste and capacity for dealing with the remote past. He delights, for example, to traverse back into the earlier and obscurer periods of Egyptian history and from thence to draw portraits of life and manners; and, as we have seen, his very body reflects this characteristic. He accomplishes such a task with a clearness and power that he fails to manifest with relation to the present hour. Such is the bodily form and spiritual counterpart of Thomas De Quincey.

But let us now turn our attention to the function and part which Thomas De Quincey performs in the present. We have endeavoured to glean some of his peculiar capabilities from his mere personal appearance; but it is more than probable that these may not appear so transparent and obvious to the unpractised multitude.

But our views concerning Thomas De Quincey are sustained and borne out by all his works. Not only so, but they are confirmed by his inability, with all his admitted intellectual power, of operating efficiently on the present, He lacks the tact and skill of eliminating from his experience that sort of knowledge which may be brought to bear upon the events taking place around him. It is not indeed that he is deficient in knowledge derived from observation or experience,

but then it is either not of the proper sort, or that he has not the tact nor capacity of applying it to existing circumstances. It cannot be questioned, indeed, but that Thomas De Quincey is brimful of knowledge derived from experience. He is minutely acquainted with the manners and customs, laws and institutions of all the countries of modern Europe; nay, we may fairly add with those of all the countries of the known world. But the question remains, what is the chief use that he makes of all this knowledge? He neither applies it effectually to the present nor to the future; not that he is not capable of doing so, for he occasionally, when in the mood, throws out remarks that too unequivocally indicate his power even in these directions. No. The reason appears to be that the strong bent of his mind lies towards the remote past. His intuitional and intellectual nature looks backward, and mainly into the depths of time, and struggles to evolve therefrom something approaching the reality and certainty of the present hour. To effect this, the great apparent object for which he lives, he makes all his established knowledge in the present as mere stepping stones. To him these appear only useful agents to connect him with remote antiquity. They form, indeed, the intellectual eye through which he looks into the past.

Another striking peculiarity in Thomas De Quincey is that his intellect is of a specially thin microscopic analytical character. It is, however, essentially very powerful in its way. He does not appear to be capable, if we may judge from his works, of looking at the large broad features of things. When engaged in examining any important question relating to the present, or even the past, he never appears to look it straight in the face. His intellect does not seem capable of embracing it at a glance, nor of grasping the great elements out of which it has sprung. He uniformly commences his examination of every enquiry he touches, at some obscure out of the way corner of it, and thence traverses its circumference with a slow and painful minuteness that would pall upon his readers, but for the elegant English in which his details and principles are couched. He never omits the most insignificant particular if it has the remotest bearing upon his subject, and he not unfrequently indulges in lengthy episodes that have no apparent relevancy nor connection with the matter in hand, beyond some subtle dimly-defined relationship imperfectly established, even in his own mind. Such is a decided blemish in Thomas De Quincey's intellectual character, and it is not inaptly represented by his thin spare meagre sallow little body. But again, though Thomas De Quincey seldom or never seizes upon the great salient striking details of an enquiry at a glance, yet he never omits them in his estimate of the whole. There they stand, if not in the front, at least in the middle or back ranks, only not occupying the prominent position that ought to have been assigned to them. But even this defect (if defect it is to be deemed) has its countervailing advantages; for his minute acquaintance with his details as well as with the thoughts and opinions that have been entertained with relation to them, especially fits him for being an accurate critic. It is this, indeed, that

constitutes the great strength of Thomas De Quincey, and marks him out and distinguishes him from all his cotemporaries. Accordingly, it is not so much the justness of his criticisms that we admire, as the never failing minute elimination of facts to establish their accuracy.

Let no one imagine, however, that we are underrating the genius and acquirements of the English Opium eater. We are merely endeavouring to glean from his works the natural strength and character of his intellectual endowments, and his consequent peculiar fitness for the position he occupies as a critic; and the characteristics that we have attributed to him are just those which have equipped him for the sphere of his labours. That power of seizing on all the minutest facts connected with the enquiry in hand, as well as on all the thoughts and opinions that have been promulgated with relation to it, especially fits Thomas De Quincey for dealing too, with the remote past, and the subtle form of his intellect enables him to theorise on the subject of it with a precision and clearness that few or no thinkers of modern times possess. In an article on John Keats, in one of these volumes, De Quincey takes occasion to draw the characters of Horace and Lucretius, and to point out the marked intellectual features that distinguish them as writers and thinkers. In this estimate De Quincey not only weighs their thoughts in the balance of his own subtle intellect, but his conclusions are as clear and inevitable as his facts are established and certain. He does not appear to have seized upon his conclusions at a glance at the works of these ancient poets, nor has he fathomed their intellectual powers by merely estimating a few of their more striking thoughts; but he arrives at his conclusions after weighing every thing they have produced, and assigns them their respective places as thinkers and poets. Thus all the criticisms of Thomas De Quincey impress his readers not only with the feeling that he is thorough master of his subject, but that he has spared no pains to arrive at a correct conclusion.

In dealing with abstract or metaphysical questions, Thomas De Quincey is not uniformly happy. Although constitutionally possessed of an aptitude for apprehending metaphysical distinctions when laid down by others, he does not always manifest equal power in evolving them for himself. Notwithstanding of this, however, the English Opium Eater never fails to deliver himself upon the most subtle and difficult questions. Upon the subject of genius and talent, he ventures the following observations:—

"For, after all the pretended and hollow attempts to distinguish genius from talent, I shall continue to think (what heretofore I have advanced) that no distinction in the case is tenable for a moment but this—viz., that genius is that mode of intellectual power which moves in alliance with the *genial* nature: *i. e.*, with the capacities of pleasure and pain; whereas talent has no vestige of such an alliance, and is perfectly independent of all human sensibilities. Consequently, genius is a voice or breathing that represents the *total* nature of man, and, therefore, his enjoying and suffering nature, as well as his knowing and distinguishing nature; whilst, on the contrary, talent represents only a single function of that nature. Genius is the language which interprets the synthesis of the human spirit with the human

intellect, each acting through the other, whilst talent speaks only from the insulated intellect. And hence also it is that, besides its relation to suffering and enjoyment, genius always implies a deeper relation to virtue and vice; whereas talent has no shadow of a relation to *moral* qualities any more than it has to vital sensibilities. A man of the highest talent is often obtuse and below the ordinary standard of men in his feelings; but no man of genius can unyoke himself from the society of moral perceptions that are brighter, and sensibilities that are more tremulous, than those of men in general."

No, Mr De Quincey. This definition of genius is fully as hollow and pretensious as any definition ever given on the subject. It has not even the merit of approaching the very nature of the enquiry, far less of touching the true method of sounding it. Mr De Quincey attempts in vain to solve this sphinx riddle by endeavouring to establish a connection between the two English words "genius" and "genial;" but we must not allow him to forget that the empirical origin of language is too vulgar and unsubstantial a basis on which to found any broad metaphysical distinction. A moment's reflection, or recourse to observation, moreover, will satisfy the reader that De Quincey's definition is strikingly at fault. Is it not notorious that numerous men of genius are deficient in geniality? Is not Byron the most ungenial of poets? and, going to the region of science, was not Sir Isaac Newton the most ungenial and unsympathetic of the sons of men? No. Mr De Quincey, your definition of genius has not a footing to stand on. Again, numerous men of talent are distinguished by their geniality. Nay, their very geniality seems to form the ground plan and basis of their talent, without which they would have been incapable of manifesting power of any kind. Mr De Quincey's definition of genius is thus no better than a make-believe or vulgar rhetorical swagger. Thomas Carlyle has resolved genius into sincerity and earnestness. But these are rather the results of the possession of genius than a definition of it. But, moreover, we sometimes find genius unaccompanied by either earnestness, or even an overflow of sincerity. It is unquestionable, however, that the highest order of genius possesses these characteristics. Still it is no definition of genius. It can only at best be regarded as a description of the resulting products of this great mental quality. Genius, again, has been described as that element in man which widens and enlarges the human soul, so as to render the individuals endowed with it of larger intellectual and moral proportions. It converts them into intellectual and moral Titans upon earth. But this is still an attempt to meet the difficulties of the case by a vague uncertain generality, and no special analysis of the element or elements of genius. It is only communicating to us in somewhat pompous terms what every schoolboy and unlettered thinker knows already. It is merely a subterfuge to conceal ignorance amidst a superfluity of meaningless descriptive language, or at best such a delineation of the mere results of genius, as are apprehendable by the most untutored natures. The question, therefore, what is genius, is neither answered by Thomas De Quincey, nor by

any other writer with whom we are acquainted; and we ourselves have but little inclination to attempt here to probe the mysterious depths of an enquiry, whose results at least are as clear and palpable as their precise source and causes appear hidden and unknown.

But we still feel attracted to the subject even by the apparent difficulties that surround it, and as a curious and interesting theorem, we too are forced to attempt its explication. There is one thing, as already hinted, that is beyond all dispute, that the man of genius possesses a depth of intellectual or moral insight united with a comprehensive range of view not given by nature to his fellowmen. This is sometimes partial, *i.e.* the power is possessed only with relation to certain subjects, as in the case of the discoverer in a particular science, such as Laplace, Newton, Cuvier, &c. At other times it partakes more of the universal, *i.e.* it embraces in its grasp all manner of subjects, with relation to which it manifests equal power. This is seen chiefly among our greatest poets, such as Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, &c. We have here then established a standpoint from which we can calmly examine farther into our enquiry without involving ourselves in the meshes of mysticism; and what are the leading facts of the case as thus admitted? Why, they are just these, that the intuitional and moral nature of the man of genius is more sensitive, acute, penetrating, and far seeing than those of other men; and moreover the field of view on which they operate is infinitely more expanded and enlarged than that of their fellows. Now here are two requirements which appear to be indispensable in the man of genius, and if we can but seize upon and describe those elements in human nature upon the possession of which these requirements are dependent, we will approach closely to the solution of this sphinx riddle. We must always take for granted that all the other faculties of the man of genius are at least equal to those of the rest of mankind. On this hypothesis, then, how are we to account for the difference in mental capacity, between the commonplace mortal and the man of genius? There are two great elementary principles in human nature, upon the possession of which in the highest degree, united with the ordinary faculties of man, genius appears to us to be dependent. The first is the sense of law, which, colouring with its clear intense vision the whole other human faculties, imparts a godlike nature to the individual man largely endowed with it; and the second is, what the Germans describe as the sense for the infinite, which, expanding the sense of law as well as the other faculties into the boundless regions of infinitude, evolves and notes all the laws both visible and invisible in this illimitable circumference. The healthy exercise of these faculties appears to us to constitute what is termed genius, without which it is impossible for man to compass those lofty and far reaching flights of reason and imagination by which the children of discovery and invention are distinguished. These two faculties, moreover, necessarily impart the same breadth and comprehensiveness to man's emotional nature; and hence present to our view all the indispensable and many sided requirements of the highest forms of genius. In a mere corner of their amplitude is included all the geniality, where

that exists, for which Mr De Quincey contends, and where it does not exist, the other manifestations are amply accounted for by the more general form of our definition. Again, ability or talent is chiefly the power of applying laws or principles to practical uses or every-day fact, implying a greater geniality of disposition.

In our rapid glance at the nature of genius we have only referred to the higher elements of mind that actually constitute its more important and striking features, without the possession of which, in the highest degree, whatever he be otherwise, no man does nor can belong to this distinguished brotherhood. In all things else the man of genius may be like other men, but in the particulars mentioned he is as much their superior, as heaven is above earth, and his flights, both in the regions of reason and imagination, transcend their's as far as the flights of the eagle exceed the narrow boundary and walk of the land tortoise. The elements of mind referred to, are the pinions on which the man of genius is borne upwards, and the range of his view is only bounded by the infinite in time and space. Thus in these two faculties we recognise all that goes to form genius, and the possession of them, united with the other powers of man, will account for all the manifestations of genius with which we are acquainted. We can at once, indeed, glean the strength of these principles in all the great discoverers in science; and, united with a more powerful sense of harmony, we descry them in all the great poets of ancient and modern times. The reader will have little difficulty in noting the difference between our analysis and definition of genius and that of De Quincey, for the latter appears to us in no other light than in that of a passing and ephemeral fancy of that distinguished writer.

But let us proceed to observe how far our delineation of De Quincey's character corresponds with his life and works. First then, it may be noticed that notwithstanding of the possession of unequivocally great genius and ability, he has been unable to secure for himself a competent portion of wealth or position in the present. Although he has looked for it, and worked hard for it, he has barely earned for himself more than his daily bread, indicating that his intellectual powers did not lie in popular or common-place objects. Second, his works bearing upon the present are comparatively shadowy, and wanting in strength; and third, the articles in which he evinces most power and genius, are all those that relate to remote antiquity. Thus both the life and productions of Thomas De Quincey, regarding these merely generally, bear clear evidence of the truth of our analysis of his character. His want of success in a worldly point of view, has not been owing to any lack of effort or energy in him, for had he but expended one tithe of the intellectual power which he has devoted to literature, to self-seeking or to the accumulation of wealth, he would doubtless have either attained to one of the highest positions in society, or have secured for himself a princely fortune. But it was not in his nature to do either. All this, however, is best unfolded by himself in his autobiography, and the Confessions of an English Opium Eater. Let the reader peruse these works, and he will speedily

discover the sort of material Thomas De Quincey is made of. He will find that though De Quincey can unfold the minutest details of an event on the present, and hold up its salient and striking features to indignation or admiration, with a power possessed by few, still his most felicitous and vigorous efforts are those which bear upon the curious and interesting features of ancient history or remote antiquity. This, however, we shall take occasion to speak to more particularly in the sequel, but in the meantime we must furnish our readers with a quotation from his Confessions of an English Opium Eater. We select the story of Ann as characteristic both of the severe beauty of his style and the tenderness of his feelings:—

"This I regret; but another person there was, at that time, whom I have since sought to trace, with far deeper earnestness, and with far deeper sorrow at my failure. This person was a young woman, and one of that unhappy class who belong to the outcasts and pariahs of our female population. I feel no shame, nor have any reason to feel it, in avowing that I was then on familiar and friendly terms with many women in that unfortunate condition. Smile not, reader too carelessly facile! Frown not, reader too unseasonably austere! Little call was there here either for smiles or frowns. A penniless schoolboy could not be supposed to stand within the range of such temptations; besides that according to the ancient Latin proverb, '*sine Cerere et Baccho*,' &c. These unhappy women, to me, were simply sisters in calamity; and sisters amongst whom, in as large measure as amongst any other equal number of persons, commanding more of the world's respect, were to be found humanity, disinterested generosity, courage that would not falter in defence of the helpless, and fidelity that would have scorned to take bribes for betraying. But the truth is, that at no time of my life have I been a person to hold myself polluted by the touch or approach of any creature that wore a human shape. I cannot suppose, I will not believe, that any creatures wearing the form of man or woman are so absolutely rejected and reprobate outcasts, that merely to talk with them inflicts pollution. On the contrary, from my very earliest youth, it has been my pride to converse familiarly, *more Socratico*, with all human beings—man, woman and child—that chance might fling in my way; for a philosopher should not see with the eyes of the poor limitary creature calling himself a man of the world, filled with narrow and self-regarding prejudices of birth and education, but should look upon himself as a catholic creature, and as standing in an equal relation to high and low, to educated and uneducated, to the guilty and the innocent. Being myself, at that time, of necessity a peripatetic, or a walker of the streets, I naturally fell in more frequently with those female peripatetics, who are technically called street-walkers. Some of these women had occasionally taken my part against watchmen who wished to drive me off the steps or houses where I was sitting; others had protected me against more serious aggression. But one amongst them—the one on whose account I have at all introduced this subject—yet no! let me not class thee, O noble-minded Ann ———, with that order of women; let me find, if it be possible, some gentler name to designate the condition of her to whose bounty and compassion—ministering to my necessities when all the world stood aloof from me—I owe it that I am at this time alive. For many weeks I had walked, at nights, with this poor friendless girl up and down Oxford Street, or had rested with her on steps and under the shelter of porticos. She could not be so old as myself: she told me, indeed, that she had not completed her sixteenth year. By such ques-

tions as my interest about her prompted, I had gradually drawn forth her simple history. Hers was a case of ordinary occurrence (as I have since had reason to think), and one in which, if London beneficence had better adapted its arrangements to meet it, the power of the law might oftener be interposed to protect and to avenge. But the stream of London charity flows in a channel which, though deep and mighty, is yet noiseless and under-ground;—not obvious or readily accessible to poor, houseless wanderers; and it cannot be denied that the outside air and framework of society in London, as in all vast capitals, is unavoidably harsh, cruel, and repulsive. In any case, however, I saw that part of her injuries might have been redressed; and I urged her often and earnestly to lay her complaint before a magistrate. Friendless as she was I assured her that she would meet with immediate attention; and that English justice, which was no respecter of persons, would speedily and amply avenge her on the brutal ruffian who had plundered her little property. She promised me often that she would; but she delayed taking the steps I pointed out, from time to time; for she was timid and dejected to a degree which showed how deeply sorrow had taken hold of her young heart; and perhaps she thought justly that the most upright judge and the most righteous tribunals could do nothing to repair her heaviest wrongs. Something, however, would perhaps have been done; for it had been settled between us, at length (but, unhappily, on the very last time but one that I was ever to see her), that in a day or two I, accompanied by her, should state her case to a magistrate. This little service it was destined, however, that I should never realise. Meantime, that which she rendered to me, and which was greater than I could ever have repaid her, was this. One night when we were pacing slowly along Oxford Street, and after a day when I had felt unusually ill and faint, I requested her to turn off with me into Soho Square. Thither we went; and we sat down on the steps of a house, which to this hour I never pass without a pang of grief, and an inner act of homage to the spirit of that unhappy girl, in memory of the noble act which she there performed. Suddenly, as we sat, I grew much worse. I had been leaning my head against her bosom, and all at once I sank from her arms, and fell backwards on the steps. From the sensations I then had, I felt an inner conviction of the liveliest kind, that, without some powerful and reviving stimulus, I should either have died on the spot, or should, at least, have sunk to a point of exhaustion from which all re-ascent, under my friendless circumstances, would soon have become hopeless. Then it was, at this crisis of my fate, that my poor orphan companion, who had herself met with little but injuries in this world, stretched out a saving hand to me. Uttering a cry of terror, but without a moment's delay, she ran off into Oxford Street, and in less time than could be imagined, returned to me with a glass of port-wine and spices, that acted upon my empty stomach (which at that time would have rejected all solid food) with an instantaneous power of restoration; and for this glass the generous girl, without a murmur, paid out of her own humble purse, at a time, be it remembered, when she had scarcely wherewithal to purchase the bare necessaries of life, and when she could have no reason to expect that I should ever be able to reimburse her. O youthful benefactress! how often in succeeding years, standing in solitary places, and thinking of thee with grief of heart and perfect love—how often have I wished that, as in ancient times the curse of a father was believed to have a supernatural power, and to pursue its object with a fatal necessity of self-fulfilment, even so the benediction of a heart oppressed with gratitude might have a like prerogative; might have power given it from above to chase, to haunt, to waylay, to pursue thee into the central darkness of a London brothel, or (if it were possible) even into the darkness of the grave, there to awaken

thee with an authentic message of peace and forgiveness, and of final reconciliation!

"Some feelings, though not deeper or more passionate, are more tender than others; and often when I walk at this time, in Oxford Street by dreamy lamp-light, and hear those airs played on a common street-organ which years ago solaced me and my dear youthful companion, I shed tears, and muse with myself at the mysterious dispensation which so suddenly and so critically separated us for ever. How it happened, the reader will understand from what remains of this introductory narration."

In this account of the unfortunate girl Ann, Mr De Quincey unfolds all his strength, for although it relates to a matter connected only with the present, yet the incident had taken such strong hold of his feelings and imagination, as to enable him to draw a picture which has few equals in the English language, and its truthfulness is supported by his afterwards constantly recurring to the contemplation of her memory and of making attempts to discover and save her. But he never sees her afterwards. She is swept away from him by the mighty tide of London, we trust to pass the rest of her days in some quiet happy home. Another passage in these volumes is rendered interesting by the author's crossing the path of the poet Shelley. In his theory, too, on the subject of Shelley's declared atheism, and of his hatred of Christianity, Mr De Quincey appears to have struck upon the truth, for he attributes both, especially the latter to monomania; and nothing short of this seems capable of accounting for Shelley's unnaturally violent conduct, when the subject of Christianity was introduced. But let Mr De Quincey speak for himself.

"My own attention was first drawn to Shelley by the report of his Oxford labours as a missionary in the service of Atheism. Abstracted from the absolute sincerity and simplicity which governed that boyish movement, qualities which could not be known to a stranger, or even suspected in the midst of so much extravagance, there was nothing in the Oxford reports of him to create any interest, beyond that of wonder at his folly and presumption in pushing to such extremity what, naturally, all people viewed as an elaborate jest. Some curiosity, however, even at that time, must have gathered about his name; for I remember seeing in London a little Indian-ink sketch of him in the academic costume of Oxford. The sketch tallied pretty well with a verbal description which I had heard of him in some company—viz., that he was rather tall, slender, and presenting the air of an elegant flower, whose head drooped from being surcharged with rain. This gave to the chance observer an impression that he was tainted, even in his external deportment, by some excess of sickly sentimentalism, from which, however, in all stages of his life, he was remarkably free. Between two and three years after this period, which was that of his expulsion from Oxford, he married a beautiful girl named Westbrook. She was respectably connected, but had not moved in a rank corresponding to Shelley's; and that accident brought him into my own neighbourhood; for his family, already estranged from him, were now thoroughly irritated by what they regarded as a *mesalliance*, and withdrew, or greatly reduced, his pecuniary allowances. Such, at least, was the story current. In this embarrassment, his wife's father made over to him an annual income of £200; and, as economy had become important, the youthful pair—both, in fact, still children—came down to the Lakes, supposing this region of Cumberland and Westmoreland to be a sequestered place, which it *was*, for eight months in the

year, and also to be a cheap place, which it was *not*. Another motive to this choice arose with the then Duke of Norfolk. He was an old friend of Shelley's family, and generously refused to hear a word of the young man's errors, except where he could do anything to relieve him from their consequences. His grace possessed the beautiful estate of Gobarrow Park, on Ullswater, and other estates of greater extent in the same two counties; his own agents he had directed to furnish any accommodations that might meet Shelley's views; and he had written to some gentlemen amongst his agricultural friends in Cumberland, requesting them to pay such neighbourly attentions to the solitary young people as circumstances might place in their power. This bias, being impressed upon Shelley's wanderings, naturally brought him to Keswick, as the most central and the largest of the little towns dispersed amongst the Lakes. Southey, made aware of the interest taken in Shelley by the Duke of Norfolk, with his usual kindness, immediately called upon him; and the ladies of Southey's family subsequently made an early call upon Mrs Shelley. One of them mentioned to me, as occurring in this first visit, an amusing expression of the youthful matron, which, four years later, when I heard of her gloomy end, recalled, with the force of a pathetic contrast, that icy arrest then chaining up her youthful feet for ever. The Shelleys had been induced by one of their new friends to take part of a house standing about half-a-mile out of Keswick, on the Penrith road; more, I believe, according to that friend's intention, for the sake of bringing them within his own hospitalities, than for any beauty in the place. There was, however, a pretty garden attached to it; and, whilst walking in this, one of the Southey party asked Mrs Shelley if the garden had been let with *their* part of the house. "Oh no," she replied, "the garden is not ours; but then, you know, the people let us run about in it, whenever Percy and I are tired of sitting in the house." The *naïveté* of this expression, 'run about,' contrasting so picturesquely with the intermitting efforts of the girlish wife at supporting a matron-like gravity, now that she was doing the honours of her house to married ladies, caused all the party to smile. And *me* it caused profoundly to sigh, four years later, when the gloomy death of this young creature, now frozen in a distant grave, threw back my remembrance upon her fawn-like playfulness, which, unconsciously to herself the girlish phrase of *run about* so naturally betrayed.

"At that time, I had a cottage myself in Grasmere, just thirteen miles distant from Shelley's new abode. As he had then written nothing of any interest, I had no motive for calling upon him, except by way of showing any little attentions in my power to a brother Oxonian, and to a man of letters. These attentions, indeed, he might have claimed simply in the character of a neighbour; for as men living on the coast of Mayo or Galway are apt to consider the dwellers on the sea-board of North America in the light of next-door neighbours, divided only by a party-wall of crystal—and what if accidentally three thousand miles thick!—on the same principle, we amongst the slender population of this lake region, and wherever no ascent intervened between two parties higher than Dunmail Raise and the spurs of Helvellyn, were apt to take with each other the privileged tone of neighbours. Some neighbourly advantages I might certainly have placed at Shelley's disposal—Grasmere, for instance, itself, which tempted at that time by a beauty that had not *then* been sullied; Wordsworth, who then lived in Grasmere; Elleray and Professor Wilson, nine miles further; finally, my own library, which, being rich in the wickedest of German speculations, would naturally have been more to Shelley's taste than the Spanish library of Southey.

"But all these temptations were negatived for Shelley by his sudden departure. Off he went in a hurry: but *why* he went, or *whither* he went, I

did not inquire; not guessing the interest which he would create in my mind, six years later, by his 'Revolt of Islam.' A life of Shelley, in a continental edition of his works, says that he went to Edinburgh and to Ireland. Some time after, we at the Lakes heard that he was living in Wales. Apparently he had the instinct within him of his own Wandering Jew for eternal restlessness. But events were now hurrying upon his heart of hearts. Within less than ten years, the whole arrear of his life was destined to revolve. Within that space, he had the whole burden of life and death to exhaust; he had the worst of his suffering to suffer, and all his work to work."

Although the mere English style of Mr De Quincey is sufficiently shown by these extracts, yet he is not here marshaled in all his strength. His true character, as we have already indicated, is only to be judged of by those of his writings which relate to antiquity. The ancient world, indeed, appears to be the field of view where his vision is most perfect and where he never fails to detect and describe all that is within the range of the visible. In one article in these volumes entitled the "Homeridae," embracing an analysis of all the best theories on the subject of Homer, we have in the highest intellectual form an epitome of De Quincey's power. Most of our readers are aware, that not less than seven different cities or districts of Greece, claim the honour of Homer's birthplace,—that modern scepticism has even gone the length of denying the existence of Homer altogether, and has attributed the authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey, not to one, but to a multiplicity of poets, living about the period Homer is said to have lived. Nay; some have even gone the length of denying that either Troy or the subject of the Iliad had ever any foundation in authentic history. They maintain that both are mere myths which the poets referred to, have wrought into immortal verse, and thus invested them with an existence to the imagination, which they never had in reality. Byron himself, who visited the spot says,

> "I've stood upon Achilles' tomb,
> And heard Troy doubted; Time will doubt of Rome."

Thomas De Quincey brings not only all his intellectual strength but all his profound learning to bear upon this subject. He passes over the theory that Troy and the Trojan war never had an existence with superlative contempt. He establishes that the poet Homer, or whoever he may have been, was an individual, by the striking resemblance of the thought and imagery of the Iliad,—that there is thus indeed, internal evidence that the work is the production of an individual mind and not of many minds. He fixes the period of the Trojan expedition at about 1230 years before Christ, and the time of Homer when a young man about 1000 years before the same era, or contemporary with the building of the first Temple at Jerusalem. About 820 B.C., Lycurgus brings into the Peloponnesus from the Island of Crete, (or else from Iona, that is not from any Island, but from some place in the mainland of Asia Minor,) the Homeric Poems, hitherto unknown upon the Grecian Continent. The English Opium Eater traverses with great ability and minuteness all the facts found in the

early Greek history on the subject, and in determining the birthplace of Homer, he refers to the fact that Homer, in the Iliad, describes the bow of one of his heroes as being made of a horn of the Agrimi or wild goat peculiar to Crete, it being found in no other part of the Mediterranean. But we would waste needlessly both our own and our readers' time were we to go over the numerous points in this article that mark the master hand of Thomas De Quincey. Suffice it to say, that in Greek history and Greek literature he is perfectly at home, and treats of them as confidently as the Times reporter would of the most palpable and notorious facts in the late Russian Campaign.

The article which we have just described might be sufficient of itself to stamp Thomas De Quincey's peculiar power of dealing with the remote past, of treating of those features in the literary history of Greece or of any other country of antiquity with which he was acquainted that but few even among our most accomplished scholars could undertake. But as the elements of history become authentic, the powers of De Quincey are tenfold increased. That faculty for minute observation, and the remarkable capacity evinced by him for collecting into a focus all the important revelant details bearing upon an enquiry, unfold themselves more strikingly. It is here that De Quincey shews all the strength and greatness of his peculiar powers. Like Cuvier, who from the smallest bone of an extinct species of animal, could predicate its entire structure, so Thomas De Quincey, from the slenderest and most imperfect elements of ancient history, can build up the whole framework and constitution of ancient society. Above all other men of modern times Thomas De Quincey possesses this power. He seems to have caught up a thorough knowledge of the laws of civilized society in the present, and from a few materials gleaned from the past, he can represent to us with precision a perfect picture of ancient manners. Thus De Quincey is not only the most perfect law seeing writer of the day, but he applies this large range of vision to practical purposes, and although that be limited chiefly to the remote past like that of Cuvier's, yet it has been thoroughly practical and useful. A good example of De Quincey's powers in this respect will be found in a series of articles on the Twelve Cæsars in Blackwood. His delineations are so minutely detailed and refined, that the reader is actually led to believe that he is perusing an account by a writer who had lived and breathed in the society of the Cæsars. He feels, while running over the pages, that he himself is for the time being a denizen of the Pagan world of the Romans. Thus Thomas De Quincey, above all other writers with whom we are acquainted, realises his existence and presence in the ancient world; and if his powers had been exclusively devoted to this object, he might, in some respects, have acquired for himself a reputation that would not have been eclipsed by any writer on ancient history that has appeared in modern times.

ISLAMISM.

THIRD ARTICLE.

THE MOSLEMS IN SPAIN.

IN our former paper on Islamism, when recounting the varied and long continued struggle that was carried on between the Cross and the Crescent, in Asia and Europe, and the final triumph of the Moslem, we purposely omitted the contemporaneous struggle that was conducted with such ardour on both sides, in the Spanish Peninsula, and the final triumph of the Christian. This we did for two reasons,—viz., our unwillingness to break in upon the unity of the article, by the introduction of any matter that would have caused a digression; and the determination we had come to in our own mind, to treat of the "dominion of the Arabs in Spain"—since the subject was really unique in itself—in a separate paper. In pursuance of this plan, therefore,—the accomplishment of which has been hitherto hindered,—we now proceed to lay before our readers the final result of our labour on a subject of very considerable importance to Christian Europe.

To preserve the unity of the whole it will be necessary in our historical survey—even at the risk of going over again some part of the ground we have already traversed—to begin at a point in the history of Spain, anterior to the time when the Arabs first set foot on Andalusia.

Of the general configuration and the isolated position of Spain, our readers cannot be ignorant. Surrounded on three sides by the sea, cut off from Africa by the Straits of Gades with one of the pillars of Hercules for its defence; and separated from Europe by the lofty Pyrenean range, it contains within itself all the physical elements necessary to form a solid and compact kingdom. Its natural advantages and the exceeding fertility of its soil have in all ages rendered it a scene of strife and contention; and constituted it a battlefield, on which the powers of the world might contend for empire. Ere the dawn of authentic history, the Phœnicians had formed commercial settlements on its shores; while the Carthaginians and Romans disputed its possession in many a bloody encounter. Upon the breaking up of the Western Empire, towards the close of the fourth century of our era, unhappy Spain once more fell a prey to the ravages of the daring and ruthless invader. The Vandals from the shores of the Baltic, with their kindred and confederates in arms, the Suevi, the Alani, and the Silingi, burst with irresistible fury through the Spanish gates, the Pyrenean mountains, laying waste with fire and sword the whole of the Peninsula. Nor was this all that the country was doomed to suffer; for the Virigoth, following close upon the foot-prints of the Vandal, devastated, plundered, and destroyed without mercy, both the city and the open country. Barbarian encountered barbarian; till at length the Vandalic tribes succumbed to the Gothic; and these valiant conquerors were left sole possessors of the country from the Pyrenees to the African Strait. But two hundred years of peace and prosperity

had dimmed the lustre of their arms; and two centuries of inglorious ease had impaired their ancient valour and renown, and they, in their turn, fell an easy prey to the fearless and fiery Moslem.

A hundred years had not yet elapsed since the "Prophet of God," a fugitive and an outcast, took refuge from the vengeance of his enemies in the city of Medina. During that short period his name alone had acted as a potent spell to bear down all opposition, and to scatter the enemies of Islam. Persia and the whole of the East had submitted to the "Tribute, the Sword, or the Koran:" while Mauritania and the North of Africa, had been added to the dominion and the faith of the Apostle. The spirit of fanaticism had inspired the lust of conquest; and in the year of our Lord seven hundred and twelve, the generals of the Caliphate determined to subject Spain and the rest of Europe to the obedience of their Sovereigns. The treachery of the notorious Count Julian—the Spanish historians tell us—favoured the designs of Muza, the Mahomedan governor of Mauritania; and that ambitious Saracen landed at first five hundred, and in the following spring five thousand Moslems, under the leadership of the renowned Tarik, on that pillar now so well known by the name of Gibraltar. The dominion of Spain was decided in a single battle fought on the banks of the Guadalete, for the Goths had utterly relinquished the barbaric virtues of their fathers. So complete was the overthrow, and so terrible was the slaughter, that in one day of decisive warfare a kingdom was lost and won; and Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings, fled from the sword only to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Gaudalquiver. After this bloody day the career of the Moslems was one uninterrupted triumph; the rule of the Goths had passed away, and Spain was added to the throne, if not to the religion of the Caliphs. Nor was their fiery ardour or their burning zeal destined to expend itself within the mountain ranges of the Pyrenees. Bursting through that ancient barrier they rushed with irresistible impetuosity upon the broad and fertile basin of the Garumna, spreading ruin and devastation around—sacking towns and villages and putting the inhabitants to the sword. Advancing in their career of destruction they reached the banks of the Loire; and the turbaned warriors of the desert were only stopped in their progress by the seven-days bloody fight at Tours. The slaughter was immense; their retreat was hasty and precipitous; and Europe was for ever freed from the terror of an invasion by the Moslemah on the side of Spain.

The cause which brought about this result so desirable for the Christains was, however, of a kind widely differing from the loss of a well contested field, or of a province in the distant West. This we shall proceed to unfold with as much brevity as possible.

We cannot in this place repeat the details of the sanguinary contest that was entered into between the race of Omeya, and that of Abbas, for the title of Imam and Caliph—the command of the armies of the Faithful, and the wide and extended empire of the "Prophet of God." Suffice it to say, that the Omeyades succumbed in the struggle. So terrible, indeed, was the fury of the rival and dominant faction,

that, either by the sword of war or by the dagger of the assassin, the hostile race was utterly destroyed. One royal youth alone—Abdalrahman by name—escapod the rage of his enemies and the slaughter of his house. Driven an exile from the groves of Damascus, hunted from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of Mount Atlas, he at length found safety and a kingdom in the Spanish Peninsula where he established the rival throne of Cordova. Thus the Moslemah wasted their blood and treasure in mutual slaughter; the colours of the white and black factions* were too deeply dyed in each others' gore ever to wave side by side in battle against the Christians, and Spain dismembered from the parent trunk declared its independence of the Caliph of Bagdad. These civil wars and domestic feuds, along with the decisive victory gained by the Christians at Tours, gave them time to recruit their strength that had been wasted and broken by the disasters of a hundred years. The dynasty of the Omeyades founded by Abdalrahman, retained its seat on the throne of Cordova, and its rivalry to the house of Abbas, for a period of two hundred and fifty years; and instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain, cut off from the East, and torn by intestine divisions, became to the Christains a source of strength rather than of weakness; for it freed them from all fears of an invasion of the Saracens by the northern shores of Africa, and placed a powerful and rival Caliphate between them and the dominion over which the Sovereigns of Bagdad claimed authority, and from which at any time they could have sent one hundred thousand turbaned warriors across the Pyrenees, to devastate, or to make permanent settlements in the rich and fertile basin of the Garonne.

From this rapid survey, our readers will be able to understand the posture of affairs in Spain; and the position in which the Spanish Arabs were placed, separated from their Mahomedan rivals, by a sea no broader than the African Strait, and from their Christain enemies by no impassable mountain barriers. With these facts before us, we shall now confine our attention solely to the struggle that was carried on between the misbelievers and the Christians within the limits of "the Peninsula."

The fate of the Gothic Monarchy, as we have seen, was decided on the fatal field of Xeres. On this bloody day the army of the Christians was totally overthrown and dispersed. Roderick, their unworthy king, lost his crown and his life, and the whole country was in an incredibly short space of time reduced under the dominion of the Moslems. The Christians—still considerable in point of numbers—were either put to the sword, or were brought under tribute, or embraced the faith of Islam, the three alternatives that were invariably offered by the Saracens to the conquered nations. Those who would submit to neither of these humiliating terms, retreated to the inaccessible mountains of Castile, where, with their good swords, they maintained their independence and their faith, and from whence after six centuries

* In the distinction of factions, *green* was the badge of the Fatimites in Africa: *white* that of the Omeyades, and *black* that of the house of Abbas.

of incessant warfare, they sallied forth to re-conquer the land of their fathers. So far the conquest of Spain was complete, and the termination of the bloody fued between the house of Abbas and Omeya, saw the race of the Omeyades firmly seated on the throne of Cordova. Their rule extended over a period of two hundred and fifty years, and this constitutes one of the most brilliant epochs in the annals of Spain. It is admitted even by their enemies that they governed wisely and well, and that they increased the commerce and the resources of the country is attested at once by the amount of the revenue, and the general prosperity of the people. The magnificence of the Caliphs was unbounded, and their love of display almost exceeds belief. Their palaces rose as if by enchantment; their shady groves, and their cooling fountains were the work and the abode of genii, where the wanderer of the desert might repose in security and ease, screened from the scorching heat of an Andalusian sun. Nor was the mere love of display the sole characteristic of their public buildings. In the construction of their quays, bridges, and aqueducts, the ornamental gave place to the useful, nor are the monuments of ancient Rome more noble, or more to be admired than these works of the Caliphs. The Arabian historians delight to paint with an exaggeration of colouring, the magnificence and splendour of the court of Abdalrahman, and his royal line, and to extol the virtues of his illustrious race. Nor can even their enemies say that this praise was altogether undeserved, for their magnificence was great, and their virtues were not few. Cordova was the capital of their kingdom, and their ambition seems to have been that it should rival, if not surpass, in splendour, the "City of Peace," the gorgeous capital of their ancient and deadly foes. Delightfully situated on the banks of the Guadalquiver, the treasures of the West were lavishly expended to gratify the taste or the caprice of an Eastern monarch, and to render Cordova not only the centre of power, but of elegance and refinement. There was all that could captivate the fancy or administer to the luxurious ease of an Eastern race. The orchards of Damascus transplanted to the squares and suburbs of the Western capital, yielded a refreshing shade and a delicious beverage to the toil worn sons of the desert Arabia. Do we wonder that amidst the delights of this earthly paradise they forgot the arid soil of their fathers, or remembered it only as one remembers an unpleasant dream of the past? It is, in fact, almost impossible for our northern imaginations to conceive the stately grandeur and the fairy enchantment of this capital of the Omeyades. Three or four miles below the city, on a beautiful spot on the banks of the river where the woods formed a cooling and refreshing shade, King Abderahman, the third of his name, reared his famous alcazar or palace. Intended merely to afford him a temporary repose in spring and autumn, the beauty of the place so captivated the fancy of this illustrious sovereign, that he not only erected a splendid palace, surrounded with vast and delicious gardens, but he built a city with mosques, hospitals, barracks, and other vast edifices, which in beauty and elegance surpassed those of Cordova. Our plan forbids us to give a description of the famous alcazar, or of

the city Azahra which rose beside it. Those of our readers who are curious on this point will have their curiosity satisfied by consulting the first volume of Conde's "Dominion of the Arabs in Spain," where they will find this palace described with great minuteness of detail. "Within this palace and around it," says this author, in summing up his description, "were comprised all those riches and delights of this world that could be brought together for the enjoyment of a powerful monarch." Well may the historian say, "the delights of this world." Ever as we trace the history of the world, the sad and melancholy reflection is pressed upon us, that all human magnificence and grandeur must pass away. Such are the decrees of heaven. An Arabian poet when pacing along the shores of the Guadalquiver, and gazing on the stately alcazar that proudly rose upon its banks, the emblem as it seemed of steadfastness, with a prophet's eye and a poet's tongue, thus addressed the palace of the Caliphs:—

"Palace of royal state, proud Alcazar,
What rich delights within thy walls are found—
May thy good star preserve thee from all harm!

"How many powerful monarchs have thy roofs
Seen pass beneath their splendours. Yet the stars
Now calmly look upon the silent graves
Of Kings and heroes who have there abode.
Tell to the world then, whose admiring eyes
Look on thy seeming steadfastness, that all
Is but deceit. Say that of earth's delights
Not one hath permanence, and bid all know
That time holds ever on his measured course."

Such, then, was the magnificence and splendour of the Moslem conquerors of Spain. How it passed away we shall see.

To maintain this magnificence, the revenues of the sovereigns were amply sufficient. Their income derived from various sources, such as, one-fifth of the spoils taken in war, one-tenth of the produce of commerce, husbandry, flocks, and mines, and a capitation tax on Jews and Christians, amounted we are told to six millions sterling, an immense sum in those days, being nearly fifteen-fold greater than that obtained by William the Conqueror, after all the rigour and severity of feudal taxation. This sum is perhaps exaggerated by the lively fancy of the Arabian writers, but when we take into account the lavish expenditure of the Caliphs on the one hand, the rich country over which they ruled, with the commercial activity, industrious habits, and general increase and prosperity of the people on the other, we shall have small cause to doubt the accuracy of Moslem calculation, or to blame the lively fancy of the historians of the period.

Enough of this, however. Turn we now from the consideration of their outer to their inner life, from the pomp and pageantry of external magnificence and display, to splendours of a more profitable and enduring kind,—profitable in the very highest sense, and enduring in as much as their effects never cease to be felt. Every nation as well

as every individual has an outer and an inner life, a real and a shadowy existence. In speaking of this inner life, we may say that it is not our intention—for we are not writing a history of the period—to make any remarks on the manners, customs, habits, mode of life, and diet of the people in general. This is all very good in its way, but there is a higher good than this; for we are not of those who think, speak, and write, as if the sole meaning of good was good to eat, good to drink, and good wherewithal to clothe a man's self. This too is but an outer life, for it has reference solely to this world; and in this the brute creation can contend with man on an equality, and with some hopes of success. Such, however, is not what we mean by the inner life of a nation. The real existence of an individual is the life of the soul, and the real life of a nation is the result of this individual existence. This is that vital principle which can never die, and therefore we contend that this is the real life of a people. The objective existence of a nation, aye of every nation, must pass away, but their subjective existence never can. This in its effects must endure for ever. The shadowy existence of Greece and Rome has gone for ever, but their real life, if we may be allowed such a paradox, still lives in all its native vitality in their literature. So too in regard to the Arabs in Spain. Their objective existence, their greatness and their glory, has passed away never to be revived, but they had a greatness and a glory which still lasts, a life which they are still living, and which they must continue for ever to live. We must, indeed, be candid, and confess that nothing astonishes us more than the earnest desire displayed by the Western Caliphs to live this real life. Amidst all their wars, and these were not few, mere justice compels us to state that they never forgot this higher existence. The glory acquired by their arms, and the renown gained on the battle field, were more than surpassed by their public and their private virtues, and by their liberal patronage of all that is good and lasting, great and noble, either in individuals or in nations. The rule of the Omeyades in Spain will bear favourable comparison with that of any race of sovereigns, ancient or modern, Christian or non-Christian. If ever dynasty deserved to retain the sovereign power it was this, for from Abderahman the first, to Hixem the last of that house, there was scarcely one who did not challenge for himself the love and esteem of his people. Nor is this a mere random assertion; an appeal to the facts of the case will abundantly prove it. Not only were they the patrons of learning, but many of them also were themselves learned. So that both by precept and example they fostered that which is true and real in a nation's existence.

This intellectual development, then, is that with which we at this distant day are most of all concerned. It often happens, indeed, that the political and the intellectual greatness of a nation develope themselves at one and the same time. The one seems to call forth or to beget the other. In this case such is the fact; the two periods coincide. During the reigns of Abderahman, the third of his name, Alhakem the second, and Muhamed Almanzor, which embraced the latter half of the tenth, and part of the eleventh century, Spain under

the dominion of the Arabs, attained its highest political eminence. This period also witnessed the greatest intellectual development of the nation. The encouragement given by these sovereigns especially, to literature, and to men of letters, drew around them the wise and learned of their own and of other countries. The early followers of Mohamed reared amidst the din of arms, and fired with the insatiable lust of conquest, had little leisure and less inclination perhaps to imbibe the love of learning themselves, or to foster and encourage it in others. The sole study of the first converts to the faith of Islam was the Koran. This was their guide, in religion, literature, and science; from this they derived all their laws, military and civil. Beyond this they did not advance one single step, till after the fall of the Omeyades in the East, when the house of Abbas was left without a rival. Imitating the example of the Eastern potentates, the Caliphs of the West became the liberal patrons of literature, science, and art. Under their benign influences they flourished apace,—flourished, too, at a period when Europe is reputed to have been sunk in the grossest darkness and superstition.

We cannot, in this place, ennumerate the colleges and schools that were founded and endowed,—there is a difference between these two, as our Scottish Universities can well attest—by the liberality of Abderahman and his successors; nor can we even so much as mention the course of study that was there pursued. Science was then in an imperfect state, and the knowledge of the Arabians in this department cannot have been extensive. In literature, however, and especially in poetic literature, they take a high position. In this age of cheap literature, and of universal reading, it may be gratifying to know that the library of the Omeyades of Spain, amounted to no fewer than six hundred thousand volumes, and that above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom alone. We wonder how many public libraries there are in the United Kingdom of Great Britain, with all our knowledge and boasted enlightenment. But this by the way. Were we to compare the period under review with our own—which it is not our intention to do—we should find that in the number of students, in the merit and industry of the professors, and in the liberality of the endowments, we in this age are behind Mahomedan Spain.

But it is in their poetic literature that the Arabs most excelled. Schools, Colleges, and private houses were dedicated to the muses, and to the cultivation of poesy. Condè tells us that there were poetical tournaments or controversies held in the Academy of Humanities, which was accustomed to assemble in the house of Muhamed Almanzor, and that on these occasions many excellent compositions in verse were read, to the great satisfaction of the hearers. In these poetical tournaments, the Caliphs themselves became competitors; and of their productions many fine specimens have been left us. There are few kings who have also been poets; but if the Caliphs of Cordova wrote much of such a kind, as has been handed down to us, we cannot refuse to them the honourable appellation. Of these we have no space to give

examples. The subject, in fact, is so rich and varied, that at some distant day we *may* devote an article to the poetic literature of the Arabs in Spain. We have not space, we said, to give examples. To this there is one exception, in favour of Abderahman, the first of his name.* His address to a Palm-tree, which he had with his own hand planted in his garden at Spain, and which recalled to him the recollections of his native land, has always appeared to us to be possessed of great beauty and poetic merit. The following is the translation, in which of course we can only know it:—

"Thou also fair and graceful Palm-tree, thou
Art here a stranger. Western breezes wave
Softly around thee with the breath of love,
Caressing thy soft beauty: rich the soil
Wherein thy roots are prospering; and thy head
Thou liftest high to heaven. Thou fair tree
Dost feel no grief for thine abandoned home.
To me alone that pain, to me alone
The tears of long regret for thy fair sisters
Blooming by Forat's wave.
Yet do the river and the Palms forget
Him the lone mourner, who in this strange land
Still clings to their remembrance; my sweet home!
When the stern destinies, and sterner they
The sons of fierce Alabas drave me forth,
How wound my soul around thee, and how hangs
E'en now my heart on thy beloved soil!

Thou Palm, thou fair and lovely, of that home
Dost take no thought. Ah! well is thee; but I,
Sad mourner, cannot choose but grieve, and thus
I weep for thee and me, oh lovely Palm,
Thinking of our lost home."

Thus it was that the race of Omeya fostered and cherished that which is alone real and true either in the life of individuals or of nations. The spirit that the sovereign was possessed of, was imbibed by the people; and therefore it is that this is one of the brightest eras in the history of Spain. Renowned for their valour in the field, the Caliphs of the West were not less renowned for their learning and talent. The flower of Moorish chivalry—conspicuous for their deeds in arms, they were not less conspicuous for their rare and manly virtues. Beloved by their subjects, they seem to have deserved that love, for justice was administered by them with no unequal hand. The fathers of their people they ruled in their hearts, rather than over them; and the inscription on the sepulchre of the Caliph Almanzor, might have been engraved on the tombs of many of his illustrious house:—

* This was the same Abdelahman or Abderahman, who escaped from the slaughter of his house, and who, hunted from the banks of the Euphrates to the Straits of Gibraltar, found a home and a kingdom in Spain. His sufferings and his exile had rendered him a thoughtful and a melancholy man.

"He lives no more: but his high deeds have left
So proud a memory in this lower world,
That hearing their relation thou may'st know him,
As stood he living there before thine eyes.
Such as he was, we shall not see again,
Through all the coming ages. Never more
Shall rise so great a leader. Ever conquering,
Of Ismail's people, he increased the empire,
That well he knew to guard. Alas! our Father,
Our shelter, and our shield."

And yet the race of the Omeyades, so renowned for valour and so conspicuous for virtue, passed away—a memorable example that all that is good and noble in this world must perish. Such was their destiny. As one of their own poets has it,

"Your clear star,
Once shining high, hath sunk, and fortune's smile
Hath left your house, ye sons of great Omeya."

Fortune, fate, decree, destiny, or something like one of these it must have been, if we can believe the historians of the period,—for never did a race of sovereigns so well deserve to sit upon a throne. Condè tells us that "the constancy of mind, and many other virtues displayed by the admirable king Hixem Ben Mohamed—in whom the dynasty of the Omeyas of Spain passed away—proved him the worthy descendant of his illustrious ancestors, and rendered him deserving of a better fate, or rather of living in times less adverse to the good and the upright. "Happy is he," the historian adds, "who hath done and laboured well, and praised for ever be the name of him whose empire shall never end."

Turn we now, however, to the Christians, and to their affairs. What were they doing during the two hundred and fifty years that the house of Omeya held rule in Spain? A brilliant and successful period for the Moslem, it was a dark and oppressive one for the Christian. Driven, after the battle of the Guadalete, to take refuge in the mountains of Asturias, and the neighbouring highlands, where the Saracen either feared or disdained to follow them, the Christians, broken and dispirited, scarcely dared to hope that even there they could maintain their independence and their faith. But disaster taught them wisdom. Trained in the rough school of adversity, they learned by experience dearly bought in their case, that if they would cope with the victorious Moslemah, they must surpass them in those virtues which belong to a conquering race. A short breathing time, and the freedom of their native mountains inspired them with courage. The warlike qualities of their ancesters too, revived in the fourth generation; and from their hills, they sallied forth at times to conquer, at times to be conquered. Their numbers, moreover, rendered them formidable whenever they should take to themselves heart and spirit enough to assert their right to the whole of the Peninsula. We cannot recount their struggles with the followers of all-conquering Islam,—that would be most uninteresting to our readers. We may, however, glance at

the causes which kept alive amongst them the spirit of independence and of chivalry.

Not to mention the political differences that existed between the Arabs and the Goths, and the dissimilarity of their manners, customs, and habits—there are two causes which mainly contributed to preserve and to perpetuate the feeling of hostility between them. The first and most undoubtedly the chief of these was their religion; the second, which perhaps sprung from this, was the nature of their poetry. The difference in religion, was an insurmountable barrier to anything like peace and amity. Men may sink their political differences, their manners, customs, and habits, may be merged the one into the other, or they may be overlooked; but a difference of religion in nations or peoples, will produce and perpetuate eternal enmity. The history of the world bears abundant testimony to the truth of this statement, and those who are best acquainted with that history, will be the most ready to admit its truth. In the very nature of the case then, it was utterly impossible that the cross and the crescent should ever wave side by side, or that there could ever be peace between the followers of Christ and those of the false Prophet. The struggle once begun, could only terminate in the extirpation or the expulsion of the one or the other. Moreover, it must be confessed that the rule of the Saracen was not such as to conciliate the favour of the Christians. Insulted by the devotees of a false faith in the very land which was their own by right of possession, the yearly tribute that was imposed upon them, kept them for ever in mind of their state of servitude and degradation. We are told, indeed, by a modern historian, that "in the spirit of toleration which distinguished the early followers of Mahomet, they conceded to each of the Goths, as were willing to continue among them after the conquest, the free enjoyment of their religious, as well as many of the civil privileges, which they possessed under the ancient monarchy." Now this sweeping statement is very much calculated to mislead those who know not the true spirit of Islamism, and the kind of toleration that was granted by the early followers of Mohamed to the conquered nations. Toleration with them meant the sword or the Koran—extirpation or conversion. The only escape from those two alternatives, was the payment of a heavy fine, and a yearly tribute. In fact the whole life and teaching of the Arabian imposter, goes to prove that his enemies, and the enemies of Islam must be destroyed; nor can it be said that the conquerors of Africa and Spain failed in the main to give effect to the rigorous doctrines of their master. This was their usual policy, for Mohamed was far-seeing enough to perceive that to render conquest permanent, the conquerors must either be numerically superior to the conquered, or they must make them one with them in religious feeling. Now we are not to suppose, that as far as they were concerned, this policy was altered in regard to Spain. They failed to extirpate—they failed also to convert. When Tarik overthrew the Gothic monarchy, he did not at the same time overthrow the Christian faith. The one fell with Roderick and his nobles on the fatal field of Xeres; the other survived that inglorious day, because it

was a principle that had taken deep root in the hearts of the people. Had Muza, when he conquered Spain, been able also to uproot the Christian religion, then according to all human calculation and experience, the Saracens must have held the Peninsula to this day. But this was not done. The nobles, who loved their freedom and their faith, retreated with their followers to the mountain districts of the north; the serfs, who merely changed masters, remained in their native plains to cultivate the soil, and to practise under pains and penalties the rites of their religion, or to give a nominal assent to the faith of their conquerors. Thus their usual policy was modified, but modified only, as our readers will perceive, by the circumstances of the case, and because they could not well do otherwise. Before closing, we shall come to learn the result of this.

Religion then, was the main cause which served to keep alive a spirit of hostility between the Arabs and the Goths; and this spirit at length burst forth with irresistible fury. The other cause we mentioned, was the nature of their poetry. This, no doubt, had considerable effect,—but our plan forbids us to enter upon it. Those of our readers who are anxious to know the nature of the Spanish Ballad, and to become acquainted with the chivalry of the period, will have their curiosity satisfied by looking into "Lockhart's Translations." But even the poetry of the period sprung as we have said from their religious feeling; and therefore, it is to this we confine our attention. The hostile flame that burned in the heart of the Goth towards the Arabs, was fanned with religious zeal. From his rugged heights he beheld the enemies of his faith, and the conquerors of his country, reposing in security and ease beneath the sunny skies of his native land—where the Mosch of the "false prophet" proudly reared its head in the place of the Temple that had been consecrated to the service of God and of Christ. Broken and shattered, disheartened and discouraged, the reunion and organization of the Christians was slow and protracted. That which had been lost on one bloody day, it cost torrents of blood, and centuries of strife and toil to re-conquer. Their petty jealousies, their civil discords, and their intestine feuds, wasted their strength, and laid their energies prostrate; and the blood that should have redeemed their fields, and bought back their country, was freely shed to satisfy the caprice or the revenge of their quarrelsome leaders. As long, moreover, as the house of Omeya held sway in the realm of Cordova, the cause of the Christians was almost hopeless. But the revolution of two hundred and fifty years, found that powerful dynasty no more; their race became extinct, and with them died the virtues of the western Caliphs, and the kingdom of Cordova fast descended to the tomb of all the Capulets. The fall of the Omeyades, was the signal for anarchy, disorder, and intestine war. The numerous discordant principalities that arose on their ruin, reduced the affairs of the Saracens to the lowest ebb; and the Christians seized the favourable opportunity to avenge their wrongs, and to complete the downfal of their inveterate enemies. At this critical moment, too, their cause had become the cause of heaven; for the Church had bestirred herself, and

the Crusades were the result. The Spanish Christians, however, isolated as they were, and cut off from their fellow Crusaders in Europe, fought their own battle; and under the victorious banner of the "Cid," they had, at the close of the eleventh century, pushed their conquests to the banks of the Tagus. The Arabs, split up into factions that viewed each other with undisguised hatred, were unable to resist the victorious followers of the Cross. But the kingdom of the Moslem had not yet tottered to its fall. Again and again, hosts of turbaned warriors crossed the African strait to plant the crescent on the shores of Spain. Every province that the Christians gained, cost them its value in blood and treasure. But the fortunate issue of the battle of Novas de Tolosa, (fought in the year 1212) gave to the Christian arms a supremacy which never was lost. Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia were wrested from the Moslem; and Granada alone, was all that was left to the conquering sons of Ismail, of their once powerful and extensive sway in Spain. Here they made their last and their not least determined stand. Here in this fruitful province, on this mere hand-breadth of their ancient domain, they erected a kingdom which withstood for a period of two hundred years all the might of the Christians; and whose ruin was brought about as much by the treachery of its friends, as by the valour of its foes.

We cannot stop to describe this kingdom of Granada; for we should only seem to be repeating an old and well known story. We could only tell of a district fruitful and well watered as the garden of Eden, crowned with a city of gorgeous palaces—of streets in that city whose lofty and ornamented houses, "glittered like stars through the dark foliage of the orange groves:" or we might compare this fabric of the genii, to "an enamelled vase sparkling with hyacinths and emeralds." But having done this we could do no more: and all these things are written and admirably written in Conde's "Dominion of the Arabs in Spain," and in the "Chronicles of Granada." The union of the crowns of Arragon and Castile under Ferdinand and Isabella, and the valour of the Christians aided by the treachery of the Moslem, brought the empire of the Moors to a termination. In the year of our Lord fourteen hundred and ninety two—about fifty years after the fall of Constantinople—the keys of the once powerful city of Granada were delivered into the hands of the victorious Ferdinand, and the ruin of the Saracens was complete. "Allah Hu Akbar, God alone is great," said the disconsolate Abdallah, as with eyes full of tears he turned to gaze for the last time upon his beloved City. "Allah Hu Akbar" said he, and his hard-hearted mother replied, "Well doth it become thee, to weep thy loss like a woman, since thou hast not been able to defend thyself like a man." The historian, wiser than either, in the true spirit of Islam gives his testimony thus: "Praised be God, who exalteth kings, and who casteth them low; who giveth power and greatness at his pleasure; who inflicteth poverty and humiliation, according to his holy will;—the fulfilment of that will is Eternal Justice which regulates all human events."

In tracing the course of human affairs, a feeling of sadness comes

over the mind. 'Tis pleasing, no doubt, to contemplate the greatness and the glory of a nation; but vanity of vanities, ask we ourselves, where all this shall end? and the answer must be total extinction. This is inevitable. Destruction and reproduction is the law of God's universe. The one produces and reproduces the other. In the material universe the law holds good, and it is written in undying characters on every page of this world's eventful history. Greatness and glory are the forerunners and the producers of ruin and decay; while disaster and defeat lead to honour and renown. Again and again have we seen this principle demonstrated, within the period of which even this article treats. And taking a wider induction and a broader basis of facts, we find that Persia rises on the ruins of the ancient Babylon; that Greece founds an empire on the destruction of the far-ruling Persia; and that Rome plants its iron heel upon the sepulchre of Greece. The truth is that the history of the world in general, or the history of each nation in particular, will equally prove the principle laid down. Being founded on experience, and the nature of mutable things, the law is applicable to all ages. An eternal principle, it matters little whether it measure past or future events. A nation reaches the pinnacle of earthly glory, and immediately the signs of decay begin to be visible; "gray hairs are here and there upon it and it knoweth it not." However humiliating it may be to human wisdom and power, yet the unfailing experience of the past warrants us in pronouncing with certainity upon the future. Without descending to particulars we may say that the circumstances in which men and nations are placed, are nearly similar. The particular agents are different, the period is not the same; but keeping this out of view, as a mere accident, in tracing the causes that lead to the rise and progress, the decline and fall of one nation, the historian, or the philosopher is but laying down those general principles which are applicable to every nation in every age. Nor can we conceive it otherwise; for the causes that lead to greatness and decay, lie deep in the heart of man, and in the nature of mutable things. In the midst of all this world's changes man changes never: and therefore it is that the same result is inevitable. In the history of Spain we have the history of the world written in a small compass. The particular facts may be different: the battle of the Gaudalete cannot be said to be the battle of Issus fought one thousand years before it. But this is a mere accident. To the philosopher the fact is nothing in itself. A series of victories and defeats, a period of successful or unsuccessful warfare, a race of illustrious or ignoble kings, are in themselves so like each other, that they are scarcely worth remembering. The result or the consequence of these facts is that which alone claims attention. The cause which led to such and such a result is that which is alone real and true, and of which an eternal existence can be predicated.

In reference then to the subject under review we have but two questions to ask, and we have done. The first is this. What was the effect of the extirpation or the expulsion of the Saracens, upon Spain herself, and upon her people? And the second is, What were the causes

which led to the final expulsion of the Moors? Why did the Moslems lose their hold in Spain? On these two questions we must necessarily be brief.

What then was the effect of the long struggle between the Cross and the Crescent, and the final triumph of the Christians? As a natural consequence the immediate effect was glorious indeed. When a nation comes victorious out of a struggle for its very existence, as Spain did at this time, it receives an impetus which carries it forward into a future period; and we may safely predict that a career of prosperity, and an era of glory is opened up before it. The fall of Granada was an event, glorious, not only to Spain, but to Europe; for it served in some measure to wipe out the disgrace consequent on the loss of the Christian Capital of the East. But its effects were more brilliant than solid, more dazzling than real or lasting. Freed from the presence of the Moors, and thus no longer compelled to waste their strength in internal warfare, the Christians saw, or thought they saw in the womb of futurity, a course of victory for their arms, and a period of prosperity for their nation. Their energies were strung to the highest pitch. There was nothing too difficult for them to accomplish. They rose all of a sudden, no doubt to their own amazement, and certainly to the amazement of the rest of Europe, to the most exalted rank amongst the nations. Spain became the first military power in the world. The brave, hardy, and enterprising disposition of her people added a mighty continent to her empire; and laid at her feet the treasures of an undiscovered country. But this was a state of existence altogether abnormal; and consequently passed rapidly away. The discoveries of Columbus, and the wealth that through his means was brought to her shores, only served to accelerate her fall, and the expulsion of the Moors, a matter we believe of stern necessity, turned out to be a curse to Spain rather than a blessing. This will readily appear when we consider the nature of the struggle that was so long carried on between the Moslem and the Christian. It partook, as we have seen, entirely of the nature of a religious war. Now what *was* the effect of this? or what is likely to be the effect of it under any circumstances? Of necessity the effect must be to produce and to cherish a spirit of intolerance and bigotry. Now what has brought Spain to her present state of degradation and prostration? What but religious intolerance and bigotry. She refused the Reformation, which was the one, and the sole grand renovating principle in modern European society, that which gave a true, real, and vital impetus to the energies of states and nations—she refused this, and her doom was sealed, her chains were forged, and only required time to rivet them. The only salvation for Spain is to break the yoke of religious despotism and intolerance. Political changes are of no avail. As for a constitution, that is what must grow with the people. Another invasion of the Saracens, or a Reformation in religion, is that which is wanted to raise this unhappy country to her true position among the nations. But on this we cannot dwell; for we must hasten to a close. Our readers will observe, however, that the ultimate

effect of the triumph of the Cross over the Crescent, was to produce that very spirit which has wrought out the present ruinous state of the kingdom of Spain.

So much for the first question proposed. Our second was this, Why did the Moslems lose their hold on Spain? What were the causes that led to their expulson? We have already indicated these, and now we shall try to bring them out more fully. The fall of the house of Omeya we have seen was the signal for anarchy and disorder among the Arabs themselves. Civil discord and intestine war no doubt wasted their energies, and gave the Christians an advantage over them; but all this was not sufficient to produce such a result. The real cause must be sought for in something that lies near to the heart of man. We have seen what the nature of the struggle was; and in this we shall find a *vera causa*. The policy adopted by Mohamed and his followers was either to force the doctrines of Islam upon the conquered nations, or to allow them to profess their own religion only under pains and penalties. In many cases they were but too successful; and we even find that some of their most victorious leaders were in the habit of instructing, in the doctrines of the Koran, those states and peoples whom their arms had subdued. Now it must be confessed, that, as a policy, this was wise. We do not say that the means employed were the best, or that the religion to be inculcated was a true one, or that it was in any way calculated to make its votaries better. Let us not be mistaken; the very contrary is our opinion. But what we say is this, That the policy whose aim and object is the making of the conquered nations one in religious feeling with their conquerors, is the only policy that will ensure permanency of conquest. This is no random statement; experience will prove it. The ancient nations do not afford us many examples; for in reality conquerors and conquered were all of one religion. The Romans never attempted to convert; that was no part of their creed; and accordingly the means they adopted were of the most violent kind. Extirpation—slavery, was their only remedy. Thus when they found that it was impossible to govern the Jewish nation even by securing to them the free exercise of their own religion, what did the Romans do? Why they destroyed and scattered abroad. And in regard to the Druids, Cæsar found himself compelled to extirpate them. These cases then go to prove the general principle we are contending for, viz., that permanency of conquest is only possible through the similarity of religious feeling on the part of the conquerors and the conquered. And if we ask ourselves the questions, What were the countries which the Arabs held with the firmest hand? And what were the countries which they lost? the result will be found to be the same. Persia, Egypt, Africa they held, because in these countries the great body of the people embraced the doctrines of the Koran. Spain they lost, and lost solely because they failed to suppress the Christian religion. Why is it, moreover, that the Turks would be driven out of Turkey to-morrow or next day, unless it were for the stay and support of the Western Powers? Just because the majority of the people to be governed are

not at one with their governors in religious feeling. From this discussion then the reader is prepared for the answer we are about to give to the question proposed. Religion was the true cause; this was at the root of it all. Had the Arabs been able to carry out their usual policy—circumstances we saw prevented this—in all human probability Spain must have been theirs at this day. It is utterly absurd to suppose that a nation can long be governed through its prejudices. Mohamed knew better than this; and, therefore, he adopted, for the carrying out of his views, a far safer policy—a policy that commends itself both to reason and experience.

We have already made the remark, that the general principles drawn from the history of the past, are applicable to the present and to future times. A Christian nation has been acting for one hundred years in direct opposition to these obvious laws, and the world now knows the result. The experience of the past was set at nought; and six months ago our readers would have told us that the experiment had proved completely successful. It was well perhaps that the trial was made,—although as usual we have bought our wisdom at a terrible price,—but let not that trial be repeated; for under such a policy, sooner or later, we must make up our minds to lose India. To be plain, it is impossible for a mere handful of Christians to rule millions of Mahomedans and Hindoos. Say what we will, the present is a religious outburst; and another such must terminate our sway. May God avert such a terrible disaster; but we have a duty, and let us also have a clear and distinct policy. What! say our politicians who belong to the do-nothing school—Would you force Christianity upon the natives? Would you take India's money to force a distasteful religion upon India's people. Spare, we pray you, your questions and your indignation. There is no one in this nineteenth century who is such a fool as to propose either; and, therefore, your question, if it is meant as an argument, becomes a mere sophism, the object of which is to lead the mind away from the point at issue. The vital question with us as a nation is this, How shall we retain India? To this we reply, Christianize it. If we be asked, By what method this is to be done; we answer, By the only method which Christianity warrants us in adopting. If we are unsuccessful in this, then we must make up our minds to leave India to itself. Such at least is the deduction from experience. We may it is true, notwithstanding that the probabilities are against us, succeed in maintaining our supremacy over that vast territory; but if we do, then we shall be enabled to say that a new thing has been done upon the earth.

INDIA:—WHAT THEN? AND WHAT THEN?

"I would no more offend a Hindu, than I would a Christian; but I would not let a Hindu offend me."—*The late Sir Charles Napier.*

"One cause appears to me to consist in the lowering of the English character, by insensibly adopting Asiatic habits, manners, and feelings, the Anglo-Saxon becoming partly *merged* in the *Hindu.* This is extensively the case in the army of Bengal."—*General Jacob.*

THE reason why we take up our pen on this subject, is not any discovery that we have made of the true cause or causes of British disaster in India. Nor do we at all intend to perplex the question or distract attention by introducing any new or hitherto unnoticed causes. In short, we neither intend to write a history, nor form a theory upon the subject. A very different function has been assigned to us in the province of letters. And as our function, so also our aim, is very different. Nor is it at all necessary that we should bestow our time and labour—as it is inconsistent with the right discharge of our proper function—on any such investigations. The whole subject has been so thoroughly investigated, and we presume, exhausted, or nearly so, by persons and periodicals of all degrees, both of competency and authority—British and foreign—civil, military, and ecclesiastical—editorial and auxiliary—that, instead of being in the slightest danger of missing a single cause, or even part of a cause,—the nation is, on the contrary, in the very utmost danger of losing itself among them, or of having its attention so distracted by their number and different degrees of guilt, as to fall ultimately into the practical fallacy of *dealing* with the *non causa pro causa*—witness the hasty and ill-judged proceedings and persecutions against Colonel Wheeler—or of proceeding at length against some trifling and inconsiderable and comparatively innocent causes or individuals,* while the monster causes and systems of iniquity have been permitted to escape—a fallacy into which the British public—hood-winked, doubtless, by trimming executives and political castes—have not unfrequently been dragged.

To avert, therefore, these calamities and ward off these dangers, and to assist the public mind in coming to a judgment upon *what should be done?*—it is proposed in the present paper, to examine with some little degree of closeness, the causes that have been assigned—to test them—to concentrate and fix attention upon the true and undoubted causes among them,—and, if possible, to secure that the batteries of public opinion and public energy shall be so directed and manned against them, that it shall be impossible for them to escape removal.

Nor is this any gratuitous or unnecessary service. The insurrection that has broken out in India, and well-nigh extinguished our Indian empire in British blood—has convinced the nation—kindled the opinion—the public opinion—more dangerous and detestable to executives and political factions, than any number of insurrections and

* As was the case with Captain Christie in the late Crimean expedition.

disasters—witness the unreformed state of the army despite the horrors of the Crimea—*that some causes must exist; and further, that they must be removed.* And now we think we can discover the usual political and executive engines at work, in different ways, and in different parts of the empire, to stifle and subdue, if not altogether extinguish it.* We think we can discover among the signs of the times and sentiments of statesmen who have expressed their minds upon the subject, that any changes likely to be introduced, will be rather in a retrograde, than in an onward direction; and be characterized by all the truckling and shuffling dishonesty that has inflicted these present miseries, rather than by that honest and straight-forward and Christian firmness and kindness which alone can save us. To this effect, the testimony of Mr Vernon Smith—the man who may be said at present to hold the destinies of our future in India in his single hand—is express and explicit, viz., that the law of liberty which was but lately passed, and limits a religious persecution and fanatical tyranny, must be modified or repealed.† This is pure and pusillanimous retrogression—pure devoteeism to caste—poor blinded Hinduism—not inferior to any that has been previously shown and *proved* to be the leading cause of Indian disasters. To the same effect, is the counsel of those who advise us to follow the traditional policy of the Company.‡ In the same line also,—or rather to strangle reforms altogether, or narrow them within the smallest possible limits—tend the opinions of those who advocate "delay,"—the usual extinguisher of reforms.—we appeal again to Crimean experience; of those who, by introducing such causes as Russian intrigue,‖ missionaries, &c., of which there is not the slightest particle of evidence, would divert attention from the true and real causes; and especially of those who are beginning to advocate an out and out and indiscriminate support of Lord Palmer-

* See the Lord Advocate's Speech the other day at Leith.

† "He was sorry to see that Mr Vernon Smith—who, by the by, understood very little of the subject—had said that there would have to be an alteration in the government of India—that the law of liberty would have to be modified. Now what was this law of liberty which had been recently passed? It was that any native becoming a convert to Christianity should not forfeit any of his property or inheritance by so doing, which was formerly the case. And yet Mr Vernon Smith wanted to modify or to repeal that law, which was the Magna Charta of India."—*Rev. J. Smith's Speech at Leicester.*

‡ "*The real danger to be carefully guarded against was a belief on the part of the people of India that the Government aided and abetted the missionaries.** *The Government should give no assistance, direct or indirect, to the missionaries, but should simply stand by and see that they were not wronged or persecuted.*"—*Mr Mangles, Chairman of the East India Company, in his Speech in Parliament on 27th July.*

‖ "But the Right Honourable Gentlemen had not hinted at the *possibility* of their having been acted on by foreign influences. His (Mr Mangles) opinion was that something of the kind had had to do with the late outburst."—*Mr Mangles in his Speech in Parliament of 27th July.*

"A 'Retired Civilian,' attributing the present outbreaks to the zeal of the ignorant saints, avows the opinion that we cannot retain India, except we give up our civilizing and evangelizing enterprises."—*Rev. R. Cotton Mather.*

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* This is just what has been done hitherto, and with what miserable results; and yet they advise the same course still.

ston. Now, so far as regards his general policy—especially what has been termed his "Foreign Policy,"—so far as regards his evincing the *spirit* and maintaining the *honour* of Great Britain before the world, in any *adequate* or *fitting* manner—we yield to none in admiration and support of Lord Palmerston. We say he stands *alone* in this respect, among British statesmen of the present day. But notwithstanding this, and with the demonstration staring us in the face, that reform—an entirely new and Christian policy—is absolutely necessary in India, we cannot forget that Crimean reform has been strangled in his hands—notwithstanding the demonstrations of a veteran and noble, *but murdered* army. Let the nation then be on its guard against being balked a second time, in such an absolutely necessary reform as this of India.

We *accept*, therefore, the causes that have been assigned, and now proceed to try them.

The first cause that was assigned, was Christianity and Christians; and therefore, we begin with it. The accusers here, while agreeing generally as to the cause, are not quite at one, so far as regards the mode and point of attack. The more *simple*, and perhaps the less malignant among them, have seen *enough* in the very name of Christianity and Christian Missions, to account for *any* and *every* tumult; while others, affecting to despise both Christianity and Christian missionaries, and both counting and calling them so contemptible, as scarcely to merit even the heathen's contempt—have attempted, with a greater parade of reason and argument, to find the *true* and *real* cause in the efforts of a few right-hearted Christian officers. Now, besides innumerable refutations of it that have been written by men of all authorities—civil, military, and ecclesiastical—this allegation has been most flatly contradicted by the events themselves. For on the one hand, these all declare that not the missionary,* but the

* "The Rev. Mr Hay, the American missionary, who narrowly escaped with his life from Allahabad, has just arrived in England, and has publicly stated, amongst other interesting particulars, that the Bengal mutiny was not the result of missionary effort, that while many engaged in that work were protected, there has been no instance of any European Missionaries being singled out for outrage. And further, that Murett Sing, a Hindu chief, had shown them especial kindness, and had set a military guard over the mission property, which was situated two miles outside Allahabad. By the last accounts the German missionary in Jubbulpore had remained with his wife and children at his post, far from aid of any description, and was preaching and teaching openly and fearlessly as ever. Exactly so had Mr Sandys, a Protestant missionary near Calcutta, trusted and acted, though strongly urged at least to send his wife and children within our military defences, and the same tribute of respect had been paid by the idolators to his labour of love. The Rev. Mr Hunter was sacrificed at Sealkote in company with a doctor and several officers, as was poor Mr Jennings at Delhi. These two martyrs were not singled out. Has any distinction been made by the mutineers between free-thinking and godly officers in the general slaughter? So far from it, I could, but will not, specify half-a-dozen senior officers *who have perished, who never attempted to conceal their opinions that Mohamedanism and Hinduism were equally short cuts to Paradise with Christianity*, who had lived all their lives on terms of intimacy and friendship with their men, who kept native mistresses, and from whose bodies the form divine was nevertheless absolutely effaced by the highest caste soldiery in the world."

Briton of all ages and sexes, has been the object of special cruelty and aversion; while on the other, it can be shown that missionaries have had marks of esteem and confidence and kindness which have been refused even to British ladies. And perhaps we could not have better or more *conclusive proof* of this, than is presented in the fact, that the abettors themselves of this objection, have been completely silenced, and not a few of them have changed their tune, and now advocate the Christian government and civilization of India. We congratulate them on the change. It is only what we should have expected from common honesty, and a thorough consideration of the facts of the case.

But while this is so—while this must be, and cannot but be apparent to every one who has with any degree of accuracy and discernment observed the leading facts and characteristics of the case—yet there is so much involved in the very liability to have it opened up anew on any similar or different occasion, that we deem it right not to dismiss the question so, but, on the contrary, to enquire whether there is not some occasion for all this bile, and, if possible, help on the determination of what we are prepared *to do* in the event of such an occasion being found actually to exist. For it is evident that if we are prepared to sacrifice Christianity should it be found to excite the jealousy and opposition, the hatred and hostility of heathenism and Mohammedanism, it is high time surely that we had made up our minds as to whether or not it has such a tendency. This surely is the only course befitting reasonable beings, and especially men, the members of a threatened empire.

Is therefore Christianity,—its missions and its men—whether Christian missionaries or Christian officers,—likely to excite the hostility and opposition of the natives—especially the interested and fanatical classes, as the priests and fanatics? And if this should be found to be so, are we prepared to sacrifice our Christianity rather than incur this risk? This is the question that is now before the nation. Is Christianity likely to excite the hatred and opposition of the Mahommedans and Hindu idolators of India? And if it is, is the nation prepared to sacrifice its Christianity or keep it in abeyance, rather than that our interests or empire should incur the risk of any slight or other disturbance? This is the question that Providence has now set before us *anew*. This only alternative—this practical dilemma—this option is now made. The decision is *now* quivering in the balance; and according as you decide, my Country, accordingly will be your fate. Honour God or dishonour Him—honour his Son, your Saviour, or deny Him; or go between, neither confessing nor denying Him; and He will honour, or deny and dishonour you. Is it likely then or is it not? No; *not likely, but certain*. It was so in ancient times—in Jerusalem, in Ephesus, in Thessalonica, in Europe and Asia—as the persecutions of the Apostles and early Christians, and even of the Saviour himself, sufficiently declare. It has been so in later times, as history records. Nay, nor only so. It is to be expected. The normal state of things in such circumstances is not

peace but *war;* at least this is what we are to lay our account with, and be prepared for, if we take up the Cross and follow Jesus. "I came not," says the Saviour in such circumstances, "to send peace but a sword." The very *nature* and *existence* of the gospel, therefore, in such circumstances are a standing protest and declaration of war against all idolatries and false religions. And being such, it is not to be expected, it is contrary to the very nature of things to expect, that the Dianas and Demetriuses of modern India, and especially Mohammedanism, which writes death against every other creed, not excepting Christianity, will give way without a struggle.

Here then is the true state of the case. It is certain—at least it is to be expected—that there will be feuds and discontents between Christianity on the one hand, and heathanism and Mohammedanism on the other,—and these the more keen and bitter—the more "exceeding mad," the greater the advances of Christianity,—so long as they continue to subsist together. The thing, we say, is certain; at least to the extent that it is to be expected. Then if, it is evident, we are prepared to sacrifice Christianity—should this be so—*the thing must now be done.* For this is so—is certain; not because of anything in Christianity, but because of native enmity and prejudice against it. God may avert it; and the more likely the more faithful that you are to Him. But still you must expect it. And if you are not prepared to face it, then farewell Christianity. There is no other alternative. Write your names at once under the banners of Mahomet and Shiva, Vishnu, and Juggurnauth. And what will you gain, my Country, by sacrificing your Christianity? by denying your Saviour? Will you thereby secure your empire, your lives, your children, or your wives? Will you thereby endear yourselves to the natives of India? We trow not. This is the very course which has hitherto been pursued in India; and with what results? Let the present events—these mutinies and massacres—answer; for these, we hold, are a most *direct* and *categorical* answer to the previous questions. There could not have been, as all facts and writers attest, a more perfect and thorough denial, proscription, and persecution of Christianity and Christian men, both natives and their rulers—unless express hostility and war had been declared against them—than has been manifest in the East India Company's government of India. Christianity, for example, has been disclaimed a thousand times over, and in a thousand different ways. Missionaries were for many a day excluded altogether from Indian territory; nor, when admitted, were they guaranteed of *British protection;** we know not if they are even

* "I do think that from the construction of our empire in India, referring both to the manner in which it has been attained and that in which it must (according to my humble judgment) be kept, the English government in India should never, *directly* or *indirectly*, interfere in propagating the Christian religion. *The pious missionary must be left unsupported by government or any of its officers to pursue his labours;* and I will add, *that I should not only deem a contrary conduct a breach of faith to those nations whom we have conquered, more by our solemn pledges,* given in words and in acts, to respect their *prejudices*, and maintain their religion, *than by arms,*" &c.—*Sir John Malcolm to Dr Marshman.*

yet entitled to this by law. Taking their creed and code alike,*—at least in practice, which is nine-tenths of the law upon the subject,—from Indian idolaters, the Company and their government have recognised, ratified, and given effect to heathen distinctions *as principles upon which they were themselves* prepared to act. On this ground it was that they pampered and paid court to higher caste—even because Brahma enjoined it; and because the same dark authority enjoined it, they consented to despise the Pariah, oppress the Cooly,† and trample under foot other subject classes. Whom Brahma honoured *they had* to honour; and whom Brahma despised and crushed, *they dared not* bless, but suffer themselves to become the instruments of his oppression. *For fear* of the same authority, and without any complaint or demand from the natives, missionaries have been denied admittance to the lines of the Sepoy, Christian natives have been debarred from entering the army;‡ and if any Sepoy

* What else was it, for example, to adopt and enforce the distinctions of caste?

† "Now for a fact. *The Coolies who are summoned to carry the Governor-General's baggage when he moves, are assembled at, or rather driven by force, to Simla, from immense distances, and are paid about twopence a-day, under circumstances of great cruelty.* Now, I happen to know that, from the delays of offices, and without, perhaps, any tangible act of knavery in any especial officer or individual, some 8000 or 10,000 Coolies employed to take Lord ——— down into the plains *when he left India, were not paid this miserable pittance for three years!*"—*The late Sir Charles Napier.*

‡ "*We have had presented to us of late over and over again the solitary case of the Sepoy who, on becoming a Christian, was obliged to leave the army by the fiat of the authorities.*"—*Medicus, North Berwick.*

"This employment in the south is thrown open to all who possess physical fitness for it; but in the north the *paramount qualification* for regiments of the line is *ceremonial;* and, *with one exception, none are admitted who cannot prove the purity of their birth* according to the superstitious standard of Hinduism. *Hence the ranks of the regular infantry are filled chiefly by Brahmins and Rajputs, while low caste Hindus, and Christians, who are reckoned the lowest of the low, are excluded. So jealous is the exclusion, that it extends to the military hospitals. Native dressers from Madras may belong to any caste or religious persuasion; but a native Christian is ineligible for the corresponding office in Bengal;* and little more than a year ago I was *told by a Hindu* originally chosen for his birth purity, but who, while acting as native doctor to the irregular infantry here, *frequently expressed his belief in Christianity, that he durst not act on his convictions, as the penalty of the step would be the loss of his situation.* It was not so that a *Mussulman government* dealt by the religion which itself professed. *The followers of the False Prophet were never guilty of such a temporising expedient.* They asserted the principle, that an adherent of Islam in India, regardless of birth purity or impurity, was entitled to *at least equal privileges with the people whom they had conquered,* and if any of the latter embraced their faith, they did not on that account esteem them as worse than before."—*Rev. Stephen Hislop, Nagpur.*

"The effect of enlisting men of a certain caste, or creed, to the exclusion of others in the Indian army, is to subject that army to the control, not of the Government and the Articles of War, but to that of Brahmins and Goseins, Moollahs, and Fukheers. By this system, a man is not to be chosen on account of his fitness to be a soldier, his willingness and strength, docility and courage, but because he is a *twice-born worshipper of Vishnu.* To such an extent does this evil exist, *that I have known a Bengal commanding officer express his regret at being compelled to discharge an excellent Sepoy because the other men had discovered him to be of inferior caste, and had demanded his dismissal.* To a Bombay officer such a state of affairs appears incredible; it amounts to open mutiny; but it is the *normal state* of the Bengal army at present."—*General Jacob.*

—by the good hand of his God upon him, through the example or instruction of some Christian friend—should happen to have been converted, he was turned out of the army,* *i.e.* persecuted for becoming Christian, or Christianity was persecuted in him. Aye and far more than this and far worse,—while thus denying, proscribing, and persecuting Christianity, they lent for many a day encouragement, and even pecuniary aid to heathenism, fired salutes even on the Christian Sabbath in honour of Hindu and Mohammedan festivals, and enjoined the observance of the same *as holidays* upon their own servants.† They *forbade*, on the one hand, all attempts on the part of their British servants, civil and military, to Christianize the natives, and specially the Sepoys; while on the other, they enjoined on these same Christian men,—the highest not excepted—not even the late Sir Charles Napier,—all assumed respect and outward homage "*to a cow* in presence of a Hindu."‡ Was not this to persecute Christianity and Christian men? Was not this while saving, not the heathen's conscience, but his *ears*, to wound the Christian's conscience? Was not this to deny the *toleration* to Christian liberty which it demanded for the heathen? Was not this to proclaim that we had more respect for their honesty and religion than for our own? Nay, was it not with our knowledge—not to speak of Christianity at all—to shut the mouth of common humanity and cruelly perpetuate their heathen bondage? In short, while honouring Brahma, was not this to dishonour and deny the Saviour? And if a national system of education was to be given, (we refer to the Court of Directors' famous Despatch), this was not until it had been purged of every scent and savour of Christianity, and until it had been preceded by all the usual disclaimers *of any, even the most distant desire to Christianize the natives*, —a fact which, in the face of things, might very well have been left to be inferred. The teachers must not teach it within school hours, not even if they should be asked; nor are inspectors to examine in it, or so much as name it by the most distant allusion. And finally, we have the authority of the *Morning Post* newspaper, for affirming that the Koran has been taught by the East India Company's authority, while the Bible has been thus so perfectly repudiated and proscribed. All this, and far more than this, has been done by the East India Company and their system of government, against Christianity and Christian men. And now we call upon the country to say if possibly there could have been a more thorough denial, proscription, and persecution of Christianity without their having taken into their own hands what the Hindoos and Mohammedans have of late been doing for them? And yet what is the result? Have they thereby preserved their empire? Have they attached the heathen? The

* Nor will it do to pervert this fact—testified to by undoubted and remembered witnesses—as the *Witness* did the other day, by saying that the authorities offered him another or better situation. Does not the fact still remain that he was excluded for his Christianity?

† The *Morning Post* said so the other week, although about forty in number.

‡ "We all pay respect to a cow in presence of a Hindu—a respect he laughs at, for he knows we do not feel it."—*Sir Charles Napier.*

very reverse. Nor could it be otherwise; for their whole conduct in this matter has proceeded upon a practical denial or overlooking of the small but all-important and never-to-be-forgotten truth, so often enforced in Scripture, that *God* and *not man* disposes of nations as of individuals,—that promotion comes not from the east nor from the west but from God,—that He sets up one and puts down another just as it pleases Him,—and that those that honour Him He will honour. And shall not God vindicate His own authority? He has done so against the nations of antiquity. And has He not been giving us warning that He can do so still? Another degree, for example, to the infatuation and blindness of our rulers, or another degree of counsel and courage to the heathen, and notwithstanding our boasted wisdom and achievements, our empire had been no more in India. That there is no hope, therefore, of security or of gaining the heathen in mean dishonest truckling to the heathen, or in pandering to their prejudices, or in sacrificing Christianity, is written in these present events *in characters of blood, and misery, and woe.* Its enemies in this country have read it and been put to silence, or compelled to advocate an opposite and Christian course. Our neighbours on the Continent have read it and showed it us in no unfriendly or ambiguous way. And now we add, let the nation read it and reverse the order that has hitherto immolated Christianity at the shrine of selfishness, and that would still make it *second* to any heathen abominations.

But if, on the other hand, you are not prepared to sacrifice your Christianity, notwithstanding the likelihood of heats and probable outbreaks, and if, at the same time, there is no hope and very little likelihood of attaching the heathen, of securing your empire, or averting outbreaks by any such dishonest, drivelling, and cowardly misconduct, as the experience of the Company and present events demonstrate beyond a doubt—What then? Why simply—as becomes a *Christian*, and *honest*, and *self-respecting* nation—throw overboard*

* "*Hitherto the Government has depended almost entirely on the heathen and Mohammedan element for its support;* and now that its pets and favourites have turned round and cut the throats of their patrons, the question arises, Will the eyes of the Government be opened or not? Will the old policy be adhered to, or will principle now assert its sway? . . . . . *We want such men as Colonel Edwardes in India,* to do for the whole empire what has been successfully done in Peshawur. *His predecessor was not remarkable for any deviation from the ordinary policy of Government, but he could not escape the hand of the Mohammedan assassin.* On that very spot the present Commissioner avowed a policy of principle in reference to religious matters, and in keeping with his sense of duty,—while tolerating Hinduism and Mohammedism, *he took the chair at a missionary meeting, and made a noble speech, which did him infinite honour; but he has not been assassinated.* All men, both Hindus and Mohammedans, *respect sincerity. Politic reserve, and trimming, and humbugging, are all seen through and proportionately despised. My hope is, that a change will, from this time forth, be effected in our Indian policy. The missionaries and their converts all pray for a strong Government, able to punish evil-doers, and proportionately reward those that do well. They are not willing to be debarred any of the offices, or honours, or emoluments of the community, on account of their Christianity.* They claim to be better citizens than either their Hindu or Mohammedan neighbours, and they demand to be honoured and employed as such. Should the dis-

the wretched policy of the Company described above, entailing such results, and assume a position, and character, and attitude worthy of your empire, yourselves, and your religion. Be prepared against such likelihoods; and be determined, as becomes the same characters and honesties, that the *same liberties*, and *protections*, and *respect* shall *be guaranteed to, secured and enforced for, and enjoyed by* the Christian subject and religion as for the Indian. This would be *honest, Christian, manly*. And this, we cannot doubt, would secure in India, as every where, both *honour* and *esteem*.

And what then? Having now abolished the drivelling and cowardly policy of Leadenhall Street, and assumed our right place and power, what would you more? What sort of policy would you substitute in its room? What race of Governors? Would you introduce a system of official proselytism? Would you have us abolish their heathen superstitions by law and force? Would you have us *compel them to come in* by force and faggot, by pains and penalties? By no means. All such interpretations of Scripture and such instruments, we leave to Popery and Mahommedanism! The Bible repudiates them; and Protestantism does not need them.

tressing events which have lately occurred in India lead to the adoption of such impartial and comprehensive policy, they will unitedly thank God, who has thus educed good from the greatest evil."—*Rev. R. Cotton Mather.*

"*We dread the recurrence to a time-serving expediency, which will rest its hopes on compliance with sinful superstitions, and the consequent 'conciliation' of the native mind. Surely we are entitled to say that that plan has been tried, and has failed. We might as well try to 'conciliate' the tigers. We need now a faithful, firm, and deliberate Christian policy*, which, while it permits the people the free exercise of their religious rites, gives no countenance to anti-social and sinful follies like caste, and no encouragement to the vile and ruinous delusion of Mohammedanism. Up to this time we have been pandering to caste, and, by our Madrissa or Mohammedan College, have been supporting the religion of the False Prophet; *and not long ago offerings were made in the name of Government at a celebrated shrine of idolatry in the Punjaub*. But now, if we are firm and resolute, and if we fully subjugate the people (as indeed we must without delay), we may safely cause it to be known, *that as past forbearance and indulgence have been abused, a new policy will be adopted, and that caste will not be recognised either in the public service or by the law, and that no encouragement whatever will be given to Mohammedanism*. We may show distinctly that we now know that we have a foe to deal with in the unquenched spirit of that system, and that we do not intend to go on admitting its *adherents into our judicial and fiscal service again, to head mobs and create rebellions*, as they have been doing recently. I do trust that we shall hear of the British people thus regarding their duty, and thus forming their future policy. As to the immediate result, I do not expect a speedy settlement, for the rains will interfere with the movement of troops; but we should be preparing for the cold season by the gradual accumulation of overwhelming forces, and then should undertake such bold, comprehensive, and energetic movements, as should suffice, with the blessing of God, in a few months to subdue the entire country, and to restore the British authority to its ancient vigour; and in dealing with the offenders, *it will be necessary to create such an impression of our power, as to establish a tradition which shall be handed down to the next generation*, and shall effectually quell the spirit of the most daring and most ambitious of our enemies. Half measures will not suffice. *We must be resolute, rigorous, and uncompromising*. I speak not of revenge, though the blood of the hundreds massacred has excited the strongest feelings; but, as a matter of necessary policy, severity and rigorous justice must now mark our public measures in quenching this frightful and unprovoked rebellion."—*Mr Macleod Wylie, Bengal Civil Service.*

How then? Be Christians, and show yourselves *Christianly*. Are you Christians? Then be *honest* and *self-respecting*. Indeed, as seems to us, the very *beau-ideal* of what India now demands—both in point of *men* and *policy*—we find embodied in that noble sentence from the late lamented Sir Charles Napier, which we have placed at the head of this article, "I would not offend a Hindu any more than I would a Christian; *but I would not suffer a Hindu to offend me.*" Let the spirit of this sentence, we say, *be inlaid* into the spirit, and *nerve* the arm of your government and governors of India—and India will honour you—nay, esteem you. We would not coerce or persecute the Hindu; but neither would we suffer the Hindu to coerce or persecute us. We would not oppress or wrong the Hindu; but neither would we suffer the Hindu to wrong or oppress us. You cannot—you ought not as Christians—God does not require it of you—nor would He approve it from you—to compel them to come in by force or fraud or any such heathen instruments. But neither can you nor ought you as such to lend them any encouragement—we mean those systems of idolatry which are grinding the faces, the hearts, and consciences of Hindu society? We say, that if you would act Christianly, or even honestly, you cannot, you ought not, to lend these false religions any, even the least encouragement. Both duty and conscience, common honesty and humanity, require this of you, if you would either show yourselves Christianly, or not perpetuate their bondage, or not *serve* at their altars. Regarding their own religions, we say, lend them no encouragement. Let them distinctly know that you consider them to be false and superstitious, cruel and oppressive, bloodthirsty and malignant. Regarding Christianity, we say, use no force. Do not compel the people. Do not persecute. Do not coerce nor constrain the people. Leave them free. But say you, is this all? Would you not educate the people? By all means. Then, if so, what would you teach them? Hinduism or Mahommedanism?* Or would you simply give them "grants in aid,"* and let them teach any religion they choose? By no means. We would do neither. But, on the contrary, we would give an education in every way worthy of a Christian nation and a Christian government, in which the Bible should have our highest honour, and *should be known* to be *the book* which we prized most highly. And what then? Would you compel the people to take it? By no means. But we would do this—*we would leave with them the responsibility of rejecting it.* We would not—as Leadenhall Christianity prefers—in obedience to or in terror for any heathen masters or idol gods, take the responsibility of withholding it, and saying, you shall not have it with our authority, nor even with our consent. Give the Christian education as that which alone is worthy of Christian honest men; but leave the people to take what portion of it they choose, and reject what they please. Do not at all interfere with their liberty of conscience. But at the same time let them distinctly understand that you cannot honestly, and that you

* This is what Leadenhall Street does, according to the *Morning Post*.

of evidence and free thought, and free discussion and free action. Surely when you undertook to respect their rites and their religions, you could never undertake to herd themselves, or to provide that they should *never enquire* and *never have an opportunity* of converting upon evidence and consent. Surely this must be the comment of some blinded zealot—some fanatical sect—some religious bigots. And yet what else is, and does, that toleration that would make it *penal* for any Christian officer, or magistrate, or missionary, to speak of Christ within these lines or cantonments to perishing heathens? Or that would make it penal for these enquiring and anxious sepoys to go out and learn of Christ?

What then is that full liberty of conscience which we demand—which is the birth-right of every Christian man, and which he is not at liberty to forego on any account, or in obedience to any masters, be they Hindus or noble merchants? What is that toleration which alone is worthy of a free country? It is simply this, protection against all external violence or interference, whether from Papists or Mohammedans, Hindus or Christians, not only in the free exercise of all I believe, but also in the open and honest propagation of my beliefs, by all legitimate means, as reason and argument, and so long as I use no external violence or constraint against the persons or liberties or religion or property of my fellow-subjects. This is the toleration which the divine law has conferred upon me. This is the only toleration that is worthy of a free, and especially a Christian country. The duty, for example, that obliges every Christian man—whatever be his rank or station, be he officer or Indian—to make known the Gospel by all the means within his power, and according to his ability, implies *the right*—the inalienable and not to be denied *right*, without guilt and sin on the part of those who so deny it—*of making it known*, and *to protection* against all violence in the honest and open discharge of this duty. This, therefore, is what every man is entitled to within this empire, and on God's authority. What then do you think of that government of India that would set a price upon the heads, or rather upon the commissions of its own officers and servants who will discharge this duty? What do you think of that government of India, that to save, not the consciences—for there is no interference with these,—but even the ears and understandings, the indolence and the wills of the heathen from evidence, would offend the *consciences* of its Christian and enlightened officers; and impose silence and suspend the performance of a duty which God and not man imposes, and which therefore binds the conscience? Is this toleration worthy of a Christian empire?

What then would you have? Why, we would have the most perfect liberty and protection for *all* religions and for all consciences, so long as they only address themselves to men who are willing to hear, and whose personal liberties have not been interfered with. And in regard to your own servants, whether civil or military, exact of them any account you please regarding the service which they owe you and engage to perform. But do not interfere with their religious

convictions or duties, so long as they keep themselves within the above limits, and respect the rights and liberties of others. On the contrary, protect them as you do the heathen in the free exercise of their religion, as we have defined it, viz., observance and propagation according to their means, and consistently with the liberty of others. They owe you no obedience in matters of conscience and of religion, or when you step beyond your province, and would either *add to or take away from* the obligations of God's Word. And why should not our Christian officers and Christian magistrates and Christian missionaries *have the same liberties and the same protections as we award to the heathen, the Mohammedan, and the Papist*, viz., of propagating their errors and proselytizing as much as they please? Is this reasonable? Is it consistent with the constitution of a *free* empire? And more especially, is it consistent with the constitution of an *independent* and *self-respecting* and Christian empire? Then why are Christain missionaries prohibited from preaching the Gospel to the perishing Sepoy *within these lines*, or *beyond them*, or *anywhere* should they themselves be willing? Why should our Christian officers, or soldiers, or others, be prohibited from gathering any number of heathen or Mahommedan sepoys to speak to them the word of life, should they themselves be willing? Or to reverse the order, why should the sepoy's *personal* liberties be thus *interfered* with, and restricted by any system of government? Why should they not be at liberty *to hear* and *weigh evidence*, and *convert* should they see meet? Why should an *honourable* government allow itself to be degraded into mere whippers in for idolatry? Why should our government either prevent Christian Indians from entering the army, or banish them from it on becoming Christian? Why should they not *be free* and *protected* against all interference and annoyance, as well as the Hindus and Mahommedans? Is this the *toleration* of modern times? It may be so; but we would lift up our voice and protest against it. It is a gross violation both of Christian and British liberty, a gross misunderstanding and limitation of the British constitution, and *an impious infraction and limitation of divine law.* Away, then, with it; and let the nation assert its liberties against every infraction by any class of men whatever.

But still it may be said, what has all this to do with caste—another and certainly one of the most undoubted causes of present disasters? It is not needful that we prove this. The fact has been established beyond a doubt by a thousand different writers, nor only so, it is written as with a sunbeam upon the very character of the revolt. But what are we to do with it? That is the question that now presses upon the nation. Why, it would never have had half, no, nor even a third of the importance and vitality it has now assumed—had it not been for the way in which the Company and their system of government have pampered and encouraged, fortified and rewarded it. Well, but what *now* are we to do with it? That is the question that now presses for an answer. Why *do* nothing with it; simply ignore it. Know no distinctions among the people, be they

Pariah or Brahmin, Cooly or Mohammedan; and create none. Let Indian and native, education—the education we have defined above, viz., Christian, but free and not compulsory in the Christian department—such education then, and merit, ability, experience, and their fidelity and honour, and, as far as possible, consistently with liberty, Christianity, be the only distinctions which you henceforth recognise and reward. Reverse the order and creeds and distinctions of the Company. In obedience to these false creeds and cruel despotisms, they have despised and trodden under foot the persecuted and humbler castes of Hindu society. In the face of heathen distinctions and oppressions, *they dared not* lift their voice in behalf of down-trodden and persecuted humanity. Now just, we say, reverse this order, or rather—for it is not to create a caste that we argue—put them all on a level in your treatment of them. Assert the claims of *humanity*, over those of *caste*, to your consideration. Throw open your education to the nation of all ranks, and all complexions, and all castes—be they Pariah or Brahmin, or Cooly or Mohammedan,—protecting all in the right to it and advantage of it; and, through it, throw open all your rewards, and offices, and government appointments, in the army and civil-service—which you destine for the natives, to the same classes, and without distinction of caste or colour, or family or religion—except that the Christian religion and integrities shall always be known to have your highest confidence and honour. This, it seems to us, is the course which truest wisdom and humanity, and certainly Christianity, unquestionably dictate. Go, say they, as did the Saviour, to the out-cast and down-trodden classes, speak kindly to them, educate them, encourage, stimulate them with the hope of honour and advancement: bring caste into competition with, and *make it respect*, the liberty and talents of its poorer brethren, and though neither prophet nor prophet's son, we venture to predict that before another century has run its course, the Indians themselves will have thrown *caste* to the winds, or what is equally as good, you will have raised around your empire *there*, such a bulwark of honest and Christian hearts and trusty arms, that you will be able rightly and reasonably to despise it.

But still it may be said this is a mere chimera—the pleasant dream of some mere enthusiast. It is quite impossible to think of educating and elevating these sunken and degraded classes. It is quite an absurdity to talk of their filling the place and discharging the duties of our high caste soldiers, &c. &c. *Now this is just what we deny.* It may be quite true that we may not be able to make quite so much of the present adult generation by reason of their ignorance and degradation, their poverty-stricken and half starved condition. But even this may be partially overcome by putting them upon British pay as soldiers, &c., and so giving them the means of better living; while it is certain that it will not apply to their children and children's children of other generations, if we continue to educate and treat them kindly. For how is it that they have been degraded and sunk into such a state of social and moral as well as intellectual degradation?

How, but simply as we could degrade and demoralize any, the noblest race or individuals that ever existed, the British with all their refinement and spirit and high culture not excepted? Look at ancient as compared with modern Greece and Rome, for example. How, but simply because they have been despised, oppressed, and crushed, and driven almost from the haunts of living men? How, but simply because they have been denied all opportunity to return and retrieve, all encouragement and even hope? Give them the opportunity, therefore, through education and Christian kindness; remove the obstacles and oppressions under which they have been crushed; open up to them the encouragement and stimulants of hope and kindness; and we *are certain* that without failure they will rise *as rapidly*, if not far more rapidly, than they have sunk in the scale of being, intelligence, and moral and social worth. We have no faith, we must confess, in the theories and reasonings and philosophies of the present times about *castes and races*. Indeed, the *alleged* facts are more consistent with *with our own habits* and *castes* and *wishes*, than either with our Christianity or *common humanity*. "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to *every creature*." And has not God made "of one blood" "all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth?"

But further, another set of causes have been sought in Russian intrigue, and the conspiracies of native princes—Mahommedans and others. Now, regarding this, we say, very likely. Indeed, so far as regards *the last* of these causes, we cannot doubt it. The cruelties that have been perpetrated—the blood that has been shed of all ages and sexes—as well as many of the motives that have appeared upon the surface of the whole proceedings, establish it beyond a doubt that native, and especially Mohammedan, conspiracy lies at the very foundation of these present miseries. That Russia has been intriguing there is not the slightest evidence. But still, we say, that in the circumstances, this is only what is to be expected. Instead of its being any question or subject of wonder and astonishment, therefore, with a prudent and wise government, how it should be so,—it will be rather a question, how they shall meet and disarm, counteract and neutralize all such attempts hereafter, by whomsoever raised. This is the question that now presses from this point of view of the present enquiry. How then? Why, still we say, as in the last, by a thousand different acts of Christian kindness and honesty, as education, encouragement, Christianity, and good government, raise up the fallen, degraded, and oppressed classes. *Set them* by every *honourable*, *open*, and *honest*, kindly, Christian, and legitimate means over against your enemies of every country and every class. Attach them to your empire by *good* and *self-respecting* government; put an end to *injustice* and *oppression* of every sort; and in short, *outbid* by good and paternal and Christian, *but firm* government—the very reverse of what has hitherto obtained in India—every other offer which may be made, whether by Russia or native princes—and sure we are, that seated in the affections and supported by the understandings of

the people, you will be able to laugh at the intrigues of many Russias and native princes.

Again, another cause that has been alleged, is the caste feeling and hauteur of English officers, and especially the young and inexperienced among them, whereby they looked down upon, and treated the native officers and men as dogs beneath them. Now here also, while making wide and everlasting distinction between such men as the Lawrences, the Wheelers, the Napiers, the Havelocks, and a thousand others who have been among the foremost benefactors of the race, and while deeply lamenting the present sufferings of all, we say very likely. Suppose indeed, we had had nothing more before us, than the revelations which were lately made of the proceedings of the officers of the 46th British regiment at Windsor, and some later instances, we say it is not improbable. But more than this, besides its being probable and not unlikely, it is also fact. Indeed, it cannot be doubted. The late lamented Sir Charles Napier affirms it.* Mr Vernon Smith affirmed it in the debate of 27th July, in the House of Commons;† and a thousand other voices and facts proclaim it, which show the utter want of community of feeling, which has for a long time subsisted between the native soldiers and their officers, with a few honourable exceptions. What then? What would you do in such a case as this? Why proceed at once against every case of *proved*‡ insult or wanton outrage to national and native feeling, as an offence against the state, and likely to stir up national revolt, by making the people feel the iron of a foreign yoke. Although religion does not, yet this does, come properly within the domain of law, and is a national offence. Let therefore, the individual's *commission* be answerable for his good conduct in this respect. *Whoever* may be the offender, let *justice* be done; and yet again, India will *honour* you.

Another cause or part of a cause that has been assigned—and that with a view of softening the nation's *judgment* and *indignation* against the Company and their system of Government, which are *unquestionably* the monster cause of all these enormities—is, that British and even missionary society in India, have in their domestic arrangements, not less than Government, upheld and pampered caste. Well, be it so; and, with our eyes open to all the caste influences at work within this empire, both at home and abroad—we cannot deny it. But even if it should be so—and we have every reason to believe it, considering the quarter from which it comes—what does it amount to? Not certainly to any, the slightest, palliation of the East India Company's misgovernment of India, but to a charge of gross dereliction of duty

* "The young cadet learns nothing,—he drinks, he lives exclusively with his own countrymen; the older officers are on the staff, or on civil employ, which *they ought not to be; and high caste*—that is to say, *mutiny—is encouraged.*"—*The late Sir Charles Napier.*

† "*There had been of late years, a severence between the men and their officers in the native regiments; and he was sorry to hear that the latter sometimes spoke of the Sepoys at their mess, as 'niggers.'*"—*Mr Vernon Smith, Debate of 27th July.*

‡ But let it be *proved* to the satisfaction of British justice, and not truckling to heathen prejudice, and to win their favour.

on the part of Christian society. They have thus on the one hand, in obedience to heathen usages and heathen oppression, cast out, despised, and persecuted the very classes which the Saviour sought, and to which Christianity sends them in a special manner; while, on the other they have, out of deference to the same usages and their own feelings, cherished and caressed the very classes that have turned against them, and never could be laid under obligation. And have they not reaped a terrible vengeance? Verily, in taking *caste*, they have taken the viper into their own families and their own bosoms. We accept it, therefore, not as any palliation of the Company's Government, which we hope to see swept away, but as a humbling proof of Christian conformities and misguided deference to heathen distinctions, and heathen cruelities and oppressions.

(To be concluded in next Number.)

THE DEAN OF FACULTY AND UNIVERSITY REFORM.

In the war of the day for nationalities, we had scarcely anticipated that the battle-cry would have been heard "England for the English, and Scotland for the Scotch." We had come to the conclusion that the Union, even with all the drawbacks which the most reluctant spirit of the day ascribed to it, had opened up a highway between Edinburgh and London, which had become the thoroughfare of talent, as it was the high-road of traffic. How open that road had been made and kept too, the public annals of the nation, not less than the domestic records of many a family, were fitted to shew. London itself being witness, there could be no complaint that Scotland had not come in for its full share of whatever honours, literary or commercial,—legislative or executive—from the bench or from the bar, fairly appertained to it in honourable competition. And on the common walk of industry, we had no reason to aver, even long before the Tweed had been spanned with its railway, that our countrymen had not found the way patent into places of emolument and trust. Their success almost in every town, not less than in every city, was proverbial, and if there were few walks of patient mechanical endurance, of more than average skill in handicraft, of steady uprightness and sobriety, surmounting a thousand difficulties, and finding its way into innumerable places of gain and thrift, in which the entrant from the north did not succeed, it was not the fault of English patronage. Indeed there were rumours afloat, that England more than Scotland, had reason to complain of the Union, and that though the sister country did not propose sending back our countrymen on tickets of leave to their old haunts, to feed once more on the scanty pasture of their own hills, they had all the inclination if not the power, to put some little drag on the excessive emigration from the North, which apparently

operated to the detriment of their own market and the disparagement of their own claims.

But if we gave no heed to these mutterings, having no less faith in the self-adjusting capacity of the two kingdoms, (if twain they could be called) than in the self-adjusting policy of the age, we were not prepared for the admission that the two portions of the Island were in all respects and entirely at one. Without any disparagement to either, there might be peculiarities in both, and without the slightest interruption to the free circulation of commerce, and literature, and art, there might be diversity on other grounds. The climate might be different—the scenery might be different—the tone of society and the style of manners might be different—and that as though divided by islands and continents. All this was possible, while, at the same time, there was no such diversity as indicated the necessity either of a separate legislature, or a separate government, or a separate purse. And, yet not a little to our surprise, there has sprung up of late years, the cry of "Justice to Scotland," as though it had been a portion of the united empire peculiarly subject to maltreatment in the high places of the land. It would appear, that with the death of O'Connell, the cry of "Justice to Ireland" had almost expended itself, only to awaken an echo on other ground. For the war shout of the Irish, indeed, there might be some sort of apology, though even O'Connell, with all his ingenuity, could not give it any adequate defence. To say nothing of years of misrule, when that unhappy portion of the empire was torn by contending factions, there were the outstanding feuds of the Church, keeping Papist and Protestant as widely apart, and as little to be blended as the orange and green which waved aloft on their separate banners. Distance too, might lend enchantment to the scene, and as the "finest of all peasantry," listened to the harangues of the man who knew so well to sway their passions, they might be pardoned for looking at London, over the waste of waters, as an over-grown monster—vampire-like draining to the death the very life's-blood of the Emerald Isle. But what apology have we for those, who having waxed fat on English pasture, are taking the opportunity of shewing their strength, by kicking lustily under the friendly yoke! What of those, who, assailed by no potent voice, and subject to no sensible grievance, have ransacked every office—from the Herald's to Holyrood—that they might gather feul for their pent-up ire! The only wonder is, that in the minuteness of their enquiries, and in the intensity of their search, they have found so little fuel to feed the flame. How boldly was it at first kindled, and how steadily for a season was its catalogue of grievances made to flare on the public notice! But by and by, there seemed a want of pith to keep it up. There were no more leading articles in the columns of friendly newspapers to support it, and no more rebukes from a hostile press to chase it into the shade. Its travelling platform was folded up—its lights put out—and existing itself the last and not the least of Scottish grievances, it humbly waits at our door for a petty subscription, were it only for charity's

sake, to keep it alive. But reason we apprehend, and common sense, like nature itself, will have their way. The association is, we fear, on its last legs, and we have no hesitation in saying, that if the cry for the Vindication of Scottish Rights began as it did in the Herald's Office, the sooner it ends there the better for all. The emblem appropriate to its obsequies might be easily obtained without being filched, and instead of the lion rampart with its troublesome quarterings, there might be a different animal with its jaw bones cross.

In the movements of the day, however, there is one strange aspect which this pro-Scottish agitation has assumed,—so curious, indeed, as to merit its special notice. It is the cry about our Universities, and it comes upon us, at least in its greatest vehemence, in a form and from a quarter where it might have been least expected. The "nil admirari" of any thing English, might not unnaturally have been anticipated to follow all the knights-errant of the Thistle, into every department, whether of public or private life—of life civil, or of life ecclesiastical. Scotland might have been scheduled off as the model country, and her institutions, whether in church or state, be held up to the admiration of Europe as pre-eminently subserving the good of the commonwealth. Her Colleges, especially, time-honoured, and prized as the fountains of learning in the land, might well have come in for a fair proportion of their self-gratulation and praise, and, borrowing no hint of improvement, admitting no suggestion of amendment from kindred institutes in other countries, our northern lights might have insisted on transmitting them in sternest stereotype to future times. But no. All of a sudden the tide changes, and sets in upon us from an opposite point. Startling out boldly from the landscape, Oxford and Cambridge became the cynosure of every eye, and the theme of unmingled eulogy. Their venerable halls, encircled with a garland of lasting renown for whatever is exalted in intellect, and profound in the acquirements of science and learning, are gazed on so intently as to throw for a season all other Universities into eclipse. And, more than all, their "classic shade and calm retreat,"—where undisturbed by the noise of commerce, and the cares of the world, literature and science can alike afford to nurse themselves into greatness,—become the special topics of our northern envy. Without being troubled to enquire how many who occupied these niches have illuminated the page over which they hung, it is enough for us that we have not their counterpart on Scottish ground. Without pushing the question, how many have failed to illustrate Homer, except by being occasionally found to be napping like him, we would fain secure such a comfortable siesta for ourselves. In the blindness of our admiration, we catch at everything English on which we can lay our hand, whether by the banks of the Cam, or by the side of the Isis, or if there are any whose eyes are partially open, it is still to see these "Oxford men" like trees walking, so largely do they loom on the half couched sight.

Now, while we do not mean to say that there is no need whatever for reform in any or in all of our Universities, we have yet to learn

that there is no exaggeration in the indiscriminate zeal with which such reform is now sought and pursued. The love of innovation and the dread of it are equally remote from true wisdom, and it were an anomaly to suppose that while other institutions which adorn our land, and which have long flourished like a green bay tree, have had the pruning knife applied to them, there should be nothing superfluous and nothing dead in these venerable oaks under whose umbrageous shadow so many generations found a congenial shelter. By all means apply the knife if you will, and, if there be an unseemly excresence to be removed, or a decayed branch to be lopped off, we do not ask you to spare the axe. Nay, we would not object to a foreign graft, provided only, that in drawing life from the parent stem, it neither alters its constitution nor impairs its vigour. For instance, there could be no great harm in borrowing a leaf from the great institutions in England, not, indeed, in the erections of fellowships which exist there, and which, we believe, are as far beyond our reach as they would be out of keeping with our academic training, but in funds obtained to aid the more eminent students in securing the benefit of their existing course. It is too well known to be a matter of dispute, that in all the Universities of Scotland, and in those especially of Edinburgh and Glasgow, there are not a few, and these not the least distinguished students, who are not free to give their undivided attention to the work in hand. Unable to support themselves on their own independent resources, they are constrained to look out for private teaching as essential to their livelihood, and just in proportion as they succeed in getting it, they have the means of determining whether they can enter the college or not. Should they succeed, we need not say how by encroaching on their time for two or three hours at least every night their own studies are retarded, and their most valuable time cut up and abridged. In these circumstances, that fund, if secured, would be a most valuable one, which overtaking the wants of the most apt and deserving, in a way to which our present few and meagre bursaries have but little claim, would enable them to prosecute their studies, at least during session-time, without any extraneous demand either on their talents or time. What was thus gained for the session, might well be taken into account in estimating the course, and should that course appear too short for the higher accomplishments of literature, it could not fail, at least, to be greatly improved by the greater earnestness and assiduity with which it was prosecuted. One session might thus do the work of two, and a considerate patronage duly extended to the industrious and the aspiring, might come to its reward in an intellectual eminence to which even the "fellowships" of England have not always given birth. Neither do we see that if Oxford and Cambridge enjoy the right, and we would add the privilege, of a parliamentary representation, how our Scottish Colleges should be deprived of this. The demand is not an unnatural one, that if proper for these, such a representation cannot in fairness be denied to us, and all the more will we be entitled to urge it when elevating yet more the standard by which all graduate honours

are measured and dispensed, we place the suffrage in the hands of those, who by their education and character are best prepared faithfully and intelligently to discharge their trust. Nor can we help thinking that there is much to be said for the complaint, that while some of our colleges are deficient in the number of academic chairs, there are but too many in all of them but inadequately provided for. By all means put the stress of your influence on the Treasury purse, that in this respect Scotland may share more largely than it has hitherto done in the public monies. How paltry the economy which, in endowing a Chair of Biblical criticism, and that too, we fear, less for the measure's sake, than for the man's, can find no other way of doing it than by the appropriation of one of the few Deaneries of the Chapel-Royal! How illiberal the policy which appropriates another of these (the Church being always considered fair game) to support a Principality which should be otherwise endowed, leaving its present distinguished occupant to hold a Deanery, not by any official tenure, common to others, but by a higher title proper to himself! How contracted the statesmanship which, making large demands than ever on the scholarship of the age in every branch of the public service, would leave so many of our Professors altogether dependent on the mere pittance of fees which their chairs may draw! At the same time, even here, we may be pardoned for making the observation, that the just claim for larger endowments which more or less may be made for the creation of some new professorships, and for a more generous support of others, has of late years suffered no small damage from the tone and the manner in which it has been urged. Most assuredly, if the appeal is to be listened to by those who shut or open at pleasure the purse strings of the nation, it will not be because the Principal in one college would fain turn the largest endowment into an easy chair, where science may take more comfortably its evening repose, or the professor in another University would rate himself at a figure which we fear would almost require another Greek loan. Such sturdy beggars may do very well on the high roads of the country, but their success is doubtful in the high places of the land. Where a man becomes his own valuator, his price requires to be narrowly looked at, and we would augur better for a larger measure of the public beneficence, were the reasonable demand for it to come, not so much from the self-laudations of the workman, as from the well-attested specimens of the nature and style and amount of his work.

We hail it then, as a favourable symptom of the prevalence of better and more discreet views on the subject of University Reform that the Right Honourable the Dean of Faculty has not lent himself to any promiscuous crusade on the subject. In his recent "Inaugural Discourse," as Lord Rector of King's College, Aberdeen, we know not whether to admire more the practical excellence of his observations, or the calm yet earnest tone in which they are uttered. Appropriate as they were, not less to the occasion which dictated them, than to the place where they were delivered, they were eminently

fitted to commend themselves to all classes of his auditors, and while affording matter of grave consideration to the more erudite, were not less calculated to stimulate and improve the youthful mind. The "lucidus ordo" which eminently characterizes the Dean as a lawyer, has not abandoned him as a scholar, prelecting on topics of a more general interest. Indeed the perfection of the "Discourse" is mainly to be traced to the perfect harmony of all its parts, each of them breathing the same true philosophy, the same practical sagacity, the same high-toned eloquence, unimpassioned indeed, but not on that account less worthy of its theme. Nor can we avoid remarking that it shines, not less by its own inherent merits, than in contrast with other Rectorial addresses, which startling an admiring audience for a moment by their brilliancy have left them the next to gaze at the emptiness of space. Airy balloons, most, if not all of them, they have answered their purpose, when rising gracefully from the earth, they have lost themselves in the midway air. What clapping of hands as they ascended overhead, from the classic precincts of the now subterranean Molindinar in that most famous of all Scottish cities, where merchants are wont to congregate! How carefully constructed for the holiday work they were meant to perform! Light in ballast and soon inflated, they are borne aloft on the swelling breath of applause, and still, whether my Lord Rector skim over the wide field of literature, touching on many points and yet resting on none, or like a noble Duke surprise the spectators by discharging nothing but bags of sand, till his own proper levity bore him away, we consider it no small matter of regret, that with but few exceptions, these official orations have been much more remarkable for the elaboration of their construction, than for the solidity of their parts. Whatever else might be desiderated we could not complain of any want of the "labor limæ." With the Dean it is otherwise. Eminently graceful in its style, we never lose sight of the weighty matter of his discourse in the chasing in which it is set. Severely chaste, it is shorn of every thing by which an inaccurate thought might be hid, or a trifling thought magnified. Throughout the whole of it, there runs a vein of manly thinking, like a vein of Aberdeen granite, shaping it into an enduring pillar in the temple of fame; and where is the marble of foreign extraction that exceeds it in the polish it so gracefully wears!

It is not, however, so much to the literary merits of the discourse, or to the various matters of which he treats that we now desire more immediately to address ourselves. There was one point especially which struck us on our first perusal of it in the newspapers, as worthy of observation, and from which we are now glad to take the opportunity we have for some time coveted, of asking the attention of all who are taking a share in the question it involves. The paragraph is a short one, but it is not less worthy of note. It runs in these words:—

"This is not the time or place to discuss any particular scheme of University Reform. But I may be permitted to say, that I cannot suppose any patriotic Scotsman would object to a proposal to strengthen the hands of the

Universities, and enable them more efficiently to discharge their great trust as national seminaries of learning, provided the proposal did not carry with it conditions subversive of the fundamental principles of our University system, or inconsistent with their maintenance and efficiency for the peculiar work which they have hitherto successfully accomplished.

"But the introduction of such changes can be safely intrusted only to the hands of those who know the Scottish Universities experimentally, and who are fully alive to both the existence and the value of the peculiarities which distinguish them from those of other countries. Any attempt on the one hand, to restore or create in our academic halls a University formed on a perfect model or idea; or, on the other hand, to assimilate our Universities to those of England, or any other country, would either be a mere failure or a great calamity."

This then is a warning note which we hail, and which, coming from a quarter so well entitled to respect, will, we hope, not be without its appropriate benefit. We can only hope it is not too late to cool the brainless ardour which seems to have stricken some men with all the heat of a vertical sun. Most strangely, amidst the proposals afloat on the subject of University Reform, the peculiar character of our Scottish Universities was entirely ignored. It seems to have been imagined, that instead of existing for the common good, as they had done from their foundation, they might be turned into a forcing house for special pre-eminence, whether in literature or science. That such a revolution, however, could not be accomplished without the most disastrous effects, the slightest review of the past history, not less than the present condition of our Colleges, will abundantly show. For what place, it may be asked, did they occupy in that noble platform of education which was so well laid, and wisely too, by our patriotic forefathers? It was not surely as an isolated institute, apart from the masses of the people, that they proved at once the bulwarks of the country, and the nurseries of the church. It was as part and parcel of a national system which, beginning with the Parish School in landward parishes, and taking with it the Burgh School in the larger towns, came to its completion in the University seat. Here is its charter, and it will bear examination :—

"Of necessitie therefore we judge it, that every several kirk have one schoolmaister appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach grammar and the Latine tongue, if the town be of any reputation: If it be upland, where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed, take care of the children and the youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechisme, as we have it now translated in the Booke of Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And furder, we think it expedient, that in every notable town, and specially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a colledge, in which the arts, at least logick and rhetorick, together with tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: As also [that] provision [be made] for those that be poore, and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in special these that come from landward.

"The fruit and commoditie hereof shall suddenly appear. For first, the youth-head and tender children shall be nourished and brought up in vertue, in presence of their friends, by whose good attendance many inconveniencies

may be avoyded in which the youth commonly fall, either by over much libertie which they have in strange and unknown places, while they cannot rule themselves; or else for lack of good attendance, and [of] such necessaries as their tender age requires. Secondly, the exercise of children in every kirke, shall be great instruction to the aged [and unlearned.] Last, the great schooles called the universities, shall be replenished with those that shall be apt to learning; for this must be carefully provided, that no father of what estate or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their youth-head; but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and vertue."

Thus so wisely instituted, what good have our Universities done if not by maintaining the place assigned them in this original programme? Is not their usefulness to be traced to the fact, that seeking neither to be beyond the wants of the country, nor above the demands of the age, they have contented themselves with aiming at the general welfare and not at the good of a particular class. Have they not approved themselves through a long ordeal, if not to the morbid taste of the few, yet to the benefit of the many—laying broadly and deeply that goodly superstructure of learning which has drawn its materials from every class? But let some of those views prevail which are now so freely ventilated by pamphlet and platform—let the Parish School be separated from the College by an interval which nothing but a superior scholarship can bridge over, or while the entrance-money remains the same, let the qualification be insisted on of such an amount of prior attainments as the resources of the country can barely yield, and it requires no gift of prophecy to forsee that what our forefathers meant for the good of many, will speedily turn out to be but the luxury of the few.

Take, for example, that class of students who, whether belonging to the Establishment or to some Dissenting Church, have pushed their way to the door of our Universities, and year after year are seeking admission. We all know how numerous that class is, exceeding in number those of any other profession, and we can easily ascertain the average amount of learning they have otherwise gained. That cannot be expected to be great, especially in Greek literature,—if indeed, in many cases, any of it has been mastered at all. It is well known that, drawn as these students are in great measure from the middle classes, and some from a grade more humble, they have neither the opportunity nor the means of making almost any proficiency in the Greek tongue. Indeed it is not every parish schoolmaster who can teach it, or even every burgh school in which it is taught; and though the most important of all languages to the theologian, as it is the most interesting of all to the general student, nothing, we believe, could be more injudicious than in laying too high a bounty on it at the commencement of the academic course. Nor would it do to say, that to attain this object, the aspirants to the Church have only to spend a little more time at their preliminary education than they are wont to do. This will not answer at least in the greater proportion of cases. It may be they cannot get in their

neighbourhood, even by remaining longer there, any more Greek than they have, or that, could they obtain it, they can afford the time. Their time is more than money to them, and with a college course before them, of at least eight years, they cannot afford to prolong its duration. In fact, such an elevation of the standard as many propose, would have no other effect than that of compelling the Church, in self-defence, to establish in all the University seats a classical tutorship of its own. Thus only could her proper wants be cared for; and when we remember how largely the primary classes in the college course are made up of those who are aiming at the pulpit, we can easily see that what the University gains in the higher *quality* of the learning, it would most likely lose in the *quantity* of the material on which it had to work.

The same may be said of the other professions of Law and Medicine, which, while having their own special chairs, are so much enhanced by a preliminary course in the classics. To expect of these classes of students, especially when drawn from the provinces, any great measure of classical attainments is out of the question, and yet, where is the practitioner in Law or Medicine, who can dispense altogether with Latin or Greek? It is difficult to say which of these tongues is most necessary for the technology of their respective professions, were there nothing more to be said on their behalf, and we have reason to fear, that if the latter of these is not got by them in their attendance at the University, it cannot be obtained by them at all. Besides, what will we make of that large remaining class of general students, who, pointing at no profession, are not yet to be excluded from the College programme. There are many ready to matriculate every year, especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow, who take a portion at least of the curriculum in arts on their way to avocations of the most varied kinds. The merchant in every branch of business, and the mechanic in every department of art, will not be the less prepared for their after walk in life, that they have spent two or three years amidst the amenities of Greek and Roman lore. This many of them do, and the advantage is not to be over estimated. Otherwise they might no doubt attend what are called Mechanic Institutions, or listen to lectures in other institutions of no more imposing kind, but these we submit, would form but a miserable substitute for the accuracy and continuity of a University course.

While then, we would offer no objections to such a considerate review of our University system, as might elevate the standard of learning in every branch, we would protest against any scheme of reform, which, by a hasty and violent dislocation, would alter the character and abridge the usefulness of our respective colleges. Forming as they do, a part and not the least important one of the public property, it becomes the public to see to it, that they are not endangered either by a bigoted policy on the one hand, which would cling to every thing old, or by a rash empiricism on the other, which would grasp at every thing new. The latter we apprehend to be the more imminent danger of the two, and should it prevail in the re-construction

of the University curriculum over more mature and considerate councils, we can anticipate nothing but the arrival of that "calamity," of which the Dean has given us the significant warning. When carried out into other branches of the course than those of which we have now spoken, the danger becomes only the more obvious and extensive. To say that the professor of mathematics is not to deal with the elements of his science, but to devolve them on a tutor whom he associates with him, declining *propriâ personâ* to lead his pupils over the ass's bridge—or that the professor of logic is not to stoop to the drudgery of constructing syllogisms with his students, putting them through the drill of essay-writing and oral examination,—or that Newton's Principia are the only principia which the professor of natural philosophy will condescend to teach, thereby creating a new body of functionaries to do the work of the chair, but without any share in its emoluments or honors—is, we submit to revolutionize the college, and not to reform it. Assuredly, it was not by such methods that our Universities attained at once their eminence and use, and more especially that the University of Glasgow, since the beginning of this century, secured to itself in the Faculty of Arts so large a measure of popular favour. It was by a wholesome combination of lesson and lecture—of truths duly illustrated, and yet reduced to their component parts—above all, it was by a system of oral examinations, which, dissecting minutely every lecture, laid it open in detail to the student, making his own tongue familiar with the language of thought, and accustoming him to reduce it to writing,—that this seat of learning in the west, acquired a standing in Scotland, which, if since equalled by others, has certainly been exceeded by none. Discarding all that scholastic pomp and ceremony by which the duty of the chair had been hitherto incumbered, and following in the train of the venerable Jardine, one professor after another without leaving his seat, yet brought himself familiarly into contact with every mind, and by the first of May in every year he had his return, in such a fair exhibition of triumphs gained and industry rewarded, as left it in doubt whether professor or pupil had succeeded the best. And where was the hardship of all this? Did it detract from the high position of Dr Young, the most profound of scholars, as he was the most eloquent of Greek expositors, that even to his old age he lost none of his fire in doing his work, that his junior class crowded with boys, and many more advanced students with less Greek than boys, was not less cared for than the senior class with Homer or Aristophanes or Sophocles in hand, and that unexhausted by both, he could find his way into his private class, there to expatiate on themes, which now alas, are all extinct, save in the memory of a few survivors. Methinks I see the old man still, when on the morning of Saturday, the last day of his life, he entered the junior class. The session had just commenced, and he was only surmounting what some moderns would count the dreadful bore of teaching the alphabet. It was no bore to him. The profoundity of his scholarship in no way interfered with the simplicity of his work. Nay, he seemed to have a peculiar pleasure in taking

by the hand the very youngest student, that he might introduce him for the first time to that classic ground on which he himself so long delighted to expatiate. Once and again on that morning he went over the alphabet, and more than once he rose from his chair to shew by his hands the remarkable changes through which several letters in the alphabet had passed. All was life and animation, and if but a few hours afterwards, that eloquent voice was hushed in death, and those expressive features shrouded, nowhere was the announcement of his sudden decease more deeply felt than by the youngest of his pupils, who, if without sufficient gifts to measure his learning, had yet heart enough to appreciate his zeal. Or what of his distinguished successor Professor Sandford, in his management of his class. Was it to his disparagement that, though fresh from Oxford, he identified himself at once with a system, which to some men has so much of the thistle in it, that rather than touch it, they would pull it up by the roots. It was with no gloved hand he manipulated the grammar of the language he so enthusiastically loved, and with no reluctant reserve, he entered daily his Junior class. Scarcely, indeed, had he encountered his work, when he found himself at home in it, and so far from finding Scotland an uncongenial soil where the choice flowers of the Grecian muse could never thrive, he was little more than two years in the chair when he transmitted to Oxford, specimens of Greek versification, from exercises weekly prescribed, and passages from Shakespeare and Milton, turned into Iambics, for which he challenged a comparison with the best productions of the southern schools. Only give our University system fair play, and we need not despair. A little more encouragement to the student, and a due share of enthusiasm in the professor, and Scotland will hold no mean place in the world of letters. Her metaphysics need not continue her only boast. Her scholarship may rise above par—though Dr Parr is not to be surpassed. A mere course of lecturing will not suffice. This combination of the tutorial and professorial functions in the same individual, is the perfection of the system. Lectures, in fact, are not to be estimated so much by the knowledge they communicate, as by the spirit they infuse, and it is only when they excite the student to think for himself, to handle his dictionary or ply his text-book, or institute a search that will reward his pains in the perusal of the best works, or in the investigation of the best authorities, that they fulfil their end in a well balanced course of academic instruction. At all events, too much caution cannot be observed in innovating on a system of which the distinguished Principal of the University of Edinburgh, the most competent of all witnesses, has thus said :—

"Many of the pupils who were then reared within these walls were worthy of the great masters who gave an impulse to their ambitious and successful pursuits, and it was scarcely possible for any one possessed of an intellectual being to breathe the same atmosphere without being seized with the contagion of their enthusiasm. I have already mentioned a few great names as having distinguished that age. I may here add to them the name of Thomas M'Crie,

one of the best of our historians; George Cranstoun (Lord Corehouse), Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Peter Roget, George Birbeck, Sir David Brewster, Francis Horner, Henry Cockburn, Henry Brougham, Henry Petty, (now Marquis of Lansdowne), John Leyden, Henry Temple (now Lord Palmerston), the Earl of Haddington, Lord Webb Seymour, Lord Dudley, the Earl of Minto, Lord Glenelg, Lord Langdale, and Lord John Russell not long afterwards. It will not, I think, be alleged to be a very easy task to produce within the same compass of time any choicer specimens of deep and varied learning, of splendid eloquence, of legislative sagacity, and of high attainments in science. One who has studied at the same time and in the same school with such men as these, may venture to conclude that there is something, if not in the genius of the place, at least in the principles and character of the institution, calculated to animate and foster the healthy operation of the human faculties, and to lead to great results."

"ABOUT EDINBURGH."

"FRASER'S MAGAZINE," AND THE SNOB SCHOOL OF CRITICISM.

LITERATURE is at times infested, as human heads are sometimes troubled, by small parasitical animals; the creatures burrow about the roots of the hair, and produce no little annoyance and irritation, while if their stay be permitted they multiply and increase to a degree. Like the animalculæ in question there are scribes of whom, for the sake of warning, it is necessary to make an example. They pick up, with the tenacity of leeches, fag-ends of gossip and information. These being put together after much pains and labour, they get them corrected by some men who understand a little about Lindley Murray, and glory if their twaddle be inserted in the columns of some fourth-rate London magazine. The metropolis has in fact nothing to boast of in respect of its periodicals. The pages of the once brilliant and pungent "Edinburgh Review" are loaded to repletion with dullness. Long and heavy articles abound; and with the exception of "The New Monthly," and one or two others of the tribe, there is very little indeed to account for the rush of magazine boys in Paternoster Row on the first of the month.

The existence of some periodicals in particular, is an existence of deterioration, and we are sorry to rank "Fraser's Magazine" among the number. Why it should retain its pristine name we do not know. After poor Fraser's death, the result, it was said, of a brutal assault on the part of one of the Fitzhardinge family, it passed into the hands of a publisher, who, we believe had quite enough of it. It was subsequently transferred to Mr Parker, who, we should think must by this time be heartily sick of the concern, conducted and contributed to by a parcel of the most obscure, and, to use a Scotch term, *feckless* individuals who have ever handled a pen,—by a clique and coterie who mutually puff each other, and praise especially with lavish admiration every work at all noticeable, proceeding from the press and shop of Mr Parker. A general smallness of

thought and anility of expression pervade the articles. The natural history man, who does articles on king-fishers, serpents, &c., is the only tolerable member of the community, as he is evidently at some pains in collecting his facts, and gives a pretty fair *rechauffe* of the stores recorded by previous dabblers in the same department. The tales or *novelettes* are bad, indeed positively unreadable by any person of common sense. In its palmy days, "Fraser's Magazine" was a thing of some power and of much malignity. The genius of mischief seemed to haunt its contributors. It was rabidly ultra-Tory at the time when Maginn, Thackeray, Delta, Galt, Lockhart, Carlyle, and others contributed to its pages. Therein Mr M. A. Titmarsh, imped his wings. Edward Irving contributed his mite, as it was a Scotch enterprise, and the publisher was connected with the "land of cakes." All this, however, is a matter of "lang syne." Though supported by the contributions of some talented men at the outset, the periodical chiefly gained distinction by its fierce attacks on individuals, its portraits of leading men in the literary world at the time, from Sir Walter Scott, downwards to Dr Bowring, and "Satan Montgomery," and by its fierce attacks on all writers who were not unflinching believers in Fraser and Torryism. Sir E. L. Bulwer, then on the liberal side, was an especial object of aversion, and "Fraser's" judgment on the genial and eloquent novelist's productions was about as stupid as were the critiques of the Edinburgh Review upon Wordsworth. Even then the language of the contributors was not very refined, and their expressions suggested no inconsiderable degree of acquaintance with the class of society frequenting the beer-shops and back slums of London. The case has now become worse. The articles in Fraser, with the exception of those contributed some years since by Kingsley, are for the most part worthless and vapid; but pre-eminent in point of stupidity and vulgarity, as the "*Leader*" remarks, are those upon Scotch affairs—the last of which, and a most outrageous sin it is against good taste and feeling—has been made the leading article in this month's issue of the periodical—which seems to us to be nearly in the "*dead thraw.*"

This is entitled, "About Edinburgh," and were the subject worth consideration we might be tempted to enquire who the small snob was that indited it? Is it Mr Peter Baynes,—now Editor of the "Witness," and under whose auspices that paper retains not a twentieth part of its former vigour,—the author of a book wonderfully praised up, but very scantily read, and read just as much as it deserved to be, a lumbering series of biographical sketches of men so unknown as Wilberforce, Arnold, Chalmers, Foster, &c., put together in a style of dreary common-place—a production, some leaves of which we expect on an early occasion to find environing our purchase of snuff. We were inclined to think so on remembering that the perpetrator of this leaden work, when formerly editor of a Glasgow Newspaper, for which his editorship no doubt proved a rather heavy burden, never forgot the fact that his "*magnus opus,*" printed by Mr Hogg of this city, was not reviewed and lauded in the pages of "Macphail's Journal."

It cannot be Mr Peter Baynes, for, as in duty bound, he would have lauded the "Free Kirk." Can it be the Rev. Dr Cumming of London? The style somewhat resembles his, and the allusions to ecclesiastical matters in Edinburgh are frequent. We must absolve Dr Cumming of such an undeserved imputation, though he was once a contributor to "Fraser." Who then, is the small unknown? We think, most probably either a travelling bag-man, a tailor living near the Thames who has a semi-literary craze and resides in an attic about Southwark, or a writer's clerk in Edinburgh specially retained to indite the Scotch articles in the periodical we refer to, who palms off his *havers* upon the unsuspecting editor, and converts the small proceeds of the article into the means for gratifying his stomach and his gullet.

An attempt to criticise the article in question would be only a waste of time and space. The rambling nature of the observations makes more apparent the baldness of the style and uncouth nature of the composition. The author is exceedingly credulous, and catches up flying rumours that have no foundation in actual fact. According to our sagacious commentator upon Edinburgh matters, "the sensible ministers and members of the Free Firk lament their hasty and most uncalled for schism," and Dr Guthrie is to be one of the first to seek re-admission into the Establishment. This is a mere vagary. Be their views right or wrong, there is no chance or likelihood of any considerable portion of the Free Church *ministers* at least thus acknowledging error and admitting before the world that the great step of 1843 was a rash and ill-considered movement. To the Church of Scotland —condescendingly styled by this small Puseyite snob, the "Kirk," and of the ministrations of whose clergy he tries to speak in a sneering tone, about as ineffectually as an aged mastiff that has lost its teeth, would mumble over a bone—to the Church of Scotland we are ardently attached. Her battles we have fought, "many a time and oft;" but this scribbler does not seem to know that between ourselves and the Free Church there is a difference of principle; and for our own part we cheerfully acknowledge that the Free Church ministers have acted in full accordance with their theories regarding ecclesiastical discipline, and have shown much nobleness and self-devotion. The time of bitter words has passed away. We respect and honour their consistency. We do not believe them to be recreants and traitors, after the solemn protestations they have made. We can do our duty, and they can perform their's, without interfering in a hostile spirit, or crossing each other's paths.

Writing from his airy domicile, the perpetrator of the twaddle we refer to is so obliging as to speak of this Journal in the following terms—very similar to those employed by the maundering gentleman who attempts so very feebly to fill poor Hugh Millar's editorial chair, and under whose auspices the "Witness" retains but a tithe of its former strength, if so much. We always thought it a misfortune that Millar consumed his time in that manner; the misfortune will now be felt by those who put Mr Bayne in his place. This, however, by way of parenthesis, as it is no concern of our's. We are

coming nearer home. The "snob" critic may not be a literary tailor, like the small animal whom "Christopher North" threatened to extinguish in a pinch of maccabaw, thereby consigning it to an irritating and ignominious death—but he is we doubt not one of our *rejected Contributors*, a spouter of orations fearfully frothy, yet regarded with admiration by young lads at College,—he is not only a leading writer in Mr Parker's Magazine, but he is likewise a scribbler whose productions, much to his astonishment, have found their way into the repositories of Mr Adcock or some of his brethren,—the undertakers of literary trash—the decent buriers of useless manuscript. Else why step out of his way to remark as follows, with a soreness evidently deep-felt?

"There is a curious monthly periodical published in Edinburgh, named *Macphail's Journal*. We never met with any one who read it, and seldom with any one who heard of it. From what we saw of it," (once) "we should judge it to be the very poorest periodical in the world."

The snob writes again as follows, thereby showing that the poor creature labours under patristic tendencies, and at all events scorns and sneers at the religious feelings of his mother-land: "It is remarkable how thoroughly Anglican in feeling are all ecclesiastical allusions in the better Scotch periodicals. Even *Titan* seems to be mainly written by Englishmen," (we suppose that Fraser's men lend it help) "and we fervently trust that the number of *Macphail's Journal* we saw was wholly the composition of natives of the Sandwich Islands." This, it strikes us, is a plagiarism from some of Professor Aytoun's criticisms; it is too good to be the writer's own. His brightest attempt at wit is the endeavour to satirise the lithographic portraits exhibited in some of the smaller print-sellers' windows, which he dubs with names such as these—the Rev. Melchisedek Howler, and the Rev. Jeremy Diddler, talking about the "swinish projecting mouth, and general aspect of coarseness and brutality, and white neck-cloth with the long limp ends," by which these attempts at portraiture are characterised. The vulgarity of the nomenclature and the whole style of expression are, we beg to say, such as to suggest a more remote and and savage place than the "Sandwich Islands." The critic's digestion is, we apprehend, as bad as his style, and we fear that he is now ensconced in some private corner, tremulous at each time the bell of his obscure mansion may be rung. His taunts at the "Journal" we can laugh at. He would not have gone out of his course to assail it, but for some hidden soreness. Thomas De Quincey, George Gilfillan, Thomas Aird, the late Dr Samuel Brown, Drs Buchanan of Methven, Stevenson of Leith, R. Lee, the late Mr Morren, Professor Gray, the late accomplished Thomas Wright, besides a host of other names that might be mentioned—the elité of the literary members of the church might be enumerated as having sent frequent articles, and we will be hard up for material when we condescend to accept contributions from Mr Peter Baynes, or the Puseyite and half-educated snob who figures in Mr Parker's Magazine.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Death of Principal Macfarlan of Glasgow.—It is with extreme regret, which will be participated in by the Church at large, that we have to announce the death of the venerable and very Reverend Duncan Macfarlan, D.D., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, and Minister of the Parish Church of St Mungo's. The venerable Principal was the oldest pastor in the Church of Scotland. He expired at his residence at Glasgow on Wednesday the 25th inst., in his 87th year. Dr Macfarlan was born in the parish of Drymen, of which his father was minister, in September 1771. After completing his studies at the University of Glasgow, he was ordained successor to his father in 1792, before he had reached his twenty-first year. He married a cousin of his own, a Miss Allen, daughter of the then minister of the Parish of Row, by whom he had a number of children, several of whom still survive. In 1823 he received from the Crown the joint appointment of Principal to the University and Minister of the High Church of Glasgow. In the eventful year 1843, Principal Macfarlan was unanimously called to fill for the second time the Chair of the General Assembly. The late Principal, we may add, was one of the Chaplains of the Chapel Royal.

Church Endowment Scheme.—The Prince Consort has given a donation of two hundred pounds to the northern group of chapels. The Rev. Dr Robertson also begs to acknowledge the receipt of the handsome donation of £200 from "a friend to the Church of Scotland's Endowment Scheme," by the hands of Mr Burness, Drummond Place.—*Edinburgh Courant.*

Sermon before the Court.—We understand that Dr Robert Lee has received Her Majesty's most gracious commands to publish the Sermon preached by him before the Court in Crathie Church in October last. The subject of the discourse is, "The Care of the Body, a Christian Duty."

Clerical Appointment.—The Rev. Charles B. Mackay, who has been missionary to St. David's Dundee, for some time past, has been appointed assistant and successor to the parish of Borgue, Kirkcudbrightshire.

MACPHAIL'S

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THE LATE PRINCIPAL MACFARLAN.

It is but rarely indeed that the Church of Scotland has had to record in her obituary, the death of a minister so eminent in his generation, as the late Principal Macfarlan. Of the many illustrious names that adorn her annals, there is no one more distinguished than that which he so long and so honourably bore,—and now that this venerable man has passed away from amongst us, it is but a natural tribute due from the living to the dead, that his worth should be recorded, and his memory transmitted in sacred legacy to after years.

Were Glasgow alone to be consulted, since 1823 the scene of his ministry and the seat of the University of which he was so long and so distinguished an ornament, we might appeal confidently to the testimony it rendered to the worth of the venerable Principal, when on the first of December last—the day of his obsequies—thousands followed his remains to the grave. Mournful as that spectacle was, it had yet much of an ovation in it—the laurel intertwined with the cypress—partaking in some measure of the character of the day which ushered it in. Fortunately it was not all gloom, though clouds and darkness were round about it, and ever and anon, from dawn to midday, sunshine and shadow were struggling for the victory. At midday the sun broke out, and as the array of mourners issued from the walls of the College, and slowly advanced, the whole line of the procession was illuminated by its beams. It formed a spectacle never to be forgotten by those who had assembled to witness it, or to take their place with the company of mourners. First, and most appropriately, came the civic authorities, headed by the Lord Provost and Magistrates, and accompanied by all the judicial functionaries, the fitting represen-

tatives of that great community over which they presided, and which in their person might be considered as setting its seal to departed greatness and worth. There next emerged from the gateway, the students of the various classes, four and four—gowned and ungowned—each class preceded by its Professor, and all of them staid and subdued in their appearance—the very youngest, by his grave demeanour, giving token of sincere respect. As these passed on in lengthened array, the body was placed in its hearse, and behind it came the relations of the deceased, and his more immediate friends,—they who knew him best and loved him most, to whem he was endeared by ties and remembrances with which a stranger may not intermeddle. Succeeding these, were the members of the Presbytery of Glasgow, than whom there were none better qualified to appreciate the well-tempered zeal and rare sagacity which marked the consistent course of their reverend father in all their ecclesiastical procedure. Not less were they who followed them, members of other presbyteries, and clergymen from other places, to be concluded as bearing witness by their presence to their long cherished esteem. Held in high estimation by all classes of the community, Principal Macfarlan was the especial favorite of the order to which he belonged, and if it formed no slight incentive to him in the discharge of his public duties, that he enjoyed the esteem and the sympathy of those with whom he was most closely associated, it was nothing to his disparagement, that in the thickest mass of the clerical group, there were not wanting the pastors of other folds, than that of which the minister of the High Church had approved himself to be a faithful shepherd. The Free Church had its representatives there, and the United Presbyterian and the Cameronian Churches, not less we think to the praise of the living, than to the honour of the dead. Well might the sun shine out bright and clear on that unwonted spectacle. Assuredly, Glasgow will not flourish the less by the preaching of the word, that such passing comments are occasionally made on it—comments which thousands on that day were privileged to read. They are better far than a thousand sermons. The happy blending of all sects and parties in the religious world, that a great and good man may not pass away unacknowledged, is Christianity in its best and noblest mood; and though it is a funeral procession which brings it out and gives it relief, we hail it as the triumph of our common faith, and claim it for a trophy to be suspended aloft as amidst the spoils of a victory. Next came the "Society of the Sons of the Clergy," to mourn the loss of their oldest member, as well as of their best friend; while in their rear, and immediately before the long line of general mourners who closed the procession, there came the members of the Congregation over whose spiritual interests he had watched to the last. Their presence was not the least pleasing feature in the scene. His own flock was ever dear to him, and there was one portion of it in particular, the inmates of the Blind Asylum, who, if they had never seen his face, yet knew his voice, and were now sorrowing most of all, that they should hear that voice no more. On Sabbath and week-day, it had been welcome to them as the familiar tones of a friend. On the

recurrence of every Saturday in winter and summer, whether in sunshine or storm; he was wont to repair to their asylum and give them instruction,—and it will be long, we fear, before his loss will be made up again there, or in other charitable institutions of a similar kind, where the regularity of his attendance was only surpassed by his steady philanthropy and well-sustained sympathy and aid.

It was not, however, so much by taking the procession in detail, as by viewing it *en masse*, that the mind of the spectator was duly impressed with the tribute paid to the memory of the departed. It was to the admixture of all classes and to the blending of all creeds, and above all, to the undisguised sympathy and reverent demeanour of the vast crowd who lined the whole course of the procession, that we trace the effect it was so well fitted to produce. These bespoke no usual respect or mere conventional sympathy. The time was, when the name of Principal Macfarlan had its full share of that obloquy which the bitterness of ecclesiastical politics knows so well and so unsparingly to use. Not to dwell on the hurricane of opposition through which he passed at the threshold of his ministry in Glasgow, and which was only terminated by a favourable decision of the General Assembly allowing the plurality he held, it is within the remembrance of many now living how for years afterwards, he was but sparingly acknowledged even in the most faithful discharge of every duty to which he was called. With the term "Moderate" applied to him, the mere watch-word of party, and at no time in more frequent or bitter use that about the period to which we refer, it was taken for granted that nothing good could be expected to emanate from such a source. The merest ecclesiastical babe could give vent to his unmeaning prattle, and old men too, of whom other things might have been expected, were not always backward in giving currency to the well-handled phrase. Meanwhile the object of this malignant partizanship—not less malignant that it had usurped the title of "evangelical"—possessing his soul in patience, was holding on the even tenor of his way. He could afford to overlook it. If the bigotry with which he was met, led him to cling the more closely to his tried friends, it never tempted him either by word or deed to make reprisal on his enemies. And far less did it divert him from the faithful exercise of his ministry in the congregation over which he was set, or from that home-walk of Christian usefulness in his parish in which he so long and so faithfully expatiated. We venture to say, that no minister of Glasgow was better acquainted with his parish than he was. On Sabbath and week-day, his step was a familiar one along that line where his body was carried to its resting-place in the tomb. Its densely crowded population, in vennel and close, had been so often penetrated, that every recess and winding was accessible to him by night as by day,—and where the scene of misery so great, that he hid himself from it—or the outcast so forlorn as to escape his notice, or be denied his charity and aid? In fact, in the city of Glasgow the minister of the High Church was preeminently the minister of the city and of the poor. There were seasons of the year, when he was left all but alone at a post,

which, if others had not deserted, they had at least abandoned for a little for more inviting scenes,—and still if a marriage had to be celebrated, or a child baptized, or a funeral attended, if a prayer was wanted for the sick or for the dying, the chances were that the minister of the High Church was to be found at home. And, as might have been expected, such unremitting and unboasting faithfulness did not always go without its reward. By and bye detraction began to speak with baited breath, and then its feeble mutterings died away. The party name had lost its charm. Emerging rapidly from the mists which nothing but prejudice could dim, the name of Principal Macfarlan soon asserted its proper place among the inhabitants of Glasgow, so that but a few years had elapsed, and had the Western Metropolis wanted a bishop, for which, however, she has but little liking, Principal Macfarlan, we believe, would have been called to the see by universal acclaim. But better to him than a mitre were the blessings which descended on his head. This luxury he enjoyed in many a scene on which the rod of the Almighty was resting, leaving it to others to say of him what he would never have said for himself—"I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame; I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew I searched out. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy." This after all was his noblest legacy, and though it was not left to his death to reveal it, or to his funeral to publish it, it could be read by every stranger in those successive groups of the humble poor, who, pressing from every close and crevice were straining to catch the last look of the remains of their benefactor and friend. It will be long ere they see his like again. The honours that followed him to the grave were more than even royalty can bestow; and if to the painter the scene was eminently striking when defiling along the High Street through the dense mass of spectators covering the pathway and filling every window, the well-ordered line of procession emerged at last on the open ground where the Royal Infirmary and his own Cathedral broke on the view, and then after crossing the ravine by a bridge—which to thousands now is but a bridge of sighs—ascended the Necropolis, and surmounted terrace after terrace in the winding ascent, till the hill was covered, and the measured tread of the returning mourners again fell on the ear—what species of photography can pourtray the life which, protracted to an unwonted duration, has thus gone down laden with honours to the grave? Its tracery, we fear, is much too minute for the sunshine we have on this side the tomb. We must wait for a better and brighter day. Suffice it to add, that the ceremonial came to a close. At the highest point of the Necropolis the body was consigned to the tomb, and as the company of mourners retraced their steps by the winding terraces of the cemetery, a few years ago but a bare eminence in the neighbourhood, but now crowded with the memorials of thousands who are sleeping beneath, we paused for a little to behold the setting sun gilding with its last rays the lofty Cathedral. As its parting beams fell on spire and tower, the vast crowd had disappeared, and alone

in its grandeur—outlined against the sky, stood the majestic pile, the fitting sentinel of the grave which had just now closed, while high above, its spire was pointing to the heavens:—

> "And as our clouds of battle, dust and smoke,
> Are melted into air, behold the temple
> In undisturbed and lone serenity,
> Finding itself a solemn sanctuary
> In the profound of heaven."

In estimating, however, the character, and in recording the death of Principal Macfarlan, but a small part of our duty is done when we confine ourselves to the city in which the greater portion of his life was past. Valuable as the testimony thus given is, it is not exhaustive of the services of one whom in an especial manner the Church of Scotland claimed as her own. Were we indeed to ask wherein lay his highest walk of intelligence and zeal, we would point at once to the Church of his fathers, to which he was so deeply attached, and over whose interests he never ceased to watch with the utmost solicitude. The origin of this peculiar attachment it is not difficult to discover. It has been said by a distinguished writer in an essay "On a Man's writing Memoirs of himself,"—"I cannot but perceive that the inordinate and occasional causes of the greater portion of the prominent actual character of human beings, are to be found in those moral elements through which they pass. And if one might be pardoned for putting in words so fantastic an idea as that of its being possible for a man to live back again to his infancy, through all the scenes of his life, and to give back from his mind and character, at each time and circumstance as he repassed it, exactly that which he took from it when he was there before, it would be most curious to see the fragments and exuviae of the moral man lying here and there along the retrograde path, and to find what he was in the beginning of this train of modifications and acquisitions." In prosecuting such an analysis of the growth of the whole man in its separate stages, the Diary no doubt forms the best instrument by which it is accomplished. But if diaries to be valuable must be faithful, not contrived to dress up character but to lay it bare, we fear that in the great majority of cases they are but of little avail. At all events we doubt if the reverend Principal has left behind him any specimens of this mental anatomy, and, therefore, in conducting this process for ourselves we are reduced to the necessity of taking a different course. Instead of beginning with his death and ending with his birth, we must reverse the process. We must begin with his birth, and instead of seeking to "make him live back to his infancy," picking up "the fragments of the moral man lying here and there along the retrograde path," we must take him up where his life began. This event took place at the manse of Drymen, in the year 1771, within the bounds of the county of Stirling and the presbytery of Dumbarton, of which his father had been for many years the incumbent. Like other manses, no doubt, Drymen had its own associations, moral and physical, made up at once of the external and of the internal, and both contributing to give their colour to the

under current of social life, even as the waters of the Enrick, which were flowing near, caught from the neighbouring soil their peculiar dye. If not a Highland parish in the strict meaning of the phrase, Drymen was so close upon the uplands as almost to merit the appellation. The mountain ranges which lay so near might be said to overlook it, and there, under the shadow of the great hills teeming with romance—with stories of more than border warfare,—the cry was heard that a man child was born. But if in thus casting the scheme of his nativity, in taking his horoscope, we cannot follow those shadows as they chequered his path in infancy or youth, we may yet take into account those other influences which could not fail to tell on the youthful mind. Of his mother's care he often spoke with the most grateful remembrance, while by all accounts his father was a man of more than ordinary firmness and decision. He had been minister of the parish for about twenty-eight years when his son and successor was born; and though encouraged to mingle freely in a circle such as few country clergymen had access to—in the ducal residence of Buchanan house—where he was held in high esteem, this privilege, we believe was not purchased either at the expense of his self-respect or of that of his parishioners. Servility was no feature in the character of one whose step was not less firm when entering the residence of the peer than when knocking at the door of the peasant. Indeed, if tradition is to be trusted, the elder Macfarlan was a man of peculiar firmness and independence of mind; nor were there wanting occasions when, in vindicating rights which he considered overlooked, and in protecting interests which he held sacred, because the interests of the poor, he could brave the frown of those, who, had they willed it, could have cast a shadow over his path, much more portentous than that of Ben Lomond. *This* stamp of firmness—of manly decision—we can trace in the son. From his earliest years he evinced it in the family and the school, and though he too had the ordeal of Buchanan House to pass through, he suffered no silken cord to swathe his limbs or impair the freedom of his actions. Not that any such cord was woven for him in those halls, to which, from his youth to his old age he was ever welcome as an honoured guest. If for his father's sake and his own the Duke of Montrose took him by the hand, it was only to bestow upon him a patronage of which he knew him to be worthy, and if he received the boon with becoming gratitude, when in the year 1791 he was appointed successor to his father, and again, when by the same high interest he received his appointment at once to the High Church and Principality of Glasgow in 1823, in no way in either did it operate to enervate his character or to alter its tone. The friendly relation in which he stood to this noble House, was alike creditable to both,—unbroken on his part during a protracted life, and on theirs through more than one generation. No doubt it was sometimes said of him in his younger days, that the patronage of the Montrose family had made him, but not less truly might it be said, that he was made for the patronage. Fortunate as he was in them, they were not less fortunate in him. Reflecting not less lustre on any office he filled than it con-

ferred in return, he was distinguished from his youth by his manly and independent bearing, and if he learned early how to demean himself in the highest circles of society, acquiring the manners which none need despise, and which enabled him to bear himself easily in after years whether in the reception hall of the university, or in the presence of the Queen, whom, on the occasion of her auspicious visit to Glasgow, he was honoured to welcome to the college and to conduct through the cathedral, it was never remarked by his most intimate friends that the polish of his manners had overlaid his better nature or disturbed the steady action of his heart. *That* was always in its right place, and nowhere did it beat so high or warmly as in the service of the Church. All his youthful associations were entwined with the Church of Scotland, and almost all his friends in earlier life were connected with it. The manses of the neighbourhood were nearly as familiar to him as his own. When absent at College in Glasgow the zeal and success with which he prosecuted his studies was only surpassed by the pleasure he had in repairing again to his native vale. This to him was the seminary of his best affections and the seed-bed of his most cherished hopes. Here he was born. Here he had spent the days of his infancy and youth. Here at the age of twenty-one he was ordained to the office of the holy ministry as successor to his father. Here, too, he himself became the father of a family, choosing for his partner in life the daughter of a clergyman in the same Presbytery with himself, one who, if she lived not to see the future eminence to which he attained, was yet long enough spared to spend many happy days of mingled duty and affection with him, leaving behind her a family of three daughters and four sons to alleviate a loss, which, if the bereaved husband never ceased to appreciate, he never sought to repair. Of this family two only now survive, one of his sons a physician in Demerara, where he has resided for about thirty years, and a daughter, who with her own children around her was enabled to do a daughter's part in tending the steps, and in watching by the death-bed of the affectionate parent who had first taken her to his bosom at the manse of Drymen. It is now many years since that manse received other occupants, and echoed to the sounds of other steps, and yet we believe not a year has passed since 1823, in which its once attached minister did not find himself an inmate under its roof. To the last year of his life he was regularly present at the dispensation of the sacrament. And who of his friends can forget his annual visit to the Presbytery of Dumbarton? It was the event of the year to him. His old co-presbyters were not less proud of him than he was fond of them, and it was a holiday to both, when, on the occasion of the annual visit, the Principal was seen, as he was for years, emerging from the College duly equipped and on horseback, on his way to spend one happy day where he had already spent many, and if not to mingle in the deliberations, to enjoy the fellowship of those who were the companions of his youth and were still the cherished friends of his riper years.

If every event then in his history only tended to confirm the attachment of the Principal to the church of his fathers, it was to be expected

in return that the Church of Scotland should not be indifferent to him. Much as his native presbytery had valued his services, they could not be allowed to make a monopoly of his name, keeping him all to themselves. We know accordingly that before he had passed from a situation comparatively obscure into one more conspicuous, his abilities as a member of the Church courts had not gone unnoticed, and that for several years prior to 1819, he had taken a place in the councils of the Church, to which few of his age had been permitted to aspire. In fact it was the minister of Drymen and not of the High Church, the Presbyter merely, and not the Principal, who in that year was called to the chair of the General Assembly. The election, which was unanimous, we are entitled to claim as a testimony at once to his character and worth. Upon what principle indeed the chair of the General Assembly is filled from year to year, it is not, we confess, very easy to divine. That it is not talent always that determines it we have the high authority of Dr Chalmers for saying, of whom the story is told that when entertained on a particular occasion, at the Mansion House in London, along with the then Moderator, who, after dinner gave vent to a speech more than usually dull, and upon which the Mayoress rather pointedly asked Dr Chalmers whether the Moderator was always selected from the most eminent men of the Church, Dr Chalmers felt the necessity of assuring her forthwith, that this was by no means invariably the case. The Moderator, of whom this was said, was not the first we fear in swaying a sceptre of lead over the General Assembly, nor according to all accounts is he likely to be the last. And if it be not gifts it cannot be graces that settles the choice. We have known ministers not less venerable for their worth than for their years, whose praises were in every province of the Church for whatever is lovely and of good report, and who were yet permitted to pass away unnoticed to the grave. It must be a principle, then, not less real because it is invisible, and not less vital that more than once it has been dragged through the mire. Perhaps it is enough to know that it is in good keeping, and disposed as we are to acknowledge the infallibility of its constitutional guardians and to bow to their rule, we would recommend all who are interested to do the same, consoling themselves with the reflection that what they themselves cannot discern, others more gifted may see, and leaving these Astronomers Royal to occupy their own high ground of observation, where, telescope in hand, and in picking up stars occasionally of undoubted magnitude, they are evermore gazing at points in the horizon where a less powerful lens with all its straining can discover nothing but the emptiness of space. Not so difficult was it for the Church to appreciate the choice which in the year 1819 elevated the minister of Drymen to the chair of the Assembly. Though not a star of the first magnitude,—of what it is now the fashion to call European celebrity—he was not unknown—and though unattended by satellites, he was not without his complement of friends. His orbit was not circumscribed by the presbytery of the bounds. In the provincial Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, he had commended himself to his brethren at the very outset of his attendance there, by his growing knowledge of the constitution and laws of the

Church. These had formed with him no subject of mere passing inquiry but of habitual study, and as all that he heard from others or read for himself, whether of church procedure or precedent, was handed over to a memory which nothing escaped, a memory which served him to the last in its tenacity, and which for its power of retention was never surpassed, it might rather have been wondered at, had he not attained to some pre-eminence among his fellows. Especially when he entered the General Assembly and mingled with its councils, it was not to be supposed he should pass undistinguished among the mass. Though not an eloquent speaker in the ordinary sense of the word, he was at all times a forcible one, and distinguished in all his appearances not less by a thorough acquaintance with church forms than with constitutional usage, he could always command the attention of those who were willing to be informed or who sought to be enlightened. Above all, he was distinguished by a clear perception and a vigorous judgment, which were not always the characteristics of the orators even of that Augustan age of the Scottish Church. Of this the leaders of the day were not unobservant, and though we have heard him tell how, on more than one occasion, he differed from those to whose general policy he had given his adherence and was warmly attached, it would yet appear that if this formed no recommendation it did not operate as a bar in the way of his elevation to the chair—an honour as honourably won by him, as by universal acknowledgement it was gracefully worn.

Yet more marked than this was his second elevation to the chair, when in the year 1843, he was again called to preside over the deliberations of the General Assembly. How changed the scene since he had first occupied that seat of honour, and how altered now the circumstances of the Church. Passing himself from a rural parish to a city one, he had become in the year 1823, minister of the High Church of Glasgow, and the Principal of its University. Without venturing to say with the eccentric Mr Lapslie, the then minister of Campsie, who presided at his induction to the High Church, that if he had no other claims to the charge to which he was promoted, it was justly his by the name he bore as one of a clan which had done good service to the Protestant cause at the battle of Langside in Mary's time, and in testimony of their service had their family arms suspended in the Cathedral, we may take it for granted that other considerations, if not of a more clanish, yet of a more personal description, predominated in the selection. If any one doubted it, no sooner had he entered on the discharge of his new duties than his high qualifications were apparent. The Senatus was not less graced by him than was the Presbytery, and if some men in their adherence to theory were unwilling to admit that such a conjunction of offices as he held, was under any circumstances a compatible thing, the discussion on his plurality, fierce as it was at the time, had not long subsided till they were compelled to admit that after all it might not be unpalateable. Year after year, as it passed, only added to the evidence of the ability and wisdom and faithfulness with which all his public functions were discharged, and, if as time rolled on, they came famil-

iarly to his hand, and amidst the routine of official duty, this session of college, or that year of his ministry, was but the counterpart of another which had gone before,—there were events still occurring in the University, as in the Church, which demanded all his vigilance, and which in no wise detracted from his well merited fame. In proof of this, we might notice the steady zeal with which he administered the law of the land, requiring of all entrant Professors their subscription to the Confession of Faith, and to the formula of the church, a law, which, with his pen he defended to the last, and which in his official capacity he never allowed to remain in abeyance. Whatever difference of opinion there might be in the senate, as to the value of that law, there was but one opinion as to the conduct of him who never forgot to administer it. With firmness and yet without bigotry, with candour and yet not without caution, he discharged every trust committed to his charge, and it will be long before his colleagues in the University, (for such, though Principal, he always called them) will cease to remember him when on the recurrence of some day of high festival, noblemen, illustrious not by courtesy but fame, and others not less illustrious in the world of letters, were entertained at their board —their own Principal was not the least remarkable man of the day, by his admirable tact and bearing, and, more than all, in his varied and yet most felicitous speaking, imparting dignity and grace to the chair that he occupied, and under the shadow of which they proudly sat.

But we hasten to another chair, again to be filled up by him, and that on no occasion of festivity or mirth. The years have been passing over the Church not less than the University, and not without sowing the seeds of a controversy which came to its harvest in after times. Into the merits of the controversy commonly known by the name of "non-intrusion," it does not become us to enter. The name at all events is a familiar one, and if, like many other epithets which are either assumed by authority, or ascribed by usage, it does not determine the point in hand, we leave it to the admirable pamphlet of Sir Wm. Hamilton, to determine the amount of the fallacy not less than the gravity of the "mistake." Suffice it for present purposes to say that a warfare did arise on the important subject of "the admission of ministers into a parish," and that though resisted by one party in the Church, the veto act was adopted by another. Though the law of the Church, however, it had not become the law of the land, and when its merits came to be tried under the rights of patrons and in the light of statute, first in the Court of Session, and finally and conclusively in the House of Lords, it was found that the civil and the ecclesiastical were in direct collision. Which of these, however, should yield the way was the point of dispute. That the civil statute could not do it till duly acknowledged at least, was obvious to all, and that the ecclesiastical statute *would* not do it, not a few were ready to predict. And they were not wrong in their anticipations. Covering themselves with a shield which was dignified with the name of co-ordinate jurisdiction,—a most convenient shield—the

dominant majority resolved *not* to retract, no, not a hair's breadth, and now commenced a conflict as remarkable for its fervour as it was destined to end in the most disastrous results. How hot the battle grew, and how protracted withal, let history now tell us. Be it only remarked that it was not without its intervals—and that diversified occasionally by the appearance of a white flag from the non-intrusion camp, to flutter a little in the breeze, threatening amity and adjustment, but recalled again like the dove to the ark, giving proof to all that their waters at least had not subsided,—or by the raid of Strathbogie, where the warfare reached its highest pitch,—or by the siege of London, where every engine that diplomacy could contrive was incessantly plied to bring the contest by a *coup de main* to a close, it was also relieved by a list of combatants, who filling a large space in the roll of the Assembly, cannot now be dropped from the annals of the Church. Among these the name of Principal Macfarlan was conspicuous. Sharing perhaps, less than Dr Cook, in the successive passages at arms which distinguished the protracted campaign, he had more to do with the strategy of the fight, and enjoying the full confidence of the party to which he belonged, he was the Mentor of their councils, where he could not be the Ulysses of their camp. His services were always at their command, and ever and anon as the smoke cleared away from the horizon, discovering the mutual combatants to each other on their separate heights, Principal Macfarlan was visible on the foreground. If his figure was not so elastic now as once it was, it was not less commanding, and if his head was more bent than when the dew of his youth was upon him, it was not on that account less energetic and clear. He reminds us, indeed, at this as at other periods of his history, of the illustrious Duke, who, spared like him to an advanced life, was not less honoured by a public funeral. Possessed of the same equanimity, as little to be elated by the breath of the populace as to be disturbed by its frowns, he had rigidly clung to the discharge of duty as his allotted task, and never during a life unusually protracted, was found either remiss in his calling or asleep at his post. If the one lived for his country, the other lived for his Church. It was the property of both that if they could not tolerate negligence or unpunctuality in others,—it was only because they could not bear them in themselves. With both, discipline was paramount as a cardinal virtue. Their orderly book was always in their hands. A rigid adherence to duty and policy was the uniform they wore, and it was never threadbare; and if in a facile age, made up of materials much more pliable and plastic than those of which they were composed, this suggested the idea of a vein of iron pervading the life, and giving it tone and consistency,—such a character, be it remembered, was not gained either at the expense of the heart or the head. At all events we can say of the champion of the Church that the iron which gave consistency to his character had not been permitted to enter his soul. The strong man could become a child when the season required it. But it was only for a moment. The loss of children and of friends might distress him for a season,

but could not distract him, and if the symbols of bereavement must needs be worn, he wears them only as the General wears them, rather as the appendage of his uniform, that as a part of his dress. In all—firmness, consistency, vigor, uprightness, are the chief features of a character which shows much that is marked, and at no time were these qualities more in request than when at the beginning of the year 1843, another Waterloo was fast approaching. In saying so, however, we must not be held as approving in every point of the policy pursued by the moderate party, or of all their tactics in the previous war. To these, exceptions have been taken in some of their details, while historic justice requires the acknowledgment that it was not *their* policy on the great question at issue—on the admission of ministers—which, coming at last to its triumph, was embodied in the statute book, and is now the law of the land. This was reserved for others, who, rallying round the standard which was raised in the form of a third set of resolutions in the Assembly '39, asserted the "suitableness" of the presentee as a constitutional element in his induction, and is now the distinguishing trait in Lord Aberdeen's Act. But be that as it may, there was no one we believe beyond the camp of the enemy who took exception to the elevation of Principal Macfarlan to the Moderator's chair. No doubt it was for the second time, and was almost without precedent, but if the crisis required one more than usually gifted, it also required one more than usually tried. His consistency and candour, his charitable construction of others while he sought no return for himself, had eminently qualified him for a difficult duty at a critical time, and if the eyes of many who seceded were raised to Dr Welsh,—when, after sermon as the old moderator, he rose in St Andrew's Church, and having read a protest in the name of all who adhered to him, laid it on the table, bowed towards the throne, and withdrew, accompanied by the members who were prepared to follow him—the eyes of others were not less fixed upon him, who but a few minutes afterwards occupied his place. It formed an epoch in the history of the Church as unlike any thing that preceded it, as we trust it is to be followed by nothing that resembles it. It was enough for one generation to see, and for another to study. Like other great events, it will not bear repetition, and if the Church survived it, losing none of her dignity while she lost some of her strength, cast down but not destroyed, reviled and maligned, and yet committing herself to Him that judgeth righteously, assailed by the reproaches of those who left her, and yet lifting up no voice of recrimination to impede their movements or to stay their steps, it must under the blessing of Providence be mainly ascribed to the character of him who at that critical moment was called to preside. In that eventful Assembly the calmness of the moderator's demeanour was not less remarkable than the serenity of his temper. As there was nothing to agitate him, nothing could ruffle him. His familiarity with Church proceedings in all its forms, his well known attachment to the Church of his fathers, above all the marked consistency of his public life, combined with his large discretion, imparted the same confidence to others which we

cannot doubt he felt in himself. From first to last he was looked up to by an admiring Assembly, and it will be conceded on all hands, that if, even in the admission of his opponents he bore himself well on the occasion, candidly and yet consistently, not harsh to other interests while defending his own, he was not less admired by his friends, who in the review of that moderatorship, long after its close, were wont to speak of him as the "pilot that weathered the storm."

It were wrong in us, however, to close this sketch, however hasty and imperfect, without recording the fact, that the public services of the venerable Principal in the Church were not confined to the arena of controversy, or the warfare of debate. Not unfrequently it had been asserted that whatever of good there was in the Church—of eminence and worth, or of energy and zeal—it was all to be found among the ranks of those who had assumed the title of "evangelical." The monopolists of every thing that was fair and lovely and of good report, they took it for granted that they held these by a patent of divine right, to which no one might aspire, and what they thus took for granted, they, by no uncommon transition, held to be proved. And yet how unfounded these claims were,—the slightest retrospect of the history of the Church, even in the present century, will serve to demonstrate. When tried, for example, by the test of the various schemes of Christian benevolence, for the growth and prosperity of which the Church has so much reason to be thankful—and no test could be a fairer one—the claim of party pre-eminence will be found to be altogether unfounded. To whom do we owe the Education Scheme but to Principal Baird—a scheme which in every part of Scotland, and more especially in the Highlands and Islands, has perpetuated his name as one of the most indefatigable and patriotic benefactors of his country and church? Who was the founder of the Indian Mission but Dr Inglis?—a man whom Dr Duff has well described as of "lofty and commanding intellect, who seldom failed to carry conviction by the marvellous ease wherewith he disembarassed the most mazy theme of its intricacies, not less than by the transparent clearness of his statements, and the argumentative force of his reasonings,—a man whose sagacity, acuteness, and comprehensive business habits were universally acknowledged to be unrivalled,—a man whose personal honour and high moral integrity were held to be so unimpeached and unimpeachable, that in almost all difficult cases of church policy, he was consulted with like freedom and confidence by opponents as by friends,—a man, finally, whose unobtrusive but ripening piety threw a halo of mellowed lustre over his latter days, irradiated his passage through the dark valley, and ceased not to brighten onwards till eclipsed by the more glorious sunshine of Jehovah's presence." These instances were enough to disprove the claims which nothing but a blind party zeal would have ventured to advance. And yet we have another at hand in the establishment of the Colonial Scheme, and in the person of Principal Macfarlan. In the year 1836 this Scheme arose, and now in 1857 its existence is known and its usefulness felt in the most distant regions of the earth. Its object is a simple one; and if its success be measured

by the amount of zeal, and prudence, and labour expended in its management, it cannot be pronounced either small or insignificant. The comprehensiveness of its plan,—embracing, as it does, Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Cape Breton, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, Ceylon, Jamaica, St Vincent, Antigua, Guiana, Madeira, Gibraltar, &c., &c.,—involving necessarily an amount of correspondence full of interest, and often burdened with questions of deepest import to the cause of Presbyterianism in the colonies,—is scarcely to be appreciated except by those who have taken a share in its business. Of this the Annual Report to the General Assembly furnishes no adequate indication, glancing merely, as it does, at the leading topics which, during the current year have occupied attention without descending to the details which form the burden of the work. But its importance, after all, is not to be estimated by the bulk of its letter bag. Its interest lies in the sphere of its action. When the emigrant ship comes into play with its dense equipment, the floating ark of a new world, in which so many souls are to be cooped up, and so many tears shed,—what a melancholy interest it has gathered around it! Whether moored in the sea-port town in the midst of the busy crowd, or anchored in the lonely lake, where it is hovering for a little an unusual visitant, with folded wings so soon again to be expanded—it is well fitted to arrest every eye. There is the smothered grief of the strong man, and the head of the aged bowed down in sorrow. There are weeping relatives and mourning friends, sorrowing most of all that they shall see their face and hear their voice no more. There is the brother parting from the sister, or the son from the parent, or the children of a race from their aged sire, left with others as old as himself, like the last few faded leaves of autumn lingering and fluttering on the tree. All is agony or commotion, closed at length with the last long pressure of the hand—the long last adieu drowned in the busy hum of commerce, or prolonged in the echoes of their native hills. On an occasion like this, to be in any degree instrumental—by a Christian address, or by a seasonable prayer, or by the gift of a Bible—in cheering the hearts of the good, or in arresting the attention of the careless and the indifferent, on the eve of their departure, cannot be pronounced a useless expenditure of either money or time. And far less can the philanthrophy be condemned which follows them over the wide waste of waters, and which, if it cannot, in the remote wilderness, mitigate the toils and hardships of their lot, would help to build them a church, and to send them a pastor, that they may not forget the God of their fathers, or the things which concern their peace. In this high walk of benevolence, Principal Macfarlan, the founder of the Colonial Scheme, was long permitted to expatiate. Continuing still its convener even when the infirmities of age were beginning to be felt, he never ceased to watch over it with parental solicitude. It was the one subject which brought him to Edinburgh to the General Assembly, when, for several years previous to his death, he had ceased to be a member; and many as were the occasions on which he received the thanks of

the Church for the uniform ability, and wisdom, and zeal with which his high office was discharged, he reaped a reward more pleasing still in the manifold blessings of those who were "separated from their brethren." His work of faith and labour of love will never be forgotten in the Colonies. In regions the most remote—in the solitudes of distant forests—and by the banks of many a foreign river, his name goes down to posterity interwoven with the best feelings and the highest hopes of his expatriated countrymen; and though it is not written on the log-house where, in the depths of the woods, the groups of Scotchmen are seen to meet on a Sabbath-day,—or inscribed on the church which, rising more rapidly than the population which crowds its courts, has its home-like spire pointing upwards to heaven, it has found a place in the hearts of thousands who, through his instrumentality, have now a church to enter, or minister to hear, or a Bible to read. Less than this cannot be said of the venerable founder and convener of the Colonial Scheme. And if we do not add more, it is only because we know that his faithful services have not been undervalued at home,—while we cannot help thinking that when the intelligence of his death is circulated abroad, the cry will be heard on many a distant shore, as when a prophet has fallen, or a public benefactor been removed—"My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

And now the venerable Principal has been gathered to his fathers. At the age of 87, and in the 67th year of his ministry, full of honours as of years, he has descended to the grave. His faculties remained unimpaired to the last—his lucid judgment, and his retentive memory. And if nothing of the past had escaped him, he had not been unmindful of the future. In the anticipation of his death, he was enabled to resign himself without a murmur into the hands of his Saviour and his God. His Christian resignation shone conspicuous throughout his closing scene. His sky was serene when, after a lengthened day, the descending sun released him from his work, and we hail it as the pledge of a better morning that is yet to dawn—the resurrection morn—the day-spring of glory, and honour, and immortality.

LIVINGSTONE'S MISSIONARY TRAVELS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Until a comparatively recent period, no small part of this vast continent was almost unexplored by and unknown to Europeans. Its northern and eastern regions had been the seats of flourishing empires, and the locality of wonderful events in ancient times. At a far remote period, science and literature were there cultivated, while Carthage, worsted only after a protracted struggle, for a time disputed with Rome ascendancy over the world. Still later, many bishops of the early church exhibited in northern Africa apostolic virtues and a

primitive simplicity of manners; not a little of martyr-blood had dyed its sands, and flourishing Christian communities long defied the violence of persecution. Within its northern confines, Tertullian wrote his vindication of the worshippers of the Divine Being, appealing to the holy practice and unshaken loyalty of those who bore Christ's name, in contradiction to the slanders heaped on them by enemies; and Cyprian, after a life of active indefatigable exertion, submitted meekly to the executioner's sword. In the dawn of historic narrative, Egypt appears, as Herodotus describes it, "a land of wonders, and excelling others in mighty works;" exhibiting still in proof of this her stupendous monuments, showing traces of civilization anterior to that of any people we read of,—a great and flourishing kingdom, ruled by proud and sagacious, if arbitrary, monarchs, while Arabia and Syria were tenanted only by wandering tribes, and Abraham and his descendants dwelt in tents. In other regions, however, of Africa, the roving tribes of the desert were not long since almost wholly undisturbed by the approach of strangers.

Yet the cause of African discovery has been far from wanting fascination in the minds of not a few adventurous spirits, evincing how strong is the propensity to grasp at information regarding what is not generally known. From Mungo Park—whose travels formed one of the fascinating books of our boyhood, nearly occupying the same place in our regard with the maritime researches of Cook—downwards, at what a risk and loss of valuable lives has that path of discovery been trodden! Burckhardt, Laing, Clapperton, Lander, and others, are names entitled to peculiar honour in the annals of geographical science, though if we except Park and Lander, their toils were of comparatively little use in augmenting the small amount of information previously possessed. In connection with southern Africa, however, Campbell and Moffat have contributed much alike to our amusement and instruction, though the former was one of the most prosaic of mortals, and the ponderous insipidity of his style reminds us of the creaking of his own laden waggons over the sand. But Moffat's son-in-law, Dr Livingstone, has done more than any other man to give us a further acquaintance with a large section of Africa, previously unvisited by any European. His researches have added very largely to fill up blanks, and to give us correct notions respecting no small portion of what was previously a *terra incognita;* affording another illustration of the fact that wherever commercial enterprise, and the thirst for gold have not attracted, in regions where industry and toil have had to contend against a stony desert and a burning sun, where human beings, in rudeness and stupidity, seem to possess and care for little more than merely animal existence,—Christian enterprise has led the missionary, in the face of want and danger, to seek peaceful conquests in a field to which nothing of romantic interest attaches, striving to lead, if only a few benighted outcasts, to seek after an immortal inheritance, with a success which exhibits religion as the true pioneer of civilization, the foe of war, and the enemy of impurity.

As regards Dr Livingstone, he is universally allowed to occupy, per-

laps the highest place among those who in long and arduous tours of exploration, have revealed the existence of productive countries, illustrating their physical features, discovering mountains, lakes, and rivers previously unknown, and forwarding from various points, during a remote and hazardous pilgrimage, information of the highest value to the ethnologist, the geographer, and the natural historian. Some sixteen years ago he left this country well nigh unknown, as a medical missionary, to prosecute the work of civilization in south Africa, and on returning for a short season to this country, he has received merited approbation from the best qualified judges, as the first explorer of a large portion of the African intertropical zone. For what literary deficiencies his work may be marked by, Dr Livingstone offers what we consider an unnecessary apology, as it is throughout characterised by the manliness and straightforward honesty of the writer, is full of deeply interesting particulars, and is sure to have that wide circulation which it merits. He has no reason whatever to be ashamed of the unostentatious manner in which he unfolds his actual experiences,—how he went forward confidingly amongst aborigines, of whom many travellers would have entertained by no means favourable suppositions, how he lived not seldom on roots, locusts, and frogs, with only rain or river water to quench his thirst, how he sounded lakes, made his way through jungles, and floated on streams previously unknown, gazed with delighted and curious eye upon extensive districts teeming with vegetable, animal, and mineral wonders, associating with him on his expeditions, by the strong tie of personal attachment, those who could be his sole aids and companions. The portrait prefixed to the volume gives us a good idea of the character of the man, a hardy unpampered Northern, with not a superfluous ounce of flesh upon his bones, determined, self-reliant, ready to lodge in any portion of the wilderness he traverses, and by no means discomposed on the occurrence of adventures, or at the existence of difficulties of an anomalous description.

Before, however, giving any samples of these African discoveries and adventures, we shall let the author recite what he has to tell us of his parentage and early training. Our readers will agree with us in thinking that the origin of the man was by no means out of unison with his subsequent career:—

"My own inclination would lead me to say as little as possible about myself; but several friends, in whose judgment I have confidence, have suggested that, as the reader likes to know something about the author, a short account of his origin and early life would lend additional interest to this book. Such is my excuse for the following egotism; and, if an apology be necessary for giving a genealogy, I find it in the fact that it is not very long, and contains only one incident of which I have reason to be proud.

"Our great-grandfather fell at the battle of Culloden, fighting for the old line of kings; and our grandfather was a small farmer in Ulva, where my father was born. It is one of that cluster of the Hebrides thus alluded to by Walter Scott:—

> "And Ulva dark, and Colonsay,
> And all the group of islets gay
> That guard famed Staffa round."

"Our grandfather was intimately acquainted with all the traditionary legends which that great writer has since made use of in the 'Tales of a Grandfather' and other works. As a boy I remember listening to him with delight, for his memory was stored with a never-ending stock of stories, many of which were wonderfully like those I have since heard while sitting by the African evening fires. Our grandmother, too, used to sing Gaelic songs, some of which, as she believed, had been composed by captive islanders languishing hopelessly among the Turks.

"Grandfather could give particulars of the lives of his ancestors for six generations of the family before him; and the only point of the tradition I feel proud of is this. One of these poor hardy islanders was renowned in the district for great wisdom and prudence; and it is related that, when he was on his deathbed, he called all his children around him and said, 'Now in my lifetime, I have searched most carefully through all the traditions I could find of our family, and I never could discover that there was a dishonest man among our forefathers. If therefore, any of you or any of your children should take to dishonest ways, it will not be because it runs in our blood; it does not belong to you. I leave this precept with you: Be honest.' If therefore, in the following pages I fall into any errors, I hope they will be dealt with as honest mistakes, and not as indicating that I have forgotten our ancient motto. This event took place at a time when the Highlanders, according to Macaulay, were much like the Cape Caffres, and any one, it was said, could escape punishment for cattle-stealing by presenting a share of the plunder to his chieftain. Our ancestors were Roman Catholics; they were made Protestants by the laird coming round with a man having a yellow staff, which would seem to have attracted more attention than his teaching, for the new religion went long afterwards, perhaps it does so still, by the name of 'the religion of the yellow stick.'

"Finding his farm in Ulva insufficient to support a numerous family, my grandfather removed to Blantyre Works, a large cotton manufactory on the beautiful Clyde, above Glasgow; and his sons, having had the best education the Hebrides afforded, were gladly received as clerks by the proprietors, Monteith and Co. He himself highly esteemed for his unflinching honesty, was employed in the conveyance of large sums of money from Glasgow to the works, and in old age was, according to the custom of that company, pensioned off, so as to spend his declining years in ease and comfort.

"Our uncles all entered His Majesty's service during the last French war, either as soldiers or sailors; but my father remained at home, and, though too conscientious ever to become rich as a small tea-dealer, by his kindliness of manner and winning ways he made the heartstrings of his children twine around him as firmly as if he had possessed, and could have bestowed upon them, every worldly advantage. He reared his children in connection with the Kirk of Scotland—a religious establishment which has been an incalculable blessing to that country—but he afterwards left it, and during the last twenty years of his life, held the office of deacon of an independent church in Hamilton, and deserved my lasting gratitude and homage for presenting me from infancy with a continuously consistent pious example, such as that the ideal of which is so beautifully and truthfully pourtrayed in Burns' 'Cottar's Saturday Night.' He died in February, 1856, in peaceful hope of that mercy which we all expect through the death of our Lord and Saviour: I was at the time on my way below Zumbo, expecting no greater pleasure in this country than sitting by our cottage fire and telling him my travels. I revere his memory.

"The earliest recollections of my mother recalls a picture so often seen among the Scottish poor—that of the anxious housewife striving to make both ends meet. At the age of ten I was put into the factory as a 'piecer,'

to aid by my earnings in lessening her anxiety. With a part of my first week's wages I purchased Ruddiman's 'Rudiments of Latin,' and pursued the study of that language for many years afterwards, with unabated ardour, at an evening school, which met between the hours of eight and ten. The dictionary part of my labours was followed up till twelve o'clock, or later, if my mother did not interfere by jumping up and snatching the books out of my hands. I had to be back in the factory by six in the morning, and continue my work, with intervals for breakfast and dinner, till eight o'clock at night. I read in this way many of the classical authors, and knew Virgil and Horace better at sixteen than I do now. Our schoolmaster—happily still alive—was supported in part by the company; he was attentive and kind, and so moderate in his charges that all who wished for education might have obtained it. Many availed themselves of the privilege; and some of my school-fellows now rank in positions far above what they appeared ever likely to come to when in the village school. If such a system were established in England, it would prove a never-ending blessing to the poor.

"In reading, everything that I could lay my hands on was devoured except novels. Scientific works and books of travels were my especial delight; though my father, believing, with many of his time who ought to have known better, that the former were inimical to religion, would have preferred to have seen me poring over the 'Cloud of Witnesses,' or Boston's 'Fourfold State.' Our difference of opinion reached the point of open rebellion on my part, and his last application of the rod was on my refusal to peruse Wilberforce's 'Practical Christianity.' This dislike to dry doctrinal reading, and to religious reading of every sort, continued for years afterwards; but having lighted on those admirable works of Dr Thomas Dick, 'The Philosophy of Religion,' and 'The Philosophy of a Future State,' it was gratifying to find my own ideas, that religion and science are not hostile, but friendly to each other, fully proved and enforced.

"Great pains had been taken by my parents to instil the doctrines of of Christianity into my mind, and I had no difficulty in understanding the theory of our free salvation by the atonement of our Saviour, but it was only about this time that I really began to feel the necessity and value of a personal application of the provisions of that atonement to my own case. The change was like what may be supposed would take place were it possible to cure a case of 'colour blindness.' The perfect freeness with which the pardon of all our guilt is offered in God's book drew forth feelings of affectionate love to Him who bought us with his blood, and a sense of deep obligation to Him for his mercy has influenced, in some small measure, my conduct ever since. But I shall not again refer to the inner spiritual life which I believe then began, nor do I intend to specify with any prominence the evangelistic labours to which the love of Christ has since impelled me: this book will speak not so much of what has been done, as of what still remains to be performed before the gospel can be said to be preached to all nations.

"In the glow of love which Christianity inspires, I soon resolved to devote my life to the alleviation of human misery. Turning this idea over in my mind, I felt that to be a pioneer of Christianity in China might lead to the material benefit of some portions of that immense empire; and therefore set myself to obtain a medical education, in order to be qualified for that enterprise.

"In recognising the plants pointed out in my first medical book, that extraordinary old work on astrological medicine, Culpeper's 'Herbal,' I had the guidance of a book on the plants of Lanarkshire, by Patrick. Limited as my time was, I found time to scour the whole country-side, 'collecting

simples.' Deep and anxious were my studies on the still deeper and more perplexing profundities of astrology, and I believe I got as far into that abyss of fantasies as my author said he dared to lead me. It seemed perilous ground to tread on farther, for the dark hint seemed to my youthful mind to loom towards 'selling soul and body to the devil,' as the price of the unfathomable knowledge of the stars. These excursions, often in company with brothers, one now in Canada, and the other a clergyman in the United States, gratified my intense love of nature; and though we generally returned so unmercifully hungry and fatigued that the embryo parson shed tears, yet we discovered so many to us new and interesting things, that he was always as eager to join us next time as he was the last.

"On one of those exploring tours we entered a limestone quarry—long before geology was so popular as it is now. It is impossible to describe the delight and wonder with which I began to collect the shells found in the carboniferous limestone which crops out in High Blantyre and Cambuslang. A quarryman, seeing a little boy so engaged, looked with that pitying eye which the benevolent assume when viewing the insane. Addressing him with, 'How ever did these shells come into these rocks?' 'When God made the rocks, he made the shells in them,' was the damping reply. What a deal of trouble geologists might have saved themselves by adopting the Turk-like philosophy of this Scotchman!

"My reading while at work was carried on by placing the book on a portion of the spinning jenny, so that I could catch sentence after sentence as I passed at my work; I thus kept up a pretty constant study undisturbed by the roar of the machinery. To this part of my education I owe my present power of completely abstracting the mind from surrounding noises, so as to read and write with perfect comfort amidst the play of children or near the dancing and songs of savages. The toil of cotton-spinning, to which I was promoted in my nineteenth year, was excessively severe on a slim loose-jointed lad, but it was well paid for; and it enabled me to support myself while attending medical and Greek classes in Glasgow in winter, as also the divinity lectures of Dr Wardlaw, by working with my hands in summer. I never received a farthing of aid from any one, and should have accomplished my project of going to China as a medical missionary in the course of time by my own efforts, had not some friends advised my joining the London Missionary Society on account of its perfectly unsectarian character. It 'sends neither episcopacy, nor presbyterianism, nor independency, but the gospel of Christ to the heathen.' This exactly agreed with my ideas of what a Missionary Society ought to do; but it was not without a pang that I offered myself, for it was not quite agreeable to one accustomed to work his own way to become in a measure dependent on others. And I would not have been much put about, though my offer had been rejected.

"Looking back now on that life of toil, I cannot but feel thankful that it formed such a material part of my early education; and, were it possible, I should like to begin life over again in the same lowly style, and to pass through the same hardy training.

"Time and travel have not effaced the feelings of respect I imbibed for the humble inhabitants of my native village. For morality, honesty, and intelligence, they were in general good specimens of the Scottish poor. In a population of more than two thousand souls we had, of course, a variety of character. In addition to the common run of men, there were some characters of sterling worth and ability, who exerted a most beneficial influence on the children and youth of the place by imparting gratuitous religious instruction. Much intelligent interest was felt by the villagers in all public questions, and they furnished a proof that the possession of the

means of education did not render them an unsafe portion of the population. They felt kindly towards each other, and much respected those of the neighbouring gentry who, like the late Lord Douglas, placed some confidence in their sense of honour. Through the kindness of that nobleman, the poorest among us could stroll at pleasure through the ancient domains of Bothwell, and other spots hallowed by the venerable associations of which our school-books and local traditions made us well aware; and few of us could view the dear memorials of the past without feeling that these carefully kept monuments were our own. The masses of the working people of Scotland have read history, and are no revolutionary levellers. They rejoice in the memories of 'Wallace and Bruce and a' the lave,' who are still much revered as the former champions of freedom. And while foreigners imagine that we want the spirit only to overturn capitalists and aristocracy, we are content to respect our laws till we can change them, and hate those stupid revolutions which might sweep away time-honoured institutions, dear alike to rich and poor.

"Having finished the medical curriculum and presented a thesis on a subject which required the use of the stethescope for its diagnosis, I unwittingly procured for myself an examination rather more severe and prolonged than usual among examining bodies. The reason was, that between me and the examiners a slight difference of opinion existed as to whether this instrument could do what was asserted. The wiser plan would have been to have had no opinion of my own. However, I was admitted a Licentiate of Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. It was with unfeigned delight I became a member of a profession which is pre-eminently devoted to practical benevolence, and which with unwearied energy pursues from age to age its endeavours to lessen human woe.

"But though now qualified for my original plan, the opium war was then raging, and it was deemed inexpedient for me to proceed to China. I had fondly hoped to have gained access to that then closed empire by means of the healing art; but there being no prospect of an early peace with the Chinese, and as another inviting field was opening out through the labours of Mr Moffat, I was induced to turn my thoughts to Africa; and after a more extended course of theological training in England than I had enjoyed in Glasgow, I embarked for Africa in 1840, and after a voyage of three months, reached Cape Town. Spending but a short time there, I started for the interior by going round to Algoa Bay, and soon proceeded inland, and have spent the following sixteen years of my life, namely, from 1840 to 1856, in medical and missionary labours there without cost to the inhabitants."

For those who like to read of strange adventures and to observe how perseverance and good sense may "win the day," Dr Livingstone has provided an ample feast. We may preface the following extract by remarking that our author first of all, in pursuance of the instructions given him by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, made his way to Kuruman, the missionary station in the Bechuana country which has been the scene of Moffat's labours. To acquire familiarity with the language of this wide-spread tribe, Livingstone sat for hours together in their huts, then moreover, as throughout his journeyings, winning confidence and affection by the timely and useful exercise of his medical and surgical skill. For six months, he cut himself off from all European society, gaining by means of that ordeal what he found afterwards an almost invaluable insight into the habits,

laws, and language of that section of the Bechuana tribe to which the name of Bakwains has been given.

He now thought of making preparations for a settlement by forming a canal to irrigate gardens from a stream which then flowed with sufficient copiousness for that purpose, but which has since become quite dry. In the course of an exploratory journey at this period, Livingstone was unconsciously at the distance of but ten days march from Lake Ngami. The beautiful valley of Mabotsa, he now chose as the site of a mission station, and here our author met with the following extraordinary adventure:—

"The Bakátla of the village Mabotsa were much troubled by lions, which leaped into the cattle-pens by night, and destroyed their cows. They even attacked the herds in open day. This was so unusual an occurrence that the people believed that they were bewitched—'given,' as they said, 'into the power of the lions by a neighbouring tribe.' They went once to attack the animals, but, being rather a cowardly people compared to Bechuanas in general on such occasions, they returned without killing any.

"It is well known that if one in a troop of lions is killed the others take the hint and leave that part of the country. So the next time the herds were attacked, I went with the people, in order to encourage them to rid themselves of the annoyance by destorying one of the marauders. We found the lions on a small hill about quarter of a mile in length, and covered with trees. A circle of men was formed round it, and they gradually closed up, ascending pretty near to each other. Being down below on the plain with a native schoolmaster, named Mebálwe, a most excellent man, I saw one of the lions sitting on a piece of rock within the now closed circle of men. Mebálwe fired at him before I could, and the ball struck the rock on which the animal was sitting. He bit at the spot struck, as a dog does at a stick or stone thrown at him; then leaping away, broke through the opening circle and escaped unhurt. The men were afraid to attack him, perhaps on account of their belief in witchcraft. When the circle was re-formed, we saw two other lions in it; but we were afraid to fire lest we should strike the men, and they allowed the beasts to burst through also. If the Bakatla had acted according to the custom of the country, they would have speared the lions in their attempt to get out. Seeing we could not get them to kill one of the lions, we bent our footsteps toward the village; in going round the end of the hill, however, I saw one of the beasts sitting on a piece of rock as before, but this time he had a little bush in front. Being about thirty yards off, I took a good aim at his body through the bush, and fired both barrels into it. The men then called out, 'He is shot, he is shot!' Others cried 'He has been shot by another man too; let us go to him.' I did not see any one else shoot at him, but I saw the lion's tail erected in anger behind the bush, and, turning to the people, said, 'Stop a little till I load again.' When in the act of ramming down the bullets I heard a shout. Starting, and looking half round, I saw the lion just in the act of springing upon me. I was upon a little height; he caught my shoulder as he sprang, and we both came to the ground below together. Growling horribly close to my ear, he shook me as a terrier dog does a rat. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first shake of the cat. It caused a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain nor feeling of terror, though quite conscious of all that was happening. It was like what patients partially under the influence of chloroform describe, who see all the operation, but feel not the knife. This singular condition was not the result of any mental process. The shake

annihilated fear, and allowed no sense of horror in looking round at the beast. This peculiar state is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora; and if so, is a merciful provision by our benevolent Creator for lessening the pain of death. Turning round to relieve myself of the weight, as he had one paw on the back of my head, I saw his eyes directed to Mebalwe, who was trying to shoot him at a distance of ten or fifteen yards. His gun, a flint one, missed fire in both barrels; the lion immediately left me, and, attacking Mebalwe, bit his thigh. Another man, whose life I had saved before, after he had been tossed by a buffalo, attempted to spear the lion while he was biting Mebalwe. He left Mebalwe and caught this man by the shoulder, but at that moment the bullets he had received took effect, and he fell down dead. The whole was the work of a few moments, and must have been his paroxysm of dying rage. In order to take out the charm from him, the Bakatla on the following day made a huge bonfire over the carcase, which was declared to be that of the largest lion they had ever seen. Besides crunching the bone into splinters, he left eleven teeth wounds on the upper part of my arm.

"A wound from this animal's teeth resembles a gun-shot wound; it is generally followed by a great deal of sloughing and discharge, and pains are felt in the part periodically ever afterwards. I had on a tartan jacket on the occasion, and I believe that it wiped off all the virus from the teeth that pierced the flesh, for my two companions in this affray have both suffered from the peculiar pains, while I have escaped with only the inconvenience of a false joint in my limb. The man whose shoulder was wounded showed me his wound actually burst forth afresh on the same month of the following year. This curious point deserves the attention of inquirers."

Lions indeed, and almost every species of wild animal, Dr Livingstone has been almost as familiar with, as even Mr Gordon Cumming.

"When a lion grows too old to catch game, he frequently takes to killing goats in the villages; a woman or child happening to go out at night falls a prey too; and as this is his only source of subsistence now, he continues it. From this circumstance has arisen the idea that the lion, when he has once tasted human flesh, loves it better than any other. A man-eater is invariably an old lion; and when he overcomes his fear of man so far as to come to villages for goats, the people remark, 'His teeth are worn, he will soon kill men.' They at once acknowledge the necessity of instant action, and turn out to kill him. When living far away from population, or when, as is the case in some parts, he entertains a wholesome dread of the Bushmen and Bakalahari, as soon as either disease or old age overtakes him, he begins to catch mice and other small rodents, and even to eat grass; the natives observing undigested vegetable matter in his droppings, follow up his trail in the certainty of finding him scarcely able to move under some tree, and despatch him without difficulty. The grass may have been eaten as medicine, as is observed in dogs.

"That the fear of man often remains excessively strong in the carnivora is proved from well-authenticated cases in which the lioness, in the vicinity of towns where the large game had been unexpectedly driven away by firearms, has been known to assuage the paroxysm of hunger by devouring her young. It must be added, that, though the effluvium which is left by the footsteps of man is in general sufficient to induce lions to avoid a village, there are exceptions; and so many came about our half-deserted houses at Chonuane while we were in the act of removing to Kolobeng, that the natives who remained with Mrs. Livingstone were terrfied to stir out-of-doors in the evenings. Bitches also have been known to be guilty of the horridly

unnatural act of eating their own young, probably from the great desire for animal food, which is experienced by the inhabitants as well.

"When a lion is met in the daytime, a circumstance by no means unfrequent to travellers in these parts, if preconceived notions do not lead them to expect something very 'noble,' or 'majestic,' they will see merely an animal somewhat larger than the biggest dog they ever saw, and partaking very strongly of the canine features; the face is not much like the usual drawings of a lion, the nose being prolonged like a dog's; not exactly such as our painters make it, though they might learn better at the Zoological Gardens; their ideas of majesty being usually shown by making their lion's faces like old women in nightcaps. When encountered in the daytime, the lion stands a second or two gazing, then turns slowly round, and walks as slowly away for a dozen paces, looking over his shoulder; then begins to trot, and, when he thinks himself out of sight, bounds off like a greyhound. By day there is not, as a rule, the smallest danger of lions which are not molested attacking man, nor even on a clear moonlight night, except when they possess the breeding στοργή (natural affection); this makes them brave almost any danger; and if a man happens to cross to the windward of them, both lion and lioness will rush at him, in the manner of a bitch with whelps. This does not often happen, as I only became aware of two or three instances of it. In one case a man passing where the wind blew from him to the animals, was bitten before he could climb a tree; and occasionally a man on horseback has been caught by the leg under the same circumstances. So general, however, is the sense of security on moonlight nights that we seldom tied up our oxen, but let them lie loose by the waggons; while on a dark rainy night, if a lion is in the neighbourhoud, he is almost sure to venture to kill an ox. His approach is always stealthy, except when wounded; and any appearance of a trap is enough to cause him to refrain from making the last spring. This seems characteristic of the feline species; when a goat is picketed in India for the purpose of enabling the huntsman to shoot a tiger by night, if on a plain, he could whip off the animal so quickly by a stroke of the paw that no one could take aim; to obviate this, a small pit is dug, and the goat is picketed to a stake in the bottom; a small stone is tied in the ear of the goat, which makes him cry the whole night. When a tiger sees the appearance of a trap, he walks round and round the pit, and allows the hunter, who is lying in wait, to have a fair shot.

"When a lion is very hungry, and lying in wait, the sight of an animal may make him commence stalking it. In one case a man, while stealthily crawling towards a rhinoceros, happened to glance behind him, and found to his horror a lion *stalking him;* he only escaped by springing up a tree like a cat. At Lopepe a lioness sprang on the after quarter of Mr Oswell's horse, and when we came up to him we found the marks of the claws on the horse, and a scratch on Mr O's hand. The horse on feeling the lion on him sprang away, and the rider, caught by a wait-a-bit thorn, was brought to the ground and rendered insensible. His dogs saved him. Another English gentleman (Captain Codrington) was surprised in the same way, though not hunting the lion at the time, but turning round he shot him dead in the neck. By accident a horse belonging to Codrington ran away, but was stopped by the bridle catching a stump; there he remained a prisoner two days, and when found the whole space around was marked by the footprints of lions. They had evidently been afraid to attack the haltered horse from fear that it was a trap. Two lions came up by night to within three yards of oxen tied to a waggon, and a sheep tied to a tree, and stood roaring but afraid to make a spring. On another occasion one of our party was lying sound asleep and unconcious of danger between two natives behind a bush at Mashue; the fire was nearly out at their feet in consequence of all being completely tired out by the

fatigues of the previous day; a lion came up to within three yards of the fire, and there commenced roaring instead of making a spring; the fact of their riding-ox being tied to the bush was the only reason the lion had for not following his instinct, and not making a meal of flesh. He then stood on a knoll three hundred yards distant, and roared all night; and continued his growling as the party moved off by daylight next morning.

"Nothing that I ever learned of the lion would lead me to attribute to it either the ferocious or noble character ascribed to it elsewhere. It possesses none of the nobility of the Newfoundland or St Bernard dogs. With respect to its great strength there can be no doubt. The immense masses of muscle around its jaws, shoulders, and forearms, proclaim tremendous force. They would seem, however, to be inferior in power to those of the Indian tiger. Most of those feats of strength that I have seen performed by lions, such as the taking away of an ox, were not carrying but dragging or trailing the carcase along the ground: they have sprung on some occasions on to the hind-quarters of a horse, but no one has ever seen them on the withers of a giraffe. They do not mount on the hind-quarters of an eland even, but try to tear him down with their claws. Messrs Oswell and Vardon once saw three lions endeavouring to drag down a buffalo, and they were unable to do so for a time, though he was then mortally wounded by a two ounce ball.

"In general the lion seizes the animal he is attacking by the hind leg, or by the throat below the jaw. It is questionable whether he ever attempts to seize an animal by the withers. The flank is the most common point of attack, and that is the part he begins to feast on first. The natives and lions are very similar in their tastes in the selection of tit-bits: an eland may be seen disembowelled by a lion, so completely, that he scarcely seems cut up at all. The bowels and fatty parts form a full meal for even the largest lion. The jackal comes sniffling about, and sometimes suffers for his temerity by a stroke from the lion's paw laying him dead. When gorged, the lion falls fast asleep and is then easily despatched. Hunting a lion with dogs involves very little danger as compared with hunting the Indian tiger; because the dogs bring him out of cover and make him stand at bay, giving the hunter plenty of time for a good deliberate shot.

"Where game is abundant, there you may expect lions in proportionately large numbers. They are never seen in herds, but six or eight, probably one family, occasionally hunt together. One is in much more danger of being run over when walking in the streets of London, than he is of being devoured by lions in Africa, unless engaged in hunting the animal. Indeed, nothing that I have seen or heard about lions would constitute a barrier in the way of men of ordinary courage and enterprise.

"The same feeling which has induced the modern painter to caricature the lion, has led the sentimentalist to consider the lion's roar the most terrific of all earthly sounds. We hear of the 'majestic roar of the king of beasts.' It is, indeed, well calculated to inspire fear if you hear it in combination with the tremendously loud thunder of that country, on a night so pitchy dark that every flash of the intensely vivid lightning leaves you with the impression of stone-blindness, while the rain pours down so fast that your fire goes out, leaving you without the protection of even a tree, or the chance of your gun going off. But when you are in a comfortable house or waggon, the case is very different, and you hear the roar of the lion without any awe or alarm. The silly ostrich makes a noise as loud, yet he never was feared by man. To talk of the majestic roar of the lion is mere majestic twaddle. On my mentioning this fact some years ago, the assertion was doubted, so I have been careful ever since to inquire the opinions of Europeans, who have heard both, if they could detect any difference between the roar of a lion and that of an ostrich; the invariable answer was—that they

could not when the animal was at any distance. The natives assert that they can detect a variation between the commencement of the noise of each. There is, it must be admitted, considerable difference between the singing noise of a lion when full and his deep gruff growl when hungry. In general the lion's voice seems to come deeper from the chest than that of the ostrich; but to this day I can distinguish between them with certainty only by knowing that the ostrich roars by day and the lion by night."

The space at our command, however, warns us that it is necessary to give our readers some notion of Dr Livingstone's general views respecting the capabilities of the regions which he explored at the cost of about thirty attacks of fever more or less severe, besides the endurance of an immense variety of privations. It is well known that the climate of the Cape Colony itself, varies from that in which thunderstorms and tornadoes are frequent, and the scorching rays of an almost vertical sun originate the mirage, to that which is salubrious and mild along the boundary of Caffre-land, and to the fruitful and well-watered plains of the Zodic country near Port Natal. The intervening region between the coast and the lofty range of mountains is salubrious and agreeable, but the remainder of the colony is dreary and barren, characterised by a sunburnt and sterile sameness:—

"A region of drought, where no river glides,
Nor rippling brook with osiered sides;
Where sedgy pool, nor bubbling fount,
Nor tree, nor cloud, nor misty mount,
Appear to refresh the sinking eye;
But barren earth, and the burning sky,
And the bleak horizon round and round
Spread void of living sight or sound."

Even the Kuruman district, however, presents evidence that the dry southern region was at no very distant date as well-watered as the rich territory south of Lake Ngami.

"Ancient river-beds and water-courses abound, and the very eyes of fountains long since dried up may be seen, in which the flow of centuries has worn these orifices from a slit to an oval form, having on their sides the tufa so abundantly deposited from these primitive waters; and just where the splashings, made when the stream fell on the rock below, may be supposed to have reached and become evaporated, the same phenomenon appears. Many of these failing fountains no longer flow, because the brink over which they ran is now too high, or because the elevation of the western side of the country lifts the land away from the water-supply below; but let a cutting be made from a lower level than the brink, and through it to a part below the surface of the water, and water flows perennially. Several of these ancient fountains have been resuscitated by the Bechuanas near Kuruman, who occasionally show their feelings of self-esteem by labouring for months at deep cuttings, which, having once begun, they feel bound in honour to persevere in, though told by a missionary that they can never force water to run up hill."

Livingstone has shown in the record of his journeyings, that the ideas previously prevalent regarding the interior of South Africa were erroneous. It is very far from being wholly a region of sterile desert

and barren sand; on the contrary a vast and very different territory has been discovered, fertile and well supplied with water, besides being capable of yielding in abundance the valued products derived from other regions similarly tropical. The inhabitants, too, of this portion of Africa are unlike other races of which we had previously acquired some knowledge. The Bushmen of South Africa are a degraded caste, who move in migratory and roving bands, who speak a great variety of dialects almost incomprehensible; and, following none of the useful arts, derive their subsistence partly from the chase, partly from the wild roots of the wilderness, and, in times of scarcity, from reptiles, grasshoppers, and the larvæ of ants, excepting when hunger and desperation urge them to make predatory attempts upon the Boors. When swarms of locusts may destroy every green herb, and the wild game are forced to flee the pastures of the wilderness, the Bushmen use the destroyers for their food, and busily gather a store for future consumption. But Dr Livingstone met in his travels with other and more hopeful races,—athletic and industrious tribes of negroes, inclined to industry, living in villages, cultivating the soil, ready for traffic, and disposed to maintain a friendly intercourse with strangers. It was different when he approached the Portuguese settlements, where the demoralising influence of the slave-trade became very apparent. The negroes of the interior showed a far superior disposition, inviting the travellers into their villages, providing them with temporary places of sojourn, and supplying food when they were unable to make any adequate return or suitable acknowledgement.

Deeply interesting as is the narrative of journeyings prosecuted in a previously unknown region, and curious as are the details recorded by our traveller regarding the "manners and customs of the nations," the questions occur, What are the capabilities of the country? Does it furnish an opening for commerce? Is there a prospect of civilisation spreading? And is there a hopeful opening for those who believe that the true religion only can co-operate with, and establish on a sure basis, the civilisation of the many tribes whose existence and manners have been developed to us through the diligence of our enterprising countryman?

Dr Livingstone's answer to these queries,—not assuredly dictated by blind enthusiasm, but the result of patient consideration, and of enlarged opportunities of observation,—is thus given:—

"With the united testimony of Captain Parker and Lieutenant Hoskins, added to my own observation, there can be no reasonable doubt but that the real mouth of the Zambesi is available for the purposes of commerce. The delta is claimed by the Portuguese, and the southern bank of the Luabo, or Cuama, as this part of the Zambesi is sometimes called, is owned by independent natives of the Caffre family. The Portuguese are thus near the main entrance to the new central region; and, as they have of late years shown, in an enlightened and liberal spirit, their desire to develop the resources of Eastern Africa by proclaiming Mozambique a free port, it is to be hoped that the same spirit will lead them to invite mercantile enterprise up the Zambesi, by offering facilities to those who may be led to push commerce into the regions lying far beyond their territory. Their wish to co-operate in the noble work

of developing the rescources of the rich country beyond, could not be shown better than by placing a village with Zambesian pilots at the harbour of Mitilone, and erecting a lighthouse for the guidance of sea-faring men. If this were done, no nation would be a greater gainer by it than the Portuguese themselves, and assuredly no other needs a resuscitation of its commerce more. Their kindness to me personally makes me wish for a return of their ancient prosperity; and the most liberal and generous act of the enlightened young king H.M. Don Pedro, in sending out orders to support my late companions at the public expense of the province of Mozambique until my return to claim them, leads me to hope for encouragement in every measure for either the development of commerce, the elevation of the natives, or abolition of the trade in slaves.

"As far as I am myself concerned, the opening of the new central country is a matter for congratulation only in so far as it opens up a prospect for the elevation of the inhabitants. As I have elsewhere remarked, I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise. I take the latter term in its most extended signification, and include every effort made for the amelioration of our race; the promotion of all those means by which God in His providence is working, and bringing all His dealings with man to a glorious consummation. Each man in his sphere, either knowingly or unwittingly, is performing the will of our Father in heaven. Men of science, searching after hidden truths, which when discovered will, like the electric telegraph, bind men more closely together—soldiers battling for the right against tyranny—sailors rescuing the victims of oppression from the grasp of heartless men-stealers—merchants teaching the nations lessons of mutual dependence—and many others, as well as missionaries, all work in the same direction, and all efforts are overruled for one glorious end.

"If the reader has accompanied me thus far, he may perhaps be disposed to take an interest in the objects I propose to myself, should God mercifully grant me the honour of doing something more for Africa. As the highlands on the borders of the central basin are comparatively healthy, the first object seems to be to secure a permanent path thither, in order that Europeans may pass as quickly as possible through the unhealthy region near the coast. The river has not been surveyed, but at the time I came down there was abundance of water for a large vessel, and this continues to be the case during four or five months of each year. The months of low-water still admit of navigation by launches, and would permit small vessels equal to the Thames steamers to ply with ease in the deep channel. If a steamer were sent to examine the Zambesi, I would recommend one of the lightest draught, and the months of May, June, and July for passing through the delta; and this not so much for fear of want of water, as the danger of being grounded on a sand or mud bank, and the health of the crew being endangered by the delay.

"In the months referred to, no obstruction would be incurred in the channel below Tete. Twenty or thirty miles above that point we have a small rapid, of which I regret my inability to speak, as (mentioned already) I did not visit it. But taking the distance below this point, we have, in round numbers, 300 miles of navigable river. Above this rapid we have another reach of 300 miles, with sand, but no mudbanks in it, which brings us to the foot of the eastern ridge. Let it not, however, be thought that a vessel by going thither would return laden with ivory and gold-dust. The Portuguese of Tete pick up all the merchandize of the tribes in their vicinity, and, though I came out by traversing the people with whom the Portuguese have been at war, it does not follow that it will be perfectly safe for others to go in whose goods may be a stronger temptation to cupidity than anything I possessed. When we get beyond the hostile population mentioned, we reach a very dif-

ferent race. On the latter my chief hopes at present rest. All of them, however, are willing and anxious to engage in trade, and, while eager for this none have ever been encouraged to cultivate the raw materials of commerce. Their country is well adapted for cotton; and I venture to entertain the hope that by distributing seeds of better kinds than that which is found indigenous, and stimulating the natives to cultivate it by affording them the certainity of a market for all they may produce, we may engender a feeling of mutual dependence between them and ourselves. I have a two-fold object in view, and believe that, by guiding our missionary labours so as to benefit our own country, we shall thereby more effectually and permanently benefit the heathen. Seven years were spent at Kolobeng in instructing my friends there; but the country being incapable of raising materials for exportation when the Boers made their murderous attack and scattered the tribe for a season, none sympathised except a few Christian friends. Had the people of Kolobeng been in the habit of raising the raw materials of English commerce, the outrage would have been felt in England; or, what is more likely to have been the case, the people would have raised themselves in the scale by barter, and have become, like the Basutos of Moshesh and people of Kuruman, possessed of fire-arms, and the Boers would never have made the attack at all. We ought to encourage the Africans to cultivate for our markets, as the most effectual means, next to the Gospel, of their elevation.

"It is in the hope of working out this idea that I propose the formation of stations on the Zambesi beyond the Portuguese territory, but having communication through them with the coast. A chain of stations admitting of easy and speedy intercourse, such as might be formed along the flank of the eastern ridge, would be in a favourable position for carrying out the objects in view. The London Missionary Society has resolved to have a station among the Makololo on the north bank, and another on the south among the Matebele. The church—Wesleyan, Baptist, and that most energetic body, the Free Church—could each find desirable locations among the Batoka and adjacent tribes. The country is so extensive there is no fear of clashing. All classes of Christains find that sectarian rancour soon dies out when they are working together among and for the real heathen. Only let the healthy locality be searched for, and fixed upon, and then there will be free scope to work in the same cause in various directions, without that loss of men which the system of missions on the unhealthy coast entails. While respectfully submitting the plan to these influential societies, I can positively state that, when fairly in the interior, there is perfect security for life and property among a people who will at least listen and reason. . . . . .

"If the reader remembers the way in which I was led, while teaching the Bakwains to commence exploration, he will, I think, recognise the hand of Providence. Anterior to that, when Mr Moffat began to give the Bible—the Magna Charta of all the rights and privileges of modern civilization—to the Bechuanas, Sebituane went north, and spread the language into which he was translating the sacred oracles, in a new region larger than France. Sebituane, at the same time, rooted out hordes of bloody savages among whom no white man could have gone, without leaving his skull to ornament some village. He opened up the way for me—let us hope also for the Bible. Then, again, while I was labouring at Kolobeng, seeing only a small arc of the cycle of Providence; I could not understand it, and felt inclined to ascribe our successive and prolonged droughts to the wicked one. But when forced by these, and the Boers, to become explorer, and open a new country in the north rather than set my face southwards, where missionaries are not needed; the gracious Spirit of God influenced the minds of the heathen to regard me with favour; the Divine hand is again perceived. Then, I turned away westwards, rather than in the opposite direction, chiefly

from observing that some native Portuguese, though influenced by the hope of a reward from their Government to cross the continent, had been obliged to return from the east without accomplishing their object. Had I gone at first in the eastern direction, which the course of the great Leeambye seemed to invite, I should have come among the belligerents near Tete, when the war was raging at its height, instead of, as it happened, when all was over. And again, when enabled to reach Loanda, the resolution to do my duty by going back to Linyanti, probably saved me from the fate of my papers in the 'Forerunner.' And then, last of all this new country is partially opened to the sympathies of Christendom, and I find that Sechele himself has, though unbidden by man, been teaching his own people. In fact, he has been doing all, that I was prevented from doing, and I have been employed in exploring —a work I had no previous intention of performing. I think, that I see the operation of the unseen hand in all this, and I humbly hope, that it will still guide me to do good in my day and generation in Africa.

"Viewing the success awarded to opening up the new country, as a development of Divine Providence in relation to the African family, the mind naturally turns to the probable influence it may have on negro slavery; and more especially on the practice of it by a large portion of our own race. We now demand increased supplies of cotton and sugar, and then reprobate the means our American brethren adopt to supply our wants. We claim a right to speak about this evil, and also to act in reference to its removal, the more especially because we are of one blood. It is on the Anglo-American race that the hopes of the world for liberty and progress rest. Now it is very grievious to find one portion of this race practising the gigantic evil, and the other aiding, by increased demands for the produce of slave-labour, in perpetuating the enormous wrong. The Mauritius, a mere speck on the ocean, yields sugar, by means of guano, improved machinery, and free labour, equal in amount to one-fourth part of the entire consumption of Great Britain. On that island, land is excessively dear, and far from rich; no crop can be raised except by means of guano, and labour has to be brought all the way from India. But in Africa the land is cheap, the soil good, and free labour is to be found on the spot. Our chief hopes rest with the natives themselves; and if the point to which I have given prominence, of healthy inland commercial stations, be realized where all the produce raised may be collected, there is little doubt but that slavery among our kinsmen across the Atlantic will, in the course of some years, cease to assume the form of a necessity to even the slaveholders themselves. Natives alone can collect produce from the more distant hamlets, and bring it to the stations contemplated. This is the system pursued so successfully in Angola. If England had possessed that strip of land, by civilly declining to enrich her 'Frontier colonists' by 'Caffre wars,' the inborn energy of English colonists would have developed its resources, and the exports would not have been £100,000 as now, but one million at least. The establishment of the necessary agency must be a work of time, and greater difficulty will be experienced on the eastern, than on the western side of the continent, because in the one region we have a people who know none but slave traders, while in the other we have tribes who have felt the influence of the coast missionaries, and of the great Niger expedition; one invaluable benefit it conferred was the dissemination of the knowledge of the English love of commerce and English hatred of slavery, and it therefore was no failure. But on the east, there is a river which may become a good pathway to a central population who are friendly to the English; and if we can conciliate the less amicable people on the river, and introduce commerce, an effectual blow will be struck at the slave-trade in that quarter. By linking the Africans there to ourselves, in the manner proposed, it is hoped that their elevation will eventually be the

result. In this hope and proposed effort, I am joined by my brother Charles, who has come from America, after seventeen years' separation, for the purpose. We expect success through the influence of that Spirit who already aided the efforts to open the country, and who has since turned the public mind towards it. A failure may be experienced by sudden rash speculation, overstocking the markets there, and raising the prices against ourselves. But I propose to spend some more years of labour, and shall be thankful if I see the system fairly begun in an open pathway which will eventually benefit both Africa and England."

Dr Livingstone holds, in common with all zealous Christians, that the spread of commerce and the introduction of civilization into Central Africa, ought to be accompanied by the introduction also of a knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. The time, however, is yet to come when the voice of praise shall rise from its fastnesses and extensive plains, and its now scattered tribes shall be pervaded by a conviction of the folly of idolatry. Mr Moffat has, after immense labour, been enabled to carry through the press, with which his station is furnished, the Bible in the Sechuana tongue, that spoken by the Bechuana tribes. He was the first to reduce their speech to a written form, a task which has occupied the leisure hours of about thirty years. This fact of the complete translation of the Scriptures at a station 700 miles inland from the Cape, suggests the question, whether it is likely to be permanently useful, and whether Christianity, as planted by modern Missions, is likely to retain its vitality without constant supplies of foreign teaching? Our author's reply to this question is as follows:—

"It would certainly be no cause for congratulation if the Bechuana Bible seemed at all likely to meet the fate of Elliot's Choctaw version, a specimen of which may be seen in the library of one of the American colleges—as God's word in a language which no living tongue can articulate, nor living mortal understand; but a better destiny seems in store for this, for the Sichuana language has been introduced into the new country beyond Lake Ngami. There it is the court language, and will take a stranger anywhere through a district larger than France. The Bechuanas, moreover, in all probability possess that imperishability which forms so remarkable a feature in the entire African race.

"When converts are made from heathenism by modern missionaries, it becomes an interesting question whether their faith possesses the elements of permanence, or is only an exotic too tender for self-propagation when the fostering care of the foreign cultivators is withdrawn. If neither habits of self-reliance are cultivated, nor opportunities given for the exercise of that virtue, the most promising converts are apt to become like spoiled children. In Madagascar a few Christians were left with nothing but the Bible in their hands; and though exposed to persecution, and even death itself, as the penalty of adherence to their profession, they increased tenfold in numbers, and are, if possible, more decided believers now than they were when, by an edict of the queen of that island, the missionaries ceased their teaching.

"In South Africa such an experiment could not be made, for such a variety of Christian sects have followed the footsteps of the London Missionary Society's successful career, that converts of one denomination, if left to their own resources, are eagerly adopted by another; and are thus more likely to become spoiled than trained to the manly Christian virtues.

"Another element of weakness in this part of the missionary field is the fact of the Missionary Societies considering the Cape Colony itself as a proper sphere for their peculiar operations. In addition to a well-organised and efficient Dutch Reformed Established Church, and school for secular instruction, maintained by Government, in every village of any extent in the colony, we have a number of other sects, as the Wesleyans, Episcopalians, Moravians, all piously labouring at the same good work. Now, it is deeply to be regretted that so much honest zeal should be so lavishly expended in a district wherein there is so little scope for success. When we hear an agent of one sect urging his friends at home to aid him quickly to occupy some unimportant nook, because, if it is not speedily laid hold of, he will 'not have room for the sole of his foot,' one cannot help longing that both he and his friends would direct their noble aspiration to the millions of untaught heathen in the regions beyond, and no longer continue to convert the extremity of the continent into, as it were, a dam of benevolence.

"I would earnestly recommend all young missionaries to go at once to the real heathen, and never to be content with what has been made ready to their hands by men of greater enterprise. The idea of making model Christians of the young need not be entertained by any one who is secretly convinced, as most men who know their own hearts are, that he is not a model Christian himself. The Israelitish slaves brought out of Egypt by Moses were not converted and elevated in one generation, though under the direct teaching of God himself. Notwithstanding the numbers of miracles he wrought, a generation had to be cut off because of unbelief. Our own elevation also has been the work of centuries, and, remembering this, we should not indulge in over wrought expectations as to the elevation, which those who have inherited the degradation of ages, may attain in our day. The principle might even be adopted by Missionary Societies, that one ordinary missionary's lifetime of teaching should be considered an ample supply of foreign teaching for any tribe in a thinly peopled country, for some never will receive the gospel at all, while in other parts, when Christianity is once planted, the work is sure to go on. A missionary is soon known to be supported by his friends at home; and though the salary is but a bare subsistence, to Africans it seems an enormous sum; and being unable to appreciate the motives by which he is actuated, they consider themselves entitled to various services at his hand, and defrauded if these are not duly rendered. This feeling is all the stronger when a young man, instead of going boldly to the real heathen, settles down in a comfortable house and garden prepared by those into whose labours he has entered. A remedy for this evil might be found in appropriating the houses and gardens raised by the missionaries' hands to their own families. It is ridiculous to call such places as Kuruman, for instance, 'Missionary Society's property.' This beautiful station was made what it is, not by English money, but by the sweat and toil of fathers whose children have, notwithstanding, no place on earth which they can call a home. The Society's operations may be transferred to the north, and then the strong-built mission premises become the home of a Boer, and the stately stone church his cattle-pen. This place has been what the monasteries of Europe are said to have been when pure. The monks did not disdain to hold the plough. They introduced fruit-trees, flowers, and vegetables, in addition to teaching and emancipating the serfs. Their monasteries were mission stations, which resembled ours in being dispensaries for the sick, almhouses for the poor, and nurseries of learning. Can we learn nothing from them in their prosperity as the schools of Europe, and see nought in their history but the pollution and laziness of their decay? Can our wise men tell us why the former mission stations (primitive monasteries) were self-supporting, rich, and flourishing as pioneers of civilization

and agriculture from which we even now reap benefits, and modern mission stations are mere pauper establishments without that permanence or ability to be self-supporting, which they possessed?

"Protestant missionaries of every denomination in South Africa all agree in one point, that no mere profession of Christianity is sufficient to entitle the converts to the Christian name. They are all anxious to place the Bible in the hands of the natives, and, with ability to read that, there can be little doubt as to the future. We believe Christianity to be divine, and equal to all it has to perform; then let the good seed be widely sown, and, no matter to what sect the converts may belong, the harvest will be glorious. Let nothing that I have said be interpreted as indicative of feelings inimical to any body of Christians, for I never as a missionary felt myself to be either Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Independent, or called upon in any way to love one denomination less than another. My earnest desire is, that those who really have the best interests of the heathen at heart should go to them; and assuredly, in Africa at least, self-denying labours among real heathen will not fail to be appreciated. Christians have never yet dealt fairly by the heathen and been disappointed."

We have gleaned comparatively but a few ears from the rich field for thought presented in Dr Livingstone's book, the more remarkable that the author's details are given in a very lucid and unostentatious manner. It well deserves a place with standard works of a similar description, which are not, indeed, very numerous. Dr Livingstone is, we are told, about to return to Africa, and he will leave this country possibly for ever, but not without carrying with him the esteem and regard alike of learned circles and of the Christian world; the latter especially entertaining the fond hope and breathing the fervent prayer that he may become a pioneer of the truth of the Gospel within regions hitherto uncultivated.

INDIA:—WHAT THEN? AND WHAT THEN?

In the last number of this Journal, our argument upon India met with a somewhat unlooked for and unwelcome interruption. Want of space—like an obstructing barrier—dammed up its channel. We had just stated, or rather almost stated, our general premises, and were hastening on with all possible but steady speed to our general conclusion, when suddenly our course was brought abruptly to a dead stand. It will not, therefore, be any matter of wonder, if, after being pent up so long, though only the usual pause, it now be found to *dash* on towards the end with accelerated impetus and force.

We had, we say, just stated and examined some of the leading causes that have been assigned for present disasters in India; and having done so, we might have come at once to our conclusion, had it not been for an objection that is abroad—an assumption that is afloat—on the ground of which grave charges have been made and momentous steps taken—which we would like to see settled as it ought to be. For example, missionaries and missionary agencies have in *some sort* or *other*, *open* or *concealed*, enjoyed *certain* protections in

India: Christian men besides, have in many and different ways, but very partially discharged a *Christian duty*. They have aided and abetted missionary and Christian effort; civil servants of the Company have presided over missionary meetings, contributed to their funds, founded, supported, and taught in, Sabbath and other schools or meetings, and perhaps, in many other ways, aided and abetted the Christian enterprize. Military officers also, and others, have done the like, &c., &c. Now, because the Company and their system of Government have tolerated, permitted, or blinked at these things, or *been supposed* to do so, or *were liable to be supposed* to have done so, it has been argued, or rather taken for granted, that in so doing, they had broken faith with the natives, or interfered with their religious and personal liberties, or otherwise given them *just* and *reasonable* cause of offence; or that for them so to do, or for them to allow themselves to be *in any way mixed up* with religion or Christianity, would be to *break* faith with the natives,* and furnish them with such a *just* and *reasonable* cause of offence and disaffection. Nor is this assumption anything that has been spoken or done in a corner. The very opposite. On the faith of it, debates have been conducted in Parliament, which have derived all their vitality and force from it. It has nerved alike the arm of the opposition, and given point to their attack. Nor less certainly, however weak, has it formed the mail in which the Government incased themselves, and chose to meet their assailants. It passed unquestioned on both sides of the house. Nor only so; action moreover has been taken *upon it*, and orders sent out, and admonitions given that no servant, civil or military, of the Company and Crown—for they are both united on this point—should take anything to do with religion in an active and positive way. Nay, nor only so, but Mr Vernon Smith has given it as his opinion,† that for any of the Company's servants to be chargeable with so doing, is of itself sufficient to merit their recal, that is to say, their degradation and punishment—because likely to involve the Government in the charge of proselytism, or of interfering with the religious liberties of the subject, or of breaking faith with the natives, or otherwise giving them just and reasonable ground of offence. And, what is still more to be lamented, the press, so far as we have been able to trace it, has universally conceded this unfounded assumption, and sanctioned by their authority—some even *expressly*,‡—the curtailment of the British and Christian subject's liberty of conscience. The assumption itself has originated with and emanated from the East India Company, and has formed the back-bone‖ of their

* See Sir John Malcolm's statement, page 294.

† See Mr Smith's Speech, quotes page 301.

‡ We are sorry to find such friends of truth and liberty as the *British Quarterly Review*, yielding to such senseless clamour—such unfounded assumption; surrendering the Christian soldier's liberty to do what in him lies for the good of men and glory of God; and sanctioning, by their respected authority, the unwarranted restriction of these liberties.

‖ It is on this ground, for example, and on this assumption that all the proceedings pointed out on pages 294, 295, 296 above, find their reason and explanation.

whole policy towards Christianity; and what a miserable policy indeed! so full of weakness and truckling, and want of anything like either spirit or energy! The British Government has sanctioned it; and the press has passed it by as unquestionable truth. Now here we mean to deny it out and out, and show that so far from being worthy of an enlightened and Christian nation's respect, it has not even the shadow of a foundation in reason and common sense.

But before taking up this point, let us glance for a moment at the liberty, which on the ground of it has been taken away from the British servants,—civil and military,—of the Company in India. God has made it imperative, and so binding on the conscience of Christians of every rank and station in life, to give a reason of the hope that is in them, to whomsoever asketh—to do good unto all men as they *have opportunity*—to let their light shine, so that others may be led to glorify God—to hold up the word of life—and especially to invite the perishing, and point out to them the Saviour, that they too, may get good. But more than that, God has made it especially binding on Christian ministers and missionaries to preach the Gospel to *every creature*. Now, what is it that the Company, and our Government by sanctioning it, have been doing in the above restrictions and limitations? Why they have just been saying to their British servants in a body; No, you shall not discharge this duty at all; and to the missionaries, why, you shall only discharge it within certain prescribed limits. God says, preach it "to every creature." No, says the Company and their Court, not to the Sepoys. Which ought to be obeyed? Is this consistent with the Christian character of the nation? Is this in harmony with the character of British liberty,—and especially liberty of conscience?

But it has been said, and taken for granted as the most unquestionable truth, that for Government *to allow*, or *countenance*, or *suffer itself* to be mixed up in any way, even by the most distant suspicion, with such doings on the part of their own servants or others, is for them to break faith with the natives, to interfere with their religious or personal liberties, or otherwise give them just and reasonable cause of offence. Now we deny this *in toto;* for first of all, the doings of those men—put them in the very worst light you please—can never be proved to amount to any, even the least interference with the religious and personal liberties of the natives. And so long as this is so, it is simply absurd to talk of Government being involved in any such charges or even suspicions. There is no reality in the thing itself, no foundation in fact. How then, in any conscience or common sense, can there be any in the charge? These men—the Christian British servants of the Company—*to* put it in its worst form—*use no constraints* against the people, as the Sepoys for example. They neither forcibly interfere with their worshipping according to their own conscience; nor do they compel them to attend any of our meetings. And indeed, with such a Government as they have had in India, the thing was altogether impossible and absurd. The native temples and religious rites have been respected, and the natives them-

selves have been protected in the fullest and freest exercise of their religious and personal responsibilities. No force could possibly be used against them by any British servant of the Company. Now, in the face of such facts, will any sane man affirm, that to invite the natives, or what is more in point, the Sepoys, to a prayer or other Christian meeting—where they are perfectly free either to come or stay away—and *where, moreover, they have the right either to come or stay away*—for this is a personal and no governmental affair—involves any interference with the religious or other liberties of the Indian subject? To say so, is contrary to the very nature of things, —an insult to common sense. The thing we say, look at it as you please, can never involve even the shadow of an interference. And if so, if there is not even the shadow of a reality in the thing itself—how could it possibly involve the Government in any charge of breaking or bad faith with the natives? How could it possibly be said or even imagined, to give the natives any, even the slightest reason or just cause of offence? The thing, we say, is palpably absurd and *silly* to a degree. Even in its worst form—and supposing that Government had positively and publicly enjoined and authorized all such proceedings on the part of their own servants and others—it never could be construed to common sense into any such interference or just cause of offence. For why? Are the men not free? Are they not perfectly at liberty after all that you have done in such a case? Are they not reasonable and responsible beings? May they not act and judge for themselves? Then, if in no way you interfere with these personal liberties, or demolish their temples, &c. &c., how can you be said in any degree of common sense, or even imagined to break faith with the natives, to interfere with their personal or religious liberties, or otherwise give them just and reasonable cause of offence? The thing is preposterous, even in this its worst aspect, and supposing that Government had publicly and positively enjoined all such services on their British and Christian servants, not to say missionaries. But if preposterous when put in this its worst, and according to the assumption in question, most objectionable form,—how much more must it be so, when it is known that the Company and their Indian Government have not only *not enjoined*, but have *not even permitted*, nay have positively *forbidden* and *expressly discountenanced* and *discouraged* all attempts to discharge this Christian *duty?* How in any degree of reason or common sense, could *such a government* in such a course, be chargeable with bad faith or breaking faith with the natives? The thing will not bear the most distant glance of either reason or common sense. But it may be said in reply, the natives suppose so, or may warrantably infer so, from the fact that men in the Company's service do such and such things. Well, but we have shown that all that these Christian men have done or could do under such a Government, *could not possibly* be construed into any, even the most distant interference with the personal or religious liberties of the native subject. And if so, how possibly could *such a Government* which does not even permit them, nay, *positively forbids* them, be

chargeable with any such interference or bad faith, not to speak of breaking faith? Verily it seems to us, that any Government, which by its *character for good faith and good government*, cannot live down and overawe such groundless, or rather self-created* fancies, does not deserve to live. There must be something wrong with it—something rotten. But more than this,—we go further still. We have just said, that even in its worst form, and supposing that Government had positively and publicly sanctioned and enjoined such religious services *as they condemn*,†—it never could be construed, to reason or common sense, not to speak of conscience or law, into any interference or bad faith at all. But now we go further, and say, that supposing even they had acted worthily of this nation—its character, its religion, and its God—*which they have not*—and instituted a national and Christian system of education for India—an education in every way worthy of an enlightened, benignant, and Christian empire—provided only it left it free, and did not make it compulsory on the people to take the religious part of it; nay, *supposing even* they had gone much further still, and built churches and ordained missionaries and ministers for every thousand of the people, and supposing they had made public proclamation that they would willingly see, nay, that they were most anxious to see their children and people all become Christians; and, supposing that they had repeated, or were to repeat this proclamation every day of the year and every year of the century: supposing we say, they had done all these things together,—the first of which, unquestionably, they ought to have done long ago—yet could it never be construed even to common sense, into any interference or breaking faith with the natives—so long as they used *no force* either against their religion or in favour of ours; unless, indeed, to maintain one's own honour and religion, or perform one's own duty, and satisfy one's own conscience, could be so construed, *which is absurd*, but which, *notwithstanding its absurdity*, is just what has been done.

* "But an English reader will probably ask, *Why is it we always hear that the natives are alarmed about being made Christians? I reply, Because Europeans have been the first to decry and cast obloquy upon their own religion by both their public acts and private conduct.* At the official dinners of the East India Company, and in every proclamation of Government, as well as by the orations of our Peers and M.P.'s, the only religions held up to reverence and respect, are those of Mohammedans and Hindus; the only one of which the promulgation is depreciated, is that of Jesus Christ. The only danger ever indicated among the various European agencies working in India, is asserted to lie in the peaceful labours of the Protestant missionary; *for I can assure your readers, that no Government authority in India either dares, or shows an inclination to check the intrusion of Maynooth priests upon Sepoy lines, or their addresses to the passions of European soldiers to incite in them*, feelings of disaffection to the service and rebellion against the powers that be. The natives see that we are not afraid to carry war to the extremities of the earth; that we are not afraid to adopt any measures that shall increase our revenue or uphold our power; that there is but one point upon which we betray timidity, and that is on the subject of our religion. This, therefore, is the weak point that the seditious always attack, because they see it is the only one that we not only *admit* to be vulnerable, but by our *fears* betray to them that they should direct their forces against it."

† See Mr Vernon Smith's statement, page 301.

We have just said, that supposing they had done all this which we have supposed, it never could be construed to common sense into any, even the most *distant interference* or bad faith at all, not to speak of breaking faith with the natives. But if so, how much less could the connection which *actually subsists* between the Indian Government of the Company and Christianity, be construed into any such interference or bad faith? Verily, as a Government, they have not had the slightest connection with it. They have openly and repeatedly disavowed* it. They have positively forbidden its active support or encouragement to all their servants. They have, in direct contradiction to the divine command, prohibited the missionary from the lines of the Sepoy. They have prevented native Christians from entering the Indian army, or banished them from it on becoming Christian. They have done all this, and far more than this against Christianity. Nay, they have positively encouraged and lent their aid to support the opposite and heathen delusions of the natives. But if so, how again, we ask, could such a patronage of Christianity as *their's* afford the slightest ground in reason or common sense for such an allegation? Verily, it had not done so, and could never be proved to do so, suppose they had gone all the lengths that we have *supposed* above. Then, how much less, nay, how infinitely less, in the *real* and not the *supposed* case?

It had not, we say, even in the supposed case,—which is the one they ought unquestionably to have followed even from the beginning,—approached by the most distant allusion to any such charge, or given any, even the slightest occasion for just and reasonable offence. And to maintain the contrary, is to maintain that when we took possession of the country by conquest, or by trade, or by fraud, or in whatsoever way, and when we engaged to protect and maintain their rites and liberties intact, and not to abrogate or abolish them, except with their own consent, and so far as the protection of public morals, and life, and property demanded,—we engaged also *to herd themselves*, and not allow them to stray from the folds of Brahma even upon evidence and with their own consent,—to act the part of whippers-in and flunkeys at the cars and shrines of Juggernauth,—and not only to secure them in the possession of the fullest rights and liberties of conscience, but to preserve their ears and indolence from the corrupting influence of evidence. Surely no one will maintain that any "Honourable" Company or Government could ever enter into any such degrading occupations and engagements as these! Surely to press the fulfilment of engagements thus far would not be to honour but to degrade an "Honourable" Government into mere lackeys at an idol car—mere herds of perverse and stupid Hindus. And yet what else is and does that assumption and misconduct, that would make it, nay that has made it, *penal* for missionaries to enter the lines of the Sepoy—for officers to read God's word to a *willing* and *free* audience—for magistrates to preside over a missionary meeting, or contribute to missionary funds, or in any other way publicly profess and encourage Chris-

* See Court of Directors' Dispatch on Education.

tianity, though they *in no way* interfere with the religious or personal liberties of the Indian? What else is it in such a case, and where no liberty is interfered with, but where the parties are *both free* and *have the right*—in spite of government interference to the contrary—either to come or stay away—to stake one's commission or civil appointment on the discharge of a positive and incumbent Christian duty, and on the exercise of *an undoubted right?* Surely there must be inadvertence here. Surely no "Honourable" government could ever condescend to enter into any such engagements as these. This, verily, is not *to protect* but in reality *to interfere* with their *personal* liberties. So far from protecting them in the free exercise of their religion, this would be to constitute yourselves the guardians of *their ears, their actions*, and *their wills;* in short, to take the place and responsibilities of those various powers and organs. Surely this is to press engagements no small degree beyond the limits even of common sense. It is impossible that such a position as this, when fully and fairly stated, could ever be maintained in this enlightened country, or defended by any "Honourable" government. And yet it is on no other ground than this that the above orders have been issued, and the above liberty taken away from British subjects of the highest orders.

The assumption, then, that, on the one hand, would make a government that has *not even permitted*, but *prohibited*, Christian effort, as in the lines of the Sepoy,—that prevents native Christians from entering, and banishes Christian Sepoys from them,—guilty of breaking faith with the natives *for* its patronage of Christianity; and that, on the other, when carried out as it has been, would degrade an "Honourable" government into mere lackeys at an idol car—mere whippers-in and herds *for* Brahma,—*must be*, not only void of the slightest foundation in reason or common sense, but an *absolute absurdity*—a positive *insult* to both. They would not, nay, they could not do any such thing, or be chargeable with any such offence, suppose, as we have shown, they had acted like honest and self-respecting men, and *made* the natives *respect* their consciences, and rights, and liberties, *as well as they respected those of the natives.* They would not have broken faith with the natives, suppose they had in every, the most open, and positive, and honest way established, endowed, and honoured Christianity and Christians, and Christian missions—so long as they used no force or constraint either against the natives or in favour of Christianity. They would not—and we defy it to be shown that any, the most positive establishment and support of Christianity which did not use force and constraint against the people could—involve any, the slightest interference with the religious and personal liberties of the natives,—any, the slightest violation of plighted faith to maintain intact the religion, and laws, and liberties of the people. For why? as already asked, are they not reasonable beings? And after you have done all this, *are they not still free?* May they not be *invited* to a Christian meeting,—may they not be called upon on equal terms to give a reason for their faith,—may no appeal be made to their understandings, their consciences and wills—where they are

perfectly free, without violating their liberties or involving yourselves in the charge of breaking faith with them? Verily, to reason so, and much more *to act* so, seems something very like a positive absurdity. But if so, for any government to yield to such imagination, such vain and groundless conceits, is *not government* but veriest *weakness* and *want of self-respect.* To allow themselves to be made the instruments and executors of such unfounded and *self-created* fancies by *prohibiting free action*, and agreeing to become the herds of Hindus for Brahma, is unworthy of *any* rulers that have a conscience, not to speak of "Honourable" rulers—is to press the fulfilment of engagements not only unreasonably far beyond the limits of honour, but also of common sense; and, consequently, the assumption that would land them in any such results, must be, nay cannot but be, an *absurdity*—an *insult* to any "Honourable" government.

And yet *insult* and *absurdity*, as it unquestionably is, and would be, to *any* "Honourable" man, or company, or government—what is the fact? Why simply this, that *because of it we*, or rather the Company and their Indian Government, have *been afraid* to espouse the Christian religion,—nay, have openly and repeatedly disclaimed it,—on the ground of it have taken away the Christian liberty of their British servants and others, and done a thousand other things *discreditable* to any man or ruler of either conscience, or honour, or self-respect, or authority, or power.

Let then this assumption be repudiated and denied; let these liberties which have been taken away on the ground of it be asserted and restored; and let the nation, in every other respect *freed* from its trammels, assume a character and bearing worthy of itself, its conscience, its dominion, its religion, and its God.

Now, in conclusion, it has been proved beyond a doubt in the *Quarterly Review* for October, that the true cause, in a military point of view, of present disasters, has been *the utter want* of firmness and self-respect which the Indian Government has shown in dealing with the Sepoys, and the *numberless weak concessions* which have been made to them.* And now we think it has been made apparent, at least in some small degree in the above expositions and argumentations, that in a religious point of view, *their weakness* could not have been exceeded. For here they have not quailed and given way before some reasonable or conscientious scruple, or righteous or reasonable demand of the Indian people; but they have actually yielded to their own *fears*,† and to the *fancies* which their own fears have created. For we are bound to believe, in the absence of all evidence to the con-

* "But the native army began to be conscious of its numerical superiority, and to make corresponding assumptions, which the Government felt itself not bold or strong enough to repress, and therefore attempted to pallinte by concessions, which reduced the powers of the European officers, and increased the privileges of the Sepoys. This policy defeated itself, and was understood by the native army to be evidence of weakness and timidity, and they did not fail to take advantage of it."—*Rev. Mr Butler, American Missionary.*

† See note, page 359. Nor have we ever heard it alleged, except by the Company themselves, or some of their supporters or agents.

trary, that the natives have by far too much good sense to raise any hue and cry where they have no cause, and where they had not even the shadow of an interference with their religious or personal liberties. And yet in the face of this, and while securing them all liberty of conscience, to be afraid to profess ourselves Christians, and act consistently with the profession,—what was it but the very quintessence of weakness? What was it but to encourage and excite revolt? What but to invite and provoke attack?

And now we say, in fine, that the one thing which India now demands at our hands, is a thorough change of principle and policy,—a policy which shall *combine* and *command such respect* for ourselves, our arms, our consciences, our religion, our liberties, our honour, and our God, *as we unhesitatingly give and secure to them.* To take any thing short of this—to allow any intrenchment on it, or interference with it,—is unworthy alike of our character and position as rulers, and of our religion. To take anything short of this, which we so willingly and cordially *allow* and *secure* to them, is positive weakness and want of self-respect. Now such a weak and unworthy policy is just that which has hitherto obtained in India. And has it not met with its reward? Has it taught the natives by its weak and unwarranted concessions in regard to pay, and service,* and religion, that we were really afraid of them, and had reason to fear them? Has it by such unworthy means invited, nay courted, their attack? Then, verily, have we not got it with a vengeance? Let then all such weak, and unworthy, and drivelling, and dishonest, and cowardly policy be at end for ever. Let the rule which is henceforth to be enforced in India be in every way worthy of the *integrity*, and *might*, and *conscience*, and *heart* of this great nation; and not as the narrow, and grasping, and selfish, and self-disrespecting policy of a class of men whose thoughts *can ascend no higher* than to the market value of a land teeming with millions of inhabitants.

But before such a policy can be instituted and entered upon—before it can have even the most distant chance of success, or be able, even in the slightest degree, to command respect or inspire confidence either in India or in this country, it must be carried out in a very different spirit and with a very different hand from those that have hitherto borne sway in India. To continue for a single day the government of the Company—to allow their rule, or rather misrule, any longer to exist—to admit of their narrow and selfish policy any longer hampering the interests and good government of that empire—to suffer them, and let it be known that they have a hand in the government of India still, would of itself be suicidal to any policy, however good, which might be substituted. For what is the fact? Their very name has come to be associated in India—and especially in the higher, and therefore more dangerous, circles of Indian society, because they have truckled most to them—with all that is *mean*, and *selfish*, and *drivelling* in our natures; and in short, with a whole cen-

* See the *Quarterly Review*.

tury of trafficking, and truckling, and failure. And if they have had a single purpose since they set foot on Indian soil—it has been to conciliate and win the favour and support of the ruling castes and classes in India. And at this shrine, and to secure this object, they have not scrupled, of their own accord and without any, the least, constraint on the part of the natives, to sacrifice every thing that a *truly* "honourable," and more especially a Christian, man or nation holds dear—as self-respect, and honour, and conscience, and religion. While giving their subjects all liberty and protection in proselytizing as much as they pleased for Mahomet and Brahma—they *dared not* demand the same liberty for themselves and fellow-countrymen. In short, they have yielded everything. Instead of *giving*, they have *received* creed, and code, and custom from benighted heathens. "The effect of enlisting men of a certain caste or creed," says General Jacob, "to the exclusion of others in the Indian army, *is to subject that army to the control*, not of the government or articles of war, but to that of Brahmins and Goseins, Moolahs and Fukheers." *They have yielded everything.* The higher castes have demanded to be honoured at the expense of the humbler; and this Company and their government have yielded the demand. They despised and persecuted the Pariah and other humbler classes; and this Company and their government had to conform. They demanded more pay;* and this Company and their government had still to yield. They refused to go on certain services; and still this Company and their government had to give way. Nay, nor only so, but they have yielded and given way where the natives made no demand—nay, were astonished at their *facile* obsequiousness and yielding. For it is a fact on record, that the natives have stood astonished† and confounded at the pro-

* See the *Quarterly Review.*

† "*It is also evident that the East India Company's Government, as based, on expediency, instead of high principle, is much to blame for the distressing results that have arisen. Had that Government from the very first declared* bona fide *that it would not interfere with any man's religion by forcible or fradulent measures, but would protect all, and persecute none, a very different state of things would now exist.* Matthew Prabhn Din, the native non-commissioned officer who became a Christian at Meerut, would not then have been expelled the army on the ground of his religion. The indignant Christian soldier asked what crime he had committed that he was thus punished, but no good answer could be given him. *His heathen and Mohammedan fellow-soldiers looked on the scene with astonishment, but gave the Government credit for some secret design connected with so unworthy a measure.* Up to this hour no native Christian is permitted to enter the ranks of the Bengal army. I may go further, and affirm, that no native Christian can be sure that justice will be done to him by the Company's Government in any case in which his Christianity may possibly occasion inconvenience to his heathen or Mohammedan neighbours. A short time ago, the contract of a ferry was put up to auction, and a native Christian gentleman of irreproachable character made the highest bid, but it was not given to him, simply on the ground that he was a Christian. Similar favouritism is practised in reference to that considerable Christian body known by the name of East Indians. These are the children of Englishmen by native women. They wear the dress and have the spirit and manner of Europeans, but they are not admitted to the Bengal army. They are a neglected and virtually oppressed and persecuted class."—*Rev. R. Cotton Mather.*

ceedings that degraded and banished the Christian sepoy from the lines, while it tolerated their Christian officers. In short, as already said, they have yielded everything; and as usually happens, they have failed in everything. They have yielded everything, and by yielding have shown that they are both *unworthy* and *unfit* to rule. They have yielded everything; and now at the end of a century they are no nearer the single aim which they have all along had than at the beginning. Nay, we believe, that they are further from it *now* than at the beginning; for, besides the natural antipathy which is likely to attend a conquest, they have accumulated against themselves the *contempt* of a whole century of truckling and failure. To entrust, therefore, the *reformed* government and policy of India to such hands as these, would only ensure its failure by bringing down upon it the accumulated contempt of a whole century of selfishness and failure.

Let, therefore, as the very first step of this reform, and in order to all the rest—let the Company's government be swept away. Let the Queen and country assume to themselves their rightful dominion, nor be cajolled out of it by any trimming compromise. To be satisfied with anything short of this—and this as the very first step of India's reform—would be an act of *suicidal* and *consummate folly*. Let the country and the Queen assume the government of India. It is they, and they alone, as experience testifies, that can rise above the *petty and selfish motives* of the individual, and assume the character of a truly "honourable" and generous ruler. Both facts and events all counsel it. By showing that they cannot rise above the petty and the selfish—all show as in the *noon day-light* the utter *incapacity* and *unworthiness* of the present rulers to deal with that great empire. Let their rule, then, be swept away. The events all counsel it. The missionaries plead for it. The merchants of Calcutta and India are all supplicating it. Foreign nations, friendly and hostile, all advise it, as that alone which is worthy both of ourselves and so great an empire. And common prudence counsels it, as that which alone can command respect for and inspire confidence in a new administration.

And why not remove it? It is, as has been well said by "the *Times*" newspaper, the very *symbol* of "obstruction and circumulocution." Why not remove it? It is an *excrescence* of rankest growth —an *anomaly* of *surpassing* extravagance within a *kingdom*—an imperium in imperio with a vengeance. Why not remove it? Its very existence—as a Company of traders to whom the nation has in several successive measures *farmed* out the *Indians*—is a *foul blot* upon our *Christian* and *free* escutcheon. Why not remove it? Do you say that it will show the natives that we fear them? Then the very opposite; for its removal with firm hand will remove *the only cause* which has taught them that *we had reason* to fear them. Indeed, so long as you can put down by force of character and arms such insurrections as that now raging in India—and so long as you have *nerve* to *grapple with* and *remove* such causes as the one in question—you may with fullest confidence leave the argument from fear to answer itself. But, perhaps, you say, it will interfere with

vested rights. Then this also, it is replied, is, while just enough in itself, an *unfounded* dread. For what is the fact? These vested rights have all been secured and *well provided for*—so far as the faith and credit of the nation can—when in 1833 it was enacted and ordained by the British Parliament that all the Company's property and capital should be held in trust for the crown, and that, in the meantime, and until their capital stock should be repaid *by £200 for every £100* of the same—they should receive by way of *clear profit* and without any drawbacks or deductions, an *annual* dividend payable by half-yearly instalments—of 10½ per cent. upon their whole stock—while at the same time it is provided that all their debts and liabilities shall be charged on India and *not on them*. Verily their rights and *their profits too* have been *well provided for*, and that too out of the *first fruits* of India's produce. Lose who will, they must be *paid*. Then why hesitate, Britannia, to assume your rightful place and character and power? Why now permit this well paid and well provided Company to usurp *your* place and dispense *your* patrimony? Do you still object—as we are sorry to find there are still newspapers to object—for what will you find, however monstrous, which some member or members of the press, the organs, doubtless, of some of the *interested* factions, will not vindicate—the claims of the Company who won it for us? Forsooth! We owe them nothing on this account. They have got their well paid dividends and profits, and their well secured capital. They have got all they bargained for and all that their charter entitled them to; and now that we have an empire *there*, we may owe it *in part* to their *cupidity*, but, under God, that empire *was won by the nation's own right arm and life's blood*. But, perhaps, it will be still objected that our armies, as well as the native troops, were paid out of *their* coffers, and that, therefore, they are entitled to this or the other consideration. By no means; *not the Company, but India* had to pay the costs on all occasions. Why, say you, did they not raise loans on heavy interest, &c.? Ay—we answer—but did they not charge it all upon India again, and is not India charged at this moment with all *their* debts and liabilities as well as their annual dividend or profits? Away then with it; nor let it longer obstruct the *well-being* of that *bleeding* empire.

But now, in one word, let not the nation be deceived. If it would have this object, which doubtless as the monster cause of all these present ills,—is the only object worthy of the nation's strength—let *it make up its mind* to have it, and not suffer itself to be cozened nor cajolled out of it; for we may rest assured that no shift will remain untried, no stone unturned, that is at all likely to arrest this issue, as delays and promises and liberal measures of *any other* kind, and even Christianity itself. Power—ill-gotten and unrighteous even—as well in the administration as in the acquirement and detention, is never readily laid down. And more especially is this to be expected, where so many interests, both family and personal, and such extended patronage, all counsel its detention. Let the nation, then, make up its mind not to be outdone or overreached in this matter; for not-

withstanding these present miseries, we may rest assured that no government will carry it through unless supported by the whole weight and nerve of public opinion.

But perhaps we may be challenged to the proof of what we have only hinted, viz., that the Company and their system of government are the monster causes of these present disturbances and miseries? Then what, we ask, has nerved the arm and fired the courage of Indian soldiers to attack British troops and defy British authority? What but that weakness that has taught them that we feared them? What but those concessions that have taught them that we had reason to fear them? What but that weakness that could not enforce righteous and reasonable commands? What but that weakness that could not resist unreasonable demands? Nay, more, what but that worse than weakness—that worse than womanly cowardice—that miserable dishonesty—that *dared not* profess it had a conscience or religion *lest* it should *offend* the Hindus? But for this we say—this conscious weakness, as it were, or rather consciousness of weakness and a bad or falling cause—no Indian army had dared to defy the British and face our troops. And it is the same thing—the same drivelling conduct, the same wretched weakness, that even now, in the name of Christianity and mercy—but which both Christianity and mercy disown—is arresting the hand of sovereign and righteous and merciful justice, and which instead of checking, instead of deterring from the like attempt, instead of striking an awe, by showing that we are able to punish and vindicate our empire—would invite their repetition by showing that we either *cannot or are afraid to punish.* This we say is the monster cause. And yet this is the whole and sole policy of the Company and their weak government, as present events show, and the present essay and the *Quarterly Review* demonstrate. Then let it be swept away. Hear no excuses.

THE ART MANUFACTURE ASSOCIATION.

Apart from the power of religion over the conscience, there is no influence so potent for the moral elevation of a people, as the idealising to them as much as possible, the common needs and ordinary occurrences of their every day life. In illustration of this truth, we have but to refer to that nation of antiquity, whose art, literature, and philosophy, are still the guiding-stars of the world's progress; and to look at the people, who in modern times most resemble the Greeks in this respect, and who, though little under the control of religious obligation, are yet saved from the degrading shamefulness of the coarse and brutalising vices which characterise the less artistic peoples by whom they are surrounded, by the refinement of taste induced by the idealistic atmosphere amidst which they lead their daily life. If a man be not possessed of Christian feeling, we think no one will dispute that the next best thing he can possess, is what is called *sentiment*, that is, an intimate feeling of and appreciation of the beau-

tiful, whether ethically or artistically displayed. What is usually termed romance, is neither more nor less than a love for the beautiful in the arrangements of our ordinary existence, which, if carried out to its legitimate result, could lead no whither but to the conviction that the *Beauty of Holiness* is the only abiding loveliness, that religion alone, by sanctifying, can shed a spiritual and unfading glory over every incident and accident of life, and make of our journey here, one bright and joyous transit to the Better Land, where ineffable beauty eternally awaits us. The homely adage that "cleanliness" is next to "godliness," is an apt illustration of the general, although, perhaps unconscious assent of the world, to the theory we are endeavouring to advocate. Cleanliness is the first feeble utterance of the soul's yearning after the beautiful,—that obtained, order, arrangement, harmony, decoration, naturally follow like the ascending notes in a musical scale. Ornament once desiderated, Art is established, and from rude beginnings, evolves its most exquisite productions; but even when it has attained its highest achievement, it fails to satisfy the longing of the immortal spirit, that strains after something higher still, and finding earth cannot furnish it, it wings its flight to those realms, the everlasting blessedness of which we conceive shall consist in the eternal contemplation of Divine Beauty in every phase in which it can present itself to the soul.

It may be objected to this theory, that the nations which have attained to the highest degrees of artistic excellence, have not been the most religious. To this we reply, that though they may have had *false notions* of religion, which have made them stop short of a perception of the highest moral beauty, yet that amongst them the religious *sentiment* has undoubtedly been stronger than amongst the less tasteful peoples of the earth, and that the most exquisite productions of their genius have all emanated from, and given expression to that sentiment, and to that alone. We have got into a habit of speaking of Classical Art, and Sacred Art, as if there were a wide distinction between the two, but if we examine the matter in a candid spirit, we shall find that no such distiction exists, but that the highest art of every age and people has had its origin in, and has attained its greatest perfection by, the religious feeling alone, and has thus a title to the name of *sacred*, whatever may be the form into which it has shaped itself. It is only because it corresponds to our religious feeling, that we bow our heads before the Crucifixion of Reubens, and call it a sacred thing,—while we contemplate "the sun in human limbs arrayed," with the spirit of a dilletante, and talk of it as a great achievement of classical art; whereas, if we viewed the matter aright, we should at once perceive that they were equally sacred in the sight of those whose wondrous skill wrought out the religious ideas they endeavour to express, and that it is the religious feeling that pervades both, which gives them all their power to subdue or enchant us. In fact, Greek Art is only so exquisite, *because* it was sacred,—it was the yearning of the soul after the unseen, which produced those marvellous forms of beauty, which mortal charms have never equalled,—and it is a mere pedantic

impertinence to call it secular, while we distinguish by the name of sacred, the Madonnas of Raphael, or the St Sebastians of Titan. The Parthenon at Athens, was no less a sacred building than St Peter's at Rome or St Paul's in London, though it would undoubtedly fail to inspire us with the same devotional feelings, simply because it is not associated in our minds with the attributes of our own special worship, although so entirely (though unconsciously) are we governed by a sense of the fact, that the greatest works of art have always something of a sacred character attached to them, that regarding it merely as the external evidence of the inner feeling to which it endeavoured to give expression, it would inevitably fill us with reverential awe, and oblige us amidst its ruins, to speak in the solemn whisper which becomes so natural in spots where we know, that however imperfectly the Divine presence has been felt, or the Infinite sought after. That the love of the beautiful, as expressed in art, *is* a step towards the perception and reception of divine truth, we think is very strikingly manifested in the fact, that the Greeks having exhausted all material beauty in their attempts to embody their intellectual ideas of the Infinite, at last gave up the effort in despair; and feeling that the cunningest hand could do nothing to express the mind's idea of the unseen, raised the spirit's simple altar "to the unknown God." And it was at this moment that Paul came to declare unto them the "God whom they ignorantly worshipped." Everywhere surrounded by the most exquisite works of art, each one embodying some fancied attribute of the divine essence, the philosophic mind of the Greek had arrived at the conclusion, that if such could not satisfy the longings of his nature after perfect contentment, that nature must itself be something higher than he had yet conceived of it, and that there must necessarily exist something beyond the highest combinations of mere material grandeur and beauty for its satisfaction. And thus were they prepared to perceive the reasonableness of, and to receive with joy, the glad tidings the Apostle came to proclaim to them. Fully impressed with the belief that each of the faculties of the mind have a function to fulfil, the legitimate exercise of which must lead directly to our better apprehension of the divine nature, and believing that that faculty which we term Taste, or an appreciation of the Beautiful, forms no exception to the rule, we hail with much satisfaction the formation of an Association which has for its object, the "elevating the imperfectly cultivated taste of the public, by making them familiar with the best specimens of Ancient and Modern Art-Manufacture, and at the same time to encourage manufacturers and designers to leave the beaten track, and produce works worthy of the place which the nation occupies in every other department of intellectual exertion." As we are called (or call ourselves) the most religious people on the face of the earth, it may seem something like a contradiction of the theory we have been propounding, that this taste still requires to be cultivated amongst us; but the manner in which we are religious, is perhaps, the best evidence we could adduce in support of it. We are *intellectually* religious,—we make our faith a mere

assent of the reason to the truths of the gospel—the heart and feelings have little to do with it—and as it is our belief, that the exercise of *all* our faculties are requisite for the proper discharge of our religious duties, we believe that whatever will tend to the calling forth of the emotional part of our nature, in which we have heretofore been so lamentably deficient, will make us better religionists. The Greeks gave a spiritual significance to every action of their lives, by making all they did a continual sacrifice to the gods, and trusting that under the better light that we are blessed with, the kindling of the latent spark of etherial fire which is wanting in none of us, may not lead us to rest satisfied with mere sensuous enjoyment, but conduct us to an earnest desire after the highest, that is moral beauty, we wish God speed to the effort now being made to add grace to the comfort of the humble man's dwelling.

The principle upon which the Association works, is the same as that which governs the Art Unions, now such popular institutions in this country, and which, like the present movement, emanated from the Modern Athens. It is proposed, that in connection with the Society, an Annual Exhibition of Works of Art-Manufacture should be opened in one of the cities of the United Kingdom, for the enlightenment of the public taste in this branch of art, and in pursuance of this purpose, the second Exhibition of the Association, is now open in the New Art Galleries of this city, where the first was held at the same season of last year;—that of 1858 will probably take place in Glasgow. From the articles displayed at these exhibitions, the Committee of Management select a portion of such as are for sale, to be distributed amongst the subscribers in the same manner as the prizes of the Art Unions are allotted, every subscriber being sure of something of more or less value, from a silver tea service, to a taper stand, or a match holder. On account of the backwardness of manufacturers to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, of giving publicity to their designs or executed works, the prizes of last year were almost exclusively selected from the contributions of the silver-smiths and potters, they having so much more readily than the workers in other materials, responded to the call of the Committee to exhibit, and we think it likely, that from the same cause the same effect is likely to result this year also. We hope, however, that as the object and plan of the Association becomes better known, manufacturers of other kinds will awaken to a proper appreciation of the advantages they offer for bringing the merits of their various wares prominently before the public, and that in future, they will emulate each other in eager desire to further the purposes of a movement, which, while it is of obvious benefit to the public in general, is unquestionably calculated to advance their own interests in particular.

While the Committee have had to regret, that as yet the manufacturers have so little understood the benefits they have offered them, as to reply but coldly to their invitation to exhibit, they have much reason to be gratified by the ready aid rendered them, by the private

possessors of art treasures, to instruct and develope the artistic genius of the nation. Her Majesty the Queen, the Emperor of the French, the Dukes of Buccleuch, Hamilton, and Portland, Cardinal Wiseman, and other distinguished individuals, have liberally contributed many rare and valuable specimens of Art Manufacture to the Exhibitions of the Association, and we doubt not, that the generous examples so illustriously set, will be followed by many others, and sources of instruction be thus secured to the ingenious artizan which in no other way could be made available to him. We confess that the short-sighted manner in which many of our contemporaries of the press regard the Exhibition of those treasures by the Association, strikes us with astonishment. Some of them have not scrupled to inveigh against the Committee of Management, as having broken faith with the public, and having altogether nullified the avowed purpose (as they have chosen to assume it) of the Association; by the exhibition of works, the value of which, from the cost of the materials of which they are composed, or from the artistic skill exercised in their execution, place them quite beyond the reach of any but the very wealthiest classes, and many of which, even they with all their riches could not purchase. Such parties seem to have anticipated that the Association was to have opened a large cheap furniture warehouse, or drapery establishment, in which, for their annual subscription of a guinea, they were to get a twenty pound sideboard, or a ten guinea shawl. Such was very far from being the purpose for which the Art Manufacture Association was formed. Its object, as distinctly stated both in its Prospectus, and in the Preface to the very elaborate Catalogue of works displayed in its first Exhibition, was "to afford opportunities *for elevating the imperfectly cultivated taste of the public*," which was certainly not to be accomplished by introducing it to an assortment of "neat mahogany chairs at moderate prices," or an "unparalelled display of fancy dresses at an alarming sacrifice," but which assuredly will be effected by rendering it familiar with the works upon which a Cellini, a Gorgio, or a Palissy, expended the highest exercise of their genius. It is scarcely to be expected that the general mass of the visitors of the Exhibition—the young men and women who frequent the galleries merely to flirt with one another, or to chat with their acquaintances, or the older ladies and gentlemen who lounge through them only to kill time—will be much benefited by an inspection of the works it contains. Indeed, it is to be apprehended, that amongst persons of this class, who are for the most part alike devoid of knowledge and of natural taste, the making such an Exhibition a fashionable lounge, will be more likely to create an affectation of connoisseurship, and the pedantic cant of dilettantism, than to awaken a true appreciation of the beautiful in Art; but to the intelligent workman, the struggling genius, having the master-peices of the artistic skill of all ages and countries brought home for his instruction and encouragement, is an incalculable boon, and the advantage they must derive from it, not only from the enlightenment it affords in many departments of industry, but the lessons it teaches of success attained by patient labour, as

much as by the force of genius, will amply repay the philanthropic originators of the scheme. We rejoice to know that the Evening Exhibitions of the Association which have been expressly opened for the benefit of the working classes, are intelligently appreciated, and duly taken advantage of by them. This, of course, was *the* great object to be attained by such a project, as that carried out by the Association, for while the fashionable morning loungers may lisp of "darling Majolicas," and exquisite Palissy ware, because it is *the thing* now-a-days for every one to be versed in the language of the virtuoso, while in their secret souls they are honestly thinking the objects of their pretended admiration, shockingly ugly, and vowing to themselves, that a dinner service of the last Staffordshire at Child's is worth a whole Museum of such pottery, the artizan knows the difficulties that must have been encountered and overcome before that delicate colouring and exquisite enamel could have been fixed and perfected, and by the application of the same means as has produced them, to more graceful and appropriate forms, may give to the world something more truly deserving of admiration. Some years ago, before crossing to Paris, we remember mentioning to a French artist who happened at the time to be in London, the pleasure we anticipated from visiting the Royal Manufactory at Sevres, and were much surprised when in reply he said, "you will be disappointed! your English porcelain is far superior both in colour and design, to anything you will see there. The only particular in which the Sevres china excels it, is the enamelling, and you are not sufficiently acquainted with the mechanical details of its production, to understand its merit." The result proved the correctness of his judgment,—we left Sevres with the determination, that should we ever have it in our power, and take it into our heads, as Louis Philippe did at Fountainebleau, to line the walls of a saloon with china plates, it should be in Staffordshire, and not at Sevres we should select them.

We quote this opinion of an eminent French artist, whose works adorn alike the walls of the Louvre, the Luxembourg, and that wonderful monument of national vanity reared at Versailles, *à toutes les gloires de la France*, as a hint to those persons who, ignorant of the rules of art, have but one principle to regulate their admiration or disapprobation; namely to laud all foreign, and vilify all British manufacturers. Art, as applied to articles of daily use, like the higher achievements of the painter and sculptor, has come to us from the Continent, and the language of *virtu*, being thus not unnaturally made up of a mixture of Italian, French, and Dutch or German names and phrases, the great majority of pretenders to connoisseurship, take it for granted it would not be safe to admire anything which calls for attention in plain English. And little will be effected either for elevating the public taste, or enlightening its judgment in these matters, if they be not authoritatively taught that the articles of mechanical manufacture thus brought under their notice, are *principally* valuable as elucidations of the history of nations and the mechanical arts, and that though *in some respects*, the workers of earlier times, by dint of a

laborious diligence which is neither necessary nor possible to the men of our own time, attained some results which we have as yet fallen short of, yet that in many others, with all the experience gained from a careful study of their productions, and the vastly superior appliances now at the command of every artificer, we in these days have far outstripped our predecessors. In a lecture published last year under the the auspices of the Art Manufacture Association, the learned Professor of Technology in our University, in a sweeping denunciation of modern taste, informed us, that "we rise from ugly beds, to step upon ugly carpets, to wash our hands in ugly basins, and take our coffee out of ugly cups." Now, with all due deference to Dr George Wilson's learning in matters of research, we cannot subscribe to his opinion in this particular point, and we believe the sense of the great majority of our readers will revolt against it. Remembering the universal use of the willow pattern which prevailed in our early days, the sexagonal silver tea-pots, and big-bellied cups from which we received and sipped the beverage which "cheers but not inebriates," the stiff backed chairs, on which our youthful frames did *not* recline, and the stiffer mathematical figures of the Kidderminsters on which we danced our first quadrilles, we cannot hesitate for a moment in recognising the fact, that in the taste of all articles of daily domestic use we have within the last forty years made the most astonishing progress, and that for the most part these articles are generally good in design, and well suited for the purposes for which they are intended, which of course ought to be the point considered in the manufacture of articles intended for household purposes. The throwing open of the continent with all its treasures of Art, at the termination of Napoleon's wars, gave an immense impetus to our manufactures;—artists and artificers of all sorts rushed thither *pele mele*, brought thence whatever had most forcibly struck their fancy, and we were forthwith overwhelmed with imitations, even facsimiles of much that was excellent, and also, merely because it was foreign, of much that was worthless. And not only did we imitate and reproduce, but new combinations of the old were attempted. These for the most part have been failures, and whatever of real value we have accomplished has either been by a strict adherence to old models, or in the production of something entirely original. In our appreciation of the beauty of individual articles, we do not agree that our taste is generally in fault,—what we conceive to be yet wanting in our aesthetical teaching, is a knowledge of appropriateness and harmony. Most persons now-a-days with any pretension to a liberal education are capable of pronouncing judgment pretty correctly, as to whether certain things presented to their observation are really individually beautiful or not. But very few have studied the question, or arrived at a true perception of the incongruity of one article with another, or of the fitness of their position in one place or another. In fact we are yet so ignorant of the grammer of art, as not to be aware that articles conceived in the florid style of the period of Louis Quinze, placed in juxtaposition with the severe forms of classic beauty mutually destroy the effect of each, and that

while the brilliance of the former over-shadows the chaste simplicity of the latter, the cold purity of the second is a grave rebuke to the meretricious splendour of the first. "A place for everything, and everything in its place," is a maxim not less apposite to artistic arrangements, than in good housewifery. A carpet may be beautiful in itself (we insist that many beautiful carpets are to be found even in England) but the very brilliancy of its design and colouring may entirely annul the effect of all the rest of the furniture in a room, and then it is out of place—a paperhanging may be unexceptionable *per se*, but may ruin the colouring of the pictures placed against it, and then it is out of place—a chair may be easy, luxurious, perfect in form and workmanship, but it was intended by its designer for the library, and it stands in the drawing-room, where it looks heavy and clumsy *because* it is out of its place; in this way we have things in themselves beautiful, rendered ugly by misarrangement, and while we spend more money than any other people, in multiplying to ourselves objects of art and virtu, are sneered at by our continental neighbours as the most tasteless nation in the world. The taunt is so far just, but *only* so far, and we trust that the Association so happily inaugurated will do much to assist in removing such a reproach from us. Such a result, however, is not to be attained by the unclassified display of a miscellaneous collection of articles of taste, however rare and valuable they may be. This may teach the difference between Raffaelle and Majolica, or Palissy ware and the Limoges enamels, or to discriminiate betwixt a Buhl and a Marqueterie cabinet, but this will be only giving us knowledge, not instructing our taste, and teaching us how to fill a museum, rather than to beautify our homes. It seems surprising in these lecturing days, when "the lust of the eyes and the pride of life," permeate almost every class of society, that no one has thought of delivering a course of lectures upon Taste. We do not mean lectures that would deal with the metaphysical subtleties of the subject, as Alison has done in his essays, but merely a popular exposition of the principles which govern the harmony of colours and the combinations of form, which might be illustrated by familiar examples, so as to bring them clearly within the comprehension of the last "nouveau riche," who desires to spend part of his means in the furnishing of a house, but has little idea how to make it tasteful as well as splendid. "If facts are the words of God," it surely behoves us reverently to observe them, and as it is a fact that He has implanted in every human being a desire for the beautiful, it is obviously our duty to cultivate it as far as in us lies, for we may be assured its *use* is designed for our good, while its *abuse*, like that of every other thing intended for our enjoyment (and none of which we are told are "to be refused") however intellectually it may be gone about, will leave us still but the creatures of mere carnal desires.

We have left ourselves but small space to notice the exhibition that has called forth these observations, which, however, we the less regret, as the daily prints have already brought it prominently under the notice of our readers in town, and to print a mere catalogue of the articles displayed, could not be much to the edification

of those in the country. We would recommend for the perusal of those who are truly interested in the matter, the learned and able articles of the *Caledonian Mercury*, which have been written not only with a knowledge of, but a feeling for art, which makes them truly valuable. A reprint of them in a collected form, and at a low price, would do much to make the general public understand the nature of the Exhibition, and the real benefit to be derived from it. Although the present Exhibition is not so large as the former one, it yet contains a rich display of the treasures of the virtuoso. In carved ivories alone, we do not recollect ever to have seen so many fine specimens in so small a collection. The Mendicants, four in number, belonging to Mr Napier of Shandon, are singularly expressive, as is also an Italian Bimbo forming a *bonboniere*, belonging to Mr Beresford Hope, while the Pastoral Staff, the property of the same gentleman, is a very fine specimen of the art of the thirteenth century. Of the productions of modern workers in this material, are two specimens by Mr Cheverton, and contributed by Mr Gibson Craig, the one a bust of the late Professor Playfair, and highly creditable to the artist, the other a bust intended to represent the unfortunate Clytia, well executed, but feebly conceived, expressing rather the meek endurance of a patient sufferer, than the burning ardour which consumed the passionate nymph. In enamels, the exhibition is particularly rich, and perhaps the best evidence that could be furnished of the advantage to be derived from such expositions, is to be found in the contributions of Messrs Kerr and Binns of Worcester, whose beautiful vases, while rivalling in colour and polish any of the older enamels in the galleries, quite outshine them all in the delicacy with which their subjects (especially those of Dante and Ariosto) are manipulated. Merely to name all that is worthy of honourable mention in the contributions of the ceramic art, would be a herculean labour. It is in this department that is most clearly exhibited the progress which we have ourselves made in art manufacture, during the last half century, and placed us, if not foremost, at least on a line with the best producers of porcelain now existing. The beautiful Parian statuary of which neither Sevres nor Dresden in their best days could ever boast, and the exquisite jewelled porcelain which neither has excelled, of Copeland, the admirable reproductions of the Etruscan vases, &c., of Messrs Battam & Son of London, and of the old Majolica ware by Herbert Winton, will be found fully to corroborate our opinion. We must here record our appreciation of the public spirit exhibited by Mr John Millar of St Andrew Street, in the exertions he has made to meet the views of the Committee, and we trust his example and success may animate others to like endeavours. We are inclined to think not the least valuable aid he has lent to further the project of the Association, is his having brought forward many articles of common use, of elegant design, at such very moderate prices as may encourage even the lowliest to hope that they are not doomed for ever to eat their mutton off the willow pattern. In contrast to these simple wares, what will our readers say on being told, that there

is, amongst many other valuable and rare specimens of art, contributed to the Exhibition by his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, a cup and saucer valued at the enormous sum of £700! It is certainly a very exquisite specimen of the famous Bleu de Roi, but of course derives the greater part of its value from its being unique.

In the space of a Magazine article, it is quite a matter of impossibility to do more than merely indicate the general merits of so large and miscellaneous collection as the Exhibition contains,—to particularise would fill a volume. Our intention was not to write the catalogue of a museum, but to press upon the attention of our readers the moral influence of an enlightened cultivation of the public taste, and the advantage offered by the Committee of the Art Manufacture Association in furtherance of this great end. This has led us indirectly, but naturally, to a consideration of the Exhibition itself, of which we may conclude by saying that while it contains much to interest the virtuoso, and to instruct the artist and the artisan, its most cheering feature is the evidence it affords of the steady progress we are making in all the industrial arts, and the assurance it gives, that when the public taste shall have been so far instructed as to make it desire better things than those that have heretofore sufficed for its requirements, there will neither be wanting artists to design, nor workmen to execute what will give satisfaction to its higher knowledge. This, however, is necessarily the order in which improvement can alone be effected, as it is obvious that the workman can only execute what his employer gives him to execute, and the manufacturer (whose object of course is not to teach the public, but to make a profitable trade) will only order for his execution what is likely to take the market.

The show of glass in the present Exhibition is remarkably good, and will convince any observer, that though in England we have never attained to the high proficiency which has been arrived at by the Germans in colouring this elegant fabric—in its purity, its clearness, moulding, and engraving, ours surpasses that of all competitors. A curious German dessert service of the Dean of Faculty's, is deserving of notice. The wood carvings are in general excellent,—the wood pigeons by Bryant of London being in particular very fine specimens of this art. In bronze, there are many fine works, the most noticeable being the exquisite Centaur by John of Bologna, the property of the Duke of Hamilton. We regret to see that those of modern date are mostly from French houses, and we regard it as a national reproach, that we who are the greatest artificers in metals of any people in the world, should not at this day be able to compete with them in these beautiful works. We miss from the exhibition any specimens of articles in iron, and there are few things of common use amongst us, so appropriate for the display of *art manufacture*. How much would it add to the beauty of our streets and public buildings, were there to arise amongst us some second Quentin Matsys, who would not deem it beneath the dignity of his

genius, to bestow it upon the pattern of a railing or the design for a street lamp!

But we must draw our hasty notice to a close, which we do with this admonition to our readers, that as "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," it is our duty to do all that in us lies to support and extend the operations of the Art Manufacture Association, that we may increase and multiply "things of beauty," and as a necessary consequence add to the "joys" of our daily existence.

JOHN BUNYAN—A GIPSY.

It is a remarkable fact in the history of the human family, that it is divided into numerous diverse independent races, separated from each other by mental and bodily features, so broad and distinctive, that the commonest observer cannot fail to distinguish them. These races, again, have from time immemorial, been dispersed into different parts of the world, each occupying extensive territories, and pursuing forms of industry suited to the clime and locality. We have the Mongolian type of mankind covering the far stretching territory of the East. We have again the Caucasian type rising from the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and gradually spreading over Asia Minor, a portion of Africa, and at last expanding themselves over the entire of Europe. And we have the African inhabiting the interior of Africa for a period beyond the limits of authentic history. There is further to be noticed, the Polynesian race, inhabiting part of the sea coasts of Asia, and the numerous islands scattered over the wide expanse of our southern and western hemispheres. We exclude from our view the aborigines of America, composed probably of as many diverse families as admittedly belong to the other three quarters of the world. Among these widely distinct races, men distinguished for some element of greatness occasionally appear, who for the time being shed a light and radiance over their country. Even among the semibarbarous nations, a warrior, poet, or philosopher, occasionally arises who inspires his countrymen with new thought or leads them on to action. Such individuals are marked by all the peculiarities of the race or country to which they belong, and for this reason they have greater power in impressing their countrymen with their large and peculiar ideas. Such were Timour, Tamerlane, and others among the Tartars. Such was Confucius among the Chinese, whose thoughts are quoted and acted upon after the lapse of three thousand years. Such were Moses, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, King David, &c., among the Jews; for it is by the thought of these that the Jews without home or country preserve a separate and independent existence. It is not merely, however, religion by itself, but it is their religion blended with the poetry and lofty sentiment to which it has given birth, that welds and holds them together.

The same thing holds true of every other people. It is the genius of a country round which its masses rally, and for which they are always ready and willing to shed their best blood. Every country of the world, accordingly, has its own typical and representative men in whom its genius and peculiar sentiment exists in their most concentrated form. Such, indeed, are the spirits that occasionally spring from the body of a people to re-impress them with the mission which they are destined to accomplish in the economy and history of the world. The race of Gypsies that are scattered over every part of Africa, Asia, and Europe, are distinguished by peculiarities that have separated them from the rest of mankind for upwards of a thousand years. And history throws no light upon whence they came. Nor do they possess any peculiar religious or other faith to occasion or to preserve their isolation. They are wandering and predatory in their habits, and ill at ease when surrounded by civilization. They are possessed of no small amount of talent and ability in their own way, but withal they are wayward, vacillating, and uncertain. Both as friends and enemies they are guided by no general ideas, but are impulsive and sensational in the highest degree. Though warm and enthusiastic in their friendships and attachments, they are still uncertain and dangerous, resembling much the half extinguished smouldering bosom of a volcano. It is alleged that even this thoroughly abnormal race has had its genius or highest representative man, and that he was no other than John Bunyan, the author of the Pilgrim's Progress. Although it was previously well known that Bunyan was originally by profession a tinker, it has been left to an American writer to disclose to us the extraordinary intelligence that he actually belonged to the race termed Gipsies, and as his statement is far from wanting in support from well known facts and circumstances, it is probably best to allow this writer to speak for himself, and leave our readers to form their own judgment. It is as follows:—

. . . . . "From all that has been said, the reader can have no difficulty in believing with me, as a question beyond doubt, that the immortal John Bunyan was a Gipsy of mixed blood. He was a tinker. Well, who were the tinkers? Were there any itinerant tinkers, *following the tent* in England, before the Gipsies settled there? It is very doubtful. In all likelihood, articles requiring to be tinkered were carried to the nearest smithy. The Gipsies are all tinkers, either literally, figuratively, or representatively. Ask any English Gipsy, of a certain class, what he can do, and after enumerating several occupations, he will add, 'I can tinker, of course;' although it is doubtful if he knows much about it. It is the Gipsy's representative business, which he brought with him into Europe. Even the intelligent and respectable Scottish Gipsies speak of themselves as belonging to the 'tinker tribe.' The Gipsies in England, as in Scotland, divided the country among themselves under representative chiefs, and did not allow any other Gipsies to enter upon their walks, or beats. Considering that the Gipsies in England were estimated at above ten thousand during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we can well believe that they were much more numerous during the time of Bunyan. Was there therefore a kettle in England to be mended for which there was not a Gipsy ready to attend to it? If a Gipsy would not tolerate any of his

own race entering upon his district, was he likely to allow any native? If there was a native tinker in England before the Gipsies settled there, how soon would not the Gipsies, with their organization, drive every one from the trade by sheer force; what thing more like a Gipsy. Among the Scotch we find, at a comparatively recent time, that the Gipsies actually murdered a native for infringing upon what they considered their prerogative—that of gathering rags through the country. But Mr. Macaulay says, with reference to Bunyan, 'The tinkers then formed a hereditary caste, which was held in no high estimation. They were generally vagrants and pilferers, and were often confounded with the Gipsies, whom, in truth, they nearly resembled.' I should like to know upon what authority Mr. Macaulay makes such an assertion; what he knows about the origin of this "*hereditary* tinker caste,' and if it still exists: and whether he holds to the purity-of-Gipsy-blood idea, which has been so ridiculously advanced by both the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, but especially the former. How would he account for the existence of a *hereditary* caste of *any kind* in England, and that just one—the tinker caste? There was no calling at that time hereditary in England that I know of, and yet Bunyan says that he was *born* a tinker. In Scotland the collier caste was hereditary, for it was in a state of servitude to the owners of the mines. But who ever heard of any *native* occupation so free as tinkering, being hereditary in England? The idea is inconsistent with the genius of the British People. Was not the 'tinker caste' at that time exactly the same as it is now? If it was then hereditary, is it not so now? If not, by what means has it ceased to be hereditary? The tinkers existed in England at that time exactly as they do now; and who are they now but mixed Gipsies? It is questionable—very questionable indeed—if we will find in all England a tinker but who is a Gipsy. The class will, of course, deny it; the purer kind of tented Gipsies will, of course, deny it; still it is so. They are all *Chabos*—all *Chals*; but they will play upon the word Gipsy in its purity-of-blood sense, and deny that they are Gipsies. We will find two such Gipsies in Lavengro, the Flaming Tinman and Jack Slingsby; the first a half-blood, (which did not necessarily imply that either parent was white,) and the other a very much mixed Gipsy. The Flaming Tinman termed Slingsby a 'mumping villain.' Now 'mumper,' among the English Gipsies, is a term for a Gipsy, who, in point of blood, is very much mixed. When Lavengro used the word *Petulengro*, Slingsby started and exclaimed: 'Young man, you know a thing or two.' I have used the same word with English Gipsies, causing the same surprise; on one occasion I was told: 'You must be a Scotch Gipsy yourself.' Well, I replied, I may be as good a Gipsy as any of you, for anything you know. 'That may be so,' was the reply I got. Then Slingsby was very careful to mention to Lavengro that his *wife* was white; a thing not necessarily true, because he asserted it, but it implied that *he* was different. These are but instances of all our English tinkers.

"The prejudice against the name of Gipsy was apparently as great in Bunyan's time as it is now; and there was evidently as great delicacy on the part of mixed fair-haired Gipsies to own the blood then as now; and actual danger; for then it was hangable to be a Gipsy. When the name of Gipsy was by law proscribed, what other name would they *all* go under but *tinkers*—their own proper occupation? Those only would be called by the public 'Gipsies,' whose appearance indicated the pure, or nearly pure Gipsy. However much, in conversation, Bunyan might have hid his blood, he virtually acknowleged it when he said; 'For my descent, it was, as is well-known to many, of a low and inconsiderate generation; my father's house being of that rank that is *meanest and most despised of* ALL *the families of the land.*' Of whom does Bunyan speak here if not of the Gipsies? He says of *all* the families of the land. (The italics are my own.) Well might Southey remark;

'Wherefore this (tinkering) should have been so mean and despised a calling, is not however apparent, when it was not followed as a vagabond employment; but, as in this case, exercised by one who had a settled habitation; and who, mean as his condition was, was nevertheless able to put his son to school, in an age when very few of the poor were taught to read and write.' The fact is, that Bunyan's father had a *town* beat, which would give him a settled residence, prevent him using a tent, and lead him to conform with the ways of the ordinary inhabitants; but doubtless he had his pass from the chief of the Gipsies for the district. The same may be said of John Bunyan himself.

"Bunyan's very appearance indicated him to be a mixed Gipsy; for according to Scott, he was 'tall and broad set, though not corpulent; he had a ruddy complexion, with sparkling eyes and hair inclining to red'—and likewise the way in which he married—for according to Southey, it is said that he and his wife 'came together as poor as poor might be, not having so much household stuff as a dish or a spoon between them.' His boyhood likewise indicated the Gipsy; for he seems to have been at the bottom of much of the devilment practised by the youth of his native village. See, then, when he was confined to Bedford jail, how naturally he took on to making tagged laces to enable him to support his wife and family. But the greatest possible weight attaches to the question which he put to his father, if he was *of Israelitish blood; a question which I have heard put by Gipsy lads to their parent (a very much mixed Gipsy,)* which was answered thus: 'We must have been among the Jews, for some of our ceremonies are like theirs.'

"How little does a late writer in the Dublin University Magazine know of the feelings of a mixed Gipsy like Bunyan when he says: 'Did he belong to the Gipsies, we have little doubt that he would have dwelt on it, with a sort of spiritual exultation; and that of his having been called out of Egypt would have been to him one of the proofs of Divine favor. We cannot imagine him suppressing the fact or disguising it.' It is very apparent that this writer never conversed with a Gipsy, or at least a mixed one; or at all events never directed his attention to the question of his feelings in owing himself *to the public* to be a Gipsy. Where is the point in this reviewer's remarks? His remarks have no point. What occasion had Bunyan to mention he was a Gipsy? What purpose would it have served? How would it have advanced his mission as a minister? Considering the prejudice that has always existed against that unfortunate word Gipsy, it would have created a pretty sensation among all parties if Bunyan had said that he was a Gipsy. 'What,' the people would have asked, 'a *Gipsy* turned priest? We'll have the devil turning priest next!' Considering the many enemies which the tinker-bishop had to contend with, many of whom even sought his life, he would have given them a pretty occasion of revenging themselves upon him had he said he was a Gipsy. They would soon have put the law in force, and stretched his neck for him.

"The same writer goes on to say: 'In one passage at least—and we think there are more in Bunyan's works—the Gipsies are spoken of in such a way as would be most unlikely if Bunyan thought he belonged to that class of vagabonds.' I am not aware as to what the reviewer alludes; but should Bunyan even have denounced the *conduct* of the Gipsies in the strongest terms imaginable—called them even vagabonds and what not—would that have been otherwise than what he did with sinners generally? Should a clergyman denounce the ways and morals of every man of his parish, does that make him think less of being a native of the parish himself? Should a man even denounce his own children as vagabonds, does that prevent him being their father? It is even a common thing to meet with Scottish Gipsies who will speak with apparently the greatest horror of what people ima-

gine to be exclusively Gipsies; and they doubtless do that sincerely; for I know many of them who have no feelings in common with *the ways* of the *tented* Gipsies.

"I think I need hardly say anything further to show that Bunyan was a Gipsy. All that is wanted to make him a Gipsy for certainty, is but for him to have added to his account of his descent: 'In other words, I am a Gipsy.' But I have given reasons to shew that such verbal admission on his part was, in a measure, impossible. I do not ask for an argument to shew that Bunyan was not a Gipsy; for an argument to shew that he was not a Gipsy is impracticable; but what I ask for, is an exposition of the animus of the man *who does not wish that he should have been a Gipsy.* That he was a Gipsy is beyond a doubt. To the genius of a poor Gipsy, and the grace of God combined, the world is indebted for the noblest production that ever proceeded from an uninspired man. Impugn it whoso list.

"Of the Pilgrim's Progress, Mr Macaulay, in his happy manner, writes: 'For magnificence, for pathos, for vehement exhortation, for subtle disquisition, for every purpose of the poet, the orator and the divine, this homely dialect—the dialect of plain workingmen—was perfectly sufficient. There is no book in our literature on which we would so readily stake the fame of the old unpolluted English language,' as the Pilgrim's Progress; 'no book which shews so well how rich that language is in its own proper wealth, and how little it has been improved by all it has borrowed. . . . . Though there were many clever men in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century, there were only two great creative minds. One of these minds produced the Paradise Lost, the other the Pilgrim's Progress:' The work of a poor English tinkering Gipsy. Will Mr Macaulay embrace the Gipsy, or will he give him the cold shoulder? Perhaps we may see."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THEISM.*

We are willing to do all possible justice to a work that has cost its author, we believe, some pains of thinking, and certainly some pains in writing. At the same time, we are not quite satisfied with the way in which this ingenious gentleman, and others, are disposed to deal with the all-important question of the Existence of a Supreme Creator. Burnett Essayists, and others, who, no doubt to their credit so far, have been at pains to acquaint themselves with the language of the Teutonic School of metaphysics, or rather the terminology of the various schools of that late imported science; and, we conceive, "taking too much upon them," when they expect us to be satisfied with their cloud-begotten theories, instead of enabling us to repose on something tangible and substantial in the law of evidence, collateral or positive, of the cardinal truth, without which knowledge is vain—existence a less than Berkleyian problem—videlicet, *the Being and Personality of a Supreme Creator.*

The jargon of the Schools is totally unequal to the solution of such a question—totally unequal even to the humble office of a meet conveyance for the reasoning applicable to a theme so high. And yet, as we may be somewhat at variance with the public taste in

* The Philosophy of Theism. London, Ward & Co.; Glasgow, J. & D. Croll.

this respect, it would be very great injustice to the author of the treatise not to allow that he has conducted his argument with much ingenuity, and on the supposition that he is doing well in at all teaching such a subject in the language exclusively appropriated to metaphysics, and quite intelligible only to those who are proficient in metaphysical science, that he is at least equal, so far as he has proceeded with his argument, to any of the late writers in this department.

He sets out with giving up the *a priori* argument, because we are supplied with nothing from that quarter but the facts, or assumed facts, of space and time. These do not yield the qualities that should belong to an intelligent Creator; nor, in fact, the materials of any other existence than their own abstractions.

He therefore proceeds at once to the *a posteriori* argument, and here too, he sets out with a quarrel with the terms, or foundation, on which it is commonly pursued. The facts on which *a posteriori* reasoning proceeds, are facts of sensation, and therefore prove nothing, because it does not belong to observation to draw inference. To facts, there must be added principles, which of course belong to the intellectual department, and which must *tread* upon the facts, in order to complete the process of induction required.

Here then we have a retrogression to the *a priori* argument, because principles can only belong to facts on the supposition of an intellectual or metaphysical relation.

We are then prepared to state his argument in the author's own words, by which it will be perceived at a glance that he is a writer far from unequal to the task which he has undertaken.

"We have, therefore, two essentially different elements in our investigations; we have to examine, 1st, the facts of experience, and 2d, the *a priori* principles which we apply to these facts; but all inquiry into *a priori* principles is metaphysical, hence the dependence of the question of theism on metaphysics. And on looking around on the present state of the controversy, we find that the opponents of theism dispute the validity of our principles, not the facts; hence the great desideratum at present, is a proof of the existence and validity of our principles. But in order to this, we have to enter into metaphysics. But a difficulty meets us here at the very outset, for not only are the principles themselves disputed, but the validity of the very method by which we can alone establish these principles, viz., metaphysics, is disputed also. And what makes the matter still worse, the majority of theists themselves have foolishly joined hands with the atheists, if not in rejecting metaphysics, at least in despising and treating it with contempt; so that, before we can even commence an examination into the existence and validity of our principles previous to the exposition of the method of proof, we will require to enter into a vindication of metaphysics itself as a method of investigation.

"The bare facts observed by the senses, the atheist admits; but he disputes the principles by which the facts are explained. We observe an organ fulfilling a function and we affirm that the organ was *designed* to fulfil the functions; here we explain the fact, by the principle of final causes, and assert that the function was the final cause of the organ. The atheist admits the fact, but disputes the principle. He admits that there

is an organ and a function; but denies that the organ fulfils the function, because designed to fulfil it.

"The theist maintains that the function to be performed determines the organ to be employed. The atheist reverses the principle, and asserts that the function is performed, because the organ happened to be employed. The theist maintains that the function determines the organ; the atheist that the organ determines the function. Both agree in regard to the bare facts observed by the senses; but differ in regard to the explanation. The one explains the facts upon the principle of *final causes*; the other, upon the principle of the *conditions of existence.*

"But to enter more particularly into this matter. The theist and the atheist find an organ, they examine it in every part, and both agree in everything in as far as it can be observed by the senses. But they go further. The most of them agree also in the application of a metaphysical principle to the facts of the senses; they agree in the application of the principle of casuality to the facts. The senses attest that the organ began to be, that it did not always exist: the reason then asserts, upon the faith of the principles of casuality, that *it had a cause.* In this, both parties agree; but, as yet, nothing definitely is gained in favour of theism. One can go all this length and still be a naturalist, a pantheist, or an atheist. All that we have yet gained is, that there must be an efficient cause of the organ; but nothing is yet learned in regard to what this cause may be. The theist perceives that he requires not only to prove that there is a cause for the organ, but he must prove something in regard to the nature of the cause, viz., that it is an intelligent personality. In order to this, he examines the organ more minutely, and finds that it fulfils a function, and that it is adapted in every part to fulfil the function. Immediately on the perception of this fact, he applies another principle, viz., the principle of final causes, and asserts, that it was *intended* or *designed* to fulfil this function. The efficient cause not only produced the organ, he asserts, but produced it *in order*, or *for the purpose*, that the function might be performed. In other words, the efficient cause had the final cause in *view*, when it produced the organ.

"If the atheist can make good this position, then his point is gained. But how is the atheist to meet him here? By denying the facts attested by the senses? This he cannot do; he must acknowledge that there is an organ and a function, and that, as a matter of fact, the organ is adapted in every part for fulfilling the function. How then is he to escape the theistic conclusion? Evidently in no other way then by denying the principle. That there is an organ and a function, and an adaptation in the organ to the function, is what the senses attest as a matter of fact, and cannot be denied; but that the organ was *intended* or *designed* to fulfil the function is a synthetical judgment, lying beyond the facts—a judgment made upon the faith of the principle of final causes, and is therefore denied. This being the case, it is utter folly to meet the atheist by a further accumulation of instances of the adaptation of means to ends, as is the fashion with the generality of writers. The point the atheist denies is, not the *facts*, but the *principle*. But how is the principle to be established? In no other way than by metaphysics. It will not do when this principle is denied, dogmatically to assert it, as is too often the case. It will not do simply to say, when we see an organ adapted to a function—it *must be intended* for the function; *I cannot but believe* that it was intended to fulfil the function. This sort of argument will not do; we must be able to give a reason why we *cannot but believe* in the principle—why we say that it *must* be true. We must examine the thinking faculty, and try to find out not only the reason, but the validity of this confidence, for we may be

confident in error as well as in truth; but this is the work of the metaphysician.

"There are here four judgments; two derived from the senses, and two from principles.

"First, the organ was produced, derived from the senses, and admitted by the atheist.

"Second, it had a cause, derived from the principle of casuality, and admitted by most atheists.

"Third, the organ fulfils a function, and is adapted in every part to fulfil this function—derived from the senses, and also admitted by the atheist.

"Fourth, the organ was *intended* to fulfil the function—derived from the principle of final causes, but not admitted by the atheist.

"The work which belongs to the theist is this; to find out something in the nature of the effect, viz., the organ from which he can deduce that there was intelligence in the cause. But the real difficulty is, to find a principle by which we can pass from this something in the effect to the intelligence in the cause—a principle to bridge the chasm between the two. The gulf is impassible to the senses. The senses show us the something in the effect, but it is the reason which furnishes the principle, which necessitates the judgment that this something in the effect must have been the result of intelligence in the cause. The senses see the something in the effect; the reason in consequence of its being possessed of the principle, immediately makes the assertion that there *must* have been intelligence in the cause. Now the point which the atheist attacks is the principle of the reason. He denies the principle, and of course, the truth of the judgment, that this something in the effect, viz., the adaptation and arrangement in the organ, is the result of intelligence in the cause; and then commences to account for it by other means. And hence we have the development theory, naturalism, pantheism, and all those theories based upon the conception that there is in matter itself an inherent tendency to develop itself into organic forms. But it is at once evident, that if we can show that there is a valid principle in the reason, which asserts that the adaptation in the effect *must* be the result of intelligence in the cause, then all these theories are overturned."

In his elaborate argument to prove that all truths, including the results of mathematical demonstration, ultimately resolve themselves into principles, the ingenious author seems to have scarcely provided against the argument in which his process is exactly reversed—the argument which proceeds on the maxim that principles must be tested by, if they do not originate in, facts. We deal with the very first proposition of our old friend Euclid, according to this system—and resolve it by metaphysical law. We are quite familiar with the other theory, which supposes that we have been enabled to frame axioms and to call for postulates, after an acquaintance with facts appears to have enabled us to assume that certain principles are necessary and invariable. We allow, and we trust it will be posted to the account of our modesty, a certain incapacity to do free justice to these transcendental speculations. But to those who love them we recommend this book. It is pure in style, and, we believe, seriously and earnestly *theistical*, inasmuch as justice is sought to be done to the moral character, as well as to the personal being, and efficiency of the Great Creator.

We have much pleasure in subjoining to the former extract, the excellent paragraph which forms the conclusion of the work:—

"It may be stated, as an objection to what has been advanced, that it implies that the operations of nature are the immediate result of the first cause, instead of being indirectly produced by means of subordinate agencies. Answer: Although it is more than probable that the operations of nature are the immediate result of divine agency, still the argument does not necessarily imply this. What the argument logically implies is, that the motions of organic matter are the effects of *action*, and the disposition and arrangements of the matter, the effects of *intelligence*. And also, that the intelligence and the action must arise from one subject. Now, the argument does not imply that there are no subordinate agencies, it only implies, if there are subordinate agents, they *must* be agents which possess both intelligence and will. And if we assume that the operations of nature are the result of a plurality of separate agents, it obliges us to assume also, that they must all be subordinate to one who has a vast plan or purpose to be served by their agencies.

"The fundamental position we insist upon is this, whatever be the immediate cause of organism, it *must* of necessity be a substance endowed with intelligence and will. And if this position is made good, which I trust has been, we can then easily rise, by the laws of logic, to a Personality, who is the cause of all things. And if we fail in making good this position, viz., that this of necessity must be the nature of the cause—if it can be shown that so much as the leaf of a tree or a blade of grass, could be produced by an agency void of intelligence and will, then we never can arrive at the proof of a personal intelligent first cause of all things—a God; as will immediately be seen.

"If we could conceive that the deity could endow some unconscious unintelligent agent, call it plastic nature or whatever else you may, so that it could arrange a number of atoms into that peculiar form as to constitute the leaf of a tree; by adding the conception of a higher degree of power of the same unconscious nature, it might be conceived to produce the tree itself, and if one tree why not one hundred? And if a hundred why not a whole forest? And if a tree might be produced by an unintelligent agent, why not an animal? And if one animal, why not all animals, or why not all things? It is merely a question of degrees; the same kind of power which may be supposed to produce one will do for all. And if the operations of nature could be carried on for one second by unintelligent agencies, why not for a minute, or a year, or a century, or for ever? And if so, we can have no proof that there ever was an intelligent agent at work in nature, or, in other words, that there is a God. All that we would require in this case, in order to get quit of the necessity of a God, would be simply to assume, that this plastic nature, or whatever else you may call it, existed eternally. So that there is no way possible of establishing the existence of God, but by proving that organism can be produced by nothing else but a substance endowed with intelligence and will; and the way which this, at least, may be done, I trust has been fully shown."

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland.—We understand that the Queen has appointed the Rev. Norman Macleod, as one of her Chaplains for Scotland, in room of the late Principal Macfarlan.

High Church, Glasgow.—The Congregation of the High Church, Glasgow, have unanimously petitioned the Home Secretary, in favour of the Rev. Mr Macduff of Sandyford *quoad sacra* church, to be their minister in succession to the late Principal Macfarlan.

Principalship of Glasgow College.—This office, vacant by the death of the Venerable Dr Macfarlan, has been conferred upon the Rev. Dr Thomas Barclay of Currie. Dr Barclay, who is a native of Shetland, was ordained after license, in 1822, to the parish of Dunrossness, in Shetland; in 1827 he was translated to Lerwick; in 1843 to Peterculter in Aberdeenshire; and in 1844 to Currie, in Mid-Lothian.

Dr Barclay is distinguished as a Scholar and Biblical Critic, and is remarkable above most men who have devoted themselves to the subject, for his knowledge of Icelandic Literature. For general acquirements and accomplishments otherwise, he is already much esteemed by the public. He possesses a highly cultivated mind, a clear and well balanced intellect, and his principles are well known to be thoroughly honest and consistently liberal. We have accordingly to congratulate the country and the Church on his appointment to the vacant Principalship.

Presentation.—The Earl of Fife has presented the Rev. George Gordon Milne, M.A., presently assisting in the parish of South Leith, to the church and parish of Careston, Presbytery of Brechin, vacant by the translation of the Rev. Mr Moir to the church and parish of Rothiemay.

Parish of Moonzie.—The Earl of Glasgow has announced his intention of issuing a presentation in favour of the Rev. John Murray, Missionary at Springfield, Cupar-Fife, to the parish of Moonzie, vacant by the death of the Rev. Alex. Forbes.

Induction.—The Presbytery of Cupar met on Thursday the 17th ult., at Balmerino, and inducted the Rev. Mr Campbell to that Parish.

East Church, Stirling.—We understand that, by the unanimous recommendation of the congregation of the East Church, Stirling, the Magistrates and Town Council have unanimously agreed to present the Rev. George Alexander, of Renfrew, to the first charge in Stirling, vacant by the translation to Edinburgh of the Rev. John Stuart.

END OF TWENTY-FOURTH VOLUME.

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